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DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION,

TO

HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF JOHN FOXE.

VOL. VI.

ACTES
and Monuments

of these latter and perillous dayes, touching matters of the Church, wherein are comprehended and described the great persecutions & horrible troubles, that haue bene wrought and practised by the Romishe Prelates, specially in this Realme of England and Scotlande, from the yeare of our Lorde a thousande, unto the tyme nowe present.

Gathered and collected according to the true copies and wrytinges certificatorie as wel of the parties themselues that suffered, as also out of the Bishops Registers, which wer the doers therof. by *John Foxe*.

¶ *Imprinted at London by Iohn Day*, dwellyng ouer Aldersgate.

Cum priuilegio Regie Majestatis.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF JOHN FOXE:

A NEW AND COMPLETE EDITION:

WITH A PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION,

BY THE

REV. GEORGE TOWNSEND, M.A.

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

PREBENDARY OF DURHAM,

AND VICAR OF NORTHALLERTON, YORKSHIRE.

EDITED BY THE

REV. STEPHEN REED CATTLEY, M.A.

OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

RECTOR OF BAGTHORP, NORFOLK,

AND CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF SCARBROUGH.

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CONTENTS.

VOL. VI.

CONTINUATION OF BOOK IX.

CONTAINING THE ACTS AND THINGS DONE IN THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

A.D.		PAGE
1549.	The reign of EDWARD VI. continued.	
	Books in the Latin Service abolished; with the King's Decree.	3
1550.	Taking down of Altars and setting up the Table instead thereof.	4
	The King's Letter to Bishop Ridley; together with certain Reasons why the Lord's Board should rather be after the Form of a Table than an Altar	5
1549 to 1550.	A Letter of the Lady Mary to the Council	7
	A Remembrance of certain Matters appointed by the Council in Answer, etc.	8
	Letters between the Lady Mary, and the King and Council .	10
	A Copy of the King's Instructions, given to the Lord Chancellor, etc.	22
1547 to 1550.	The History of the Doings and Attempts of Stephen Gardiner: with the Examples of certain Letters, written by him, containing divers Matters not unworthy to be known in this present History	24
	Certain Additions after these Letters above specified, with Notes and Solutions answering to the same	55
	The Sum and Conclusion of all Winchester's Drift, in his Epistles before	56
	A Letter of Gardiner, containing Objections made to a Sermon of Master Ridley's, made at the Court	58
1550.	Nineteen Articles and Positions, objected, severally, to the Bishop of Winchester	64
	A Copy of a Writ, touching the order and manner of the Misdemeanour of Winchester, copied from the Public Records .	77
	A Copy of a Letter to the above, signed by the King and subscribed by the Council: also Six Articles delivered to him.	80
	The Copy of the Last Articles sent to the Bishop of Winchester.	82
	The Words of the Sequestration, with the Intimation to the Bishop of Winchester	85
	A Letter to Stephen Gardiner, from the Duke of Somerset and the rest of the Commissioners, touching such Points as the Bishop should entreat of in his Sermon	86

737

A.D.		PAGE
1550.	A Sermon of Stephen Gardiner, preached before the King	87
	The First Session or Action against Stephen Gardiner	93
	The Second Session	97
	Letters Missive to Drs. Standish and Jeffrey	99
	The Third Session	100
	Answer of the Bishop to a Request for more full Answers to certain Articles	101
1551.	The Fourth Session	104
	A Long Matter Justificatory, proposed by Gardiner	105
	The Fifth Session	119
	A Letter from the Judges to Gardiner's Witnesses	120
	The Sixth and Seventh Sessions	121
	The Eighth Session; with Interrogatories ministered by the Office	123
	The Ninth Session; with Articles additional exhibited by Gardiner	125
	The Tenor of the Matter exhibited by Gardiner, etc.	127
	The Tenth Session	130
	The Eleventh and Twelfth Sessions	131
	The Thirteenth Session: Allegations of Winchester, etc.	133
	The Fourteenth Session	134
	The Fifteenth and Sixteenth Sessions	135
	The Seventeenth Session	136
	The Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Sessions	137
	Copy of a Letter of King Henry to Stephen Gardiner	138
	Part of a Letter of Francis Driander	139
	A Letter of Gardiner to the Lord Protector, out of the Fleet	140
	The Attestations of all such Witnesses as were produced, sworn, and examined, upon the Articles ministered by the Office, against Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester	143
	The Depositions of certain Witnesses, produced and examined upon the Positions additional, laid in by the Bishop in his First Matter, specified before in the Ninth Session	240
	Notes for the Reader: containing Specialties, whereunto Stephen Gardiner did agree and grant; concerning Reformation of Religion	255
	Notes and Points, concerning Reformation of Religion, whereunto he would not grant	257
	The Twenty-first Session against Gardiner; with his Exceptions against the Witnesses	258
	The Twenty-second Session	261
	The Appeal of the Bishop before the Sentence Definitive	262
	The Sentence Definitive	264
	A Note of the Communication of Master Wilkes, had with Dr. Redman	267
	Another Communication of the same, to Master Nowel, etc.	269
	A Letter of Master Young to Master Cheke, concerning Dr. Redman	271
1552.	The History, no less lamentable than notable, of William Gardiner, an Englishman, suffering most constantly in Portugal, for the testimony of God's truth	274
1549 to 1552	The Tragical History of the worthy Lord Edward, Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector; with the whole Cause of his Troubles and Handling	282
	A Letter of the Lord Protector to the Lord Russel, Lord Privy Seal; also the substance of the Reply	284
	Contents of another Letter of the Lord Russel; also a Letter of the Lord Protector, to the Council assembled in London	285
	A Letter of the King to the Lord Mayor, in behalf of the Lord Protector	287
	A Letter of certain of the Council to the same, against the Lord Protector	289

A.D. PAGE

Articles objected against the Lord Protector 290
1552. An Account of the Execution of Edward Duke of Somerset, furnished by a noble Personage who witnessed it 293
1549 to 1552. Peter Martyr's Disputation holden at Oxford, about the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper 297
The First Disputation, holden at Cambridge the 20th of June, A.D. 1549, before the King's Majesty's Commissioners; by Dr. Madew, respondent 305
The Second Disputation, holden at Cambridge the 24th day of June, 1549 319
The Third Disputation, holden at Cambridge 327
Disputations of Martin Bucer, at Cambridge 335
A Fruitful Dialogue, declaring those words of Christ, "This is my Body;" between "Custom" and "Verity" 336
1553. Epistles of the young Prince Edward to the Archbishop of Canterbury; with the Answer 351
Commendation from the Prince's Scholmaster . . . . . *ibid.*
The Prayer of King Edward before his Death 352
A Letter of the Lady Mary to King Henry VIII.; also her Protestation to certain Lords sent to her by him 353

BOOK X.

BEGINNING WITH THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

The Preface to the Reader 356
The Whole Canon of the Mass, with the Rubric thereof, as it standeth in the Mass-Book, after Salisbury Use, translated word by word out of Latin into English 362
The Form and Words of conjuring Salt, Water, Flowers, and Branches 381

QUEEN MARY.

The First Entering of Queen Mary to the Crown, with the Alteration of Religion, and other Perturbations happening the same time in the Realm of England 383
A Letter of the Lady Mary to the Lords of the Council, with their Answer 385
An Inhibition from the Queen, for Preaching and Printing, etc. 390
Master Bourn preaching at Paul's Cross 391
The True Report of a Disputation, had and begun in the Convocation-house at London, the 18th of October, 1553 . . 395
The Precept of the Queen to Bishop Bonner, for dissolving the Convocation 411
1554. The Oration of Queen Mary in the Guildhall, on the First of February, 1554 414
The Communication had between the Lady Jane and Fecknam. 415
A Letter of the Lady Jane to her Father; followed by one to Master Harding 417
A Letter written by the Lady Jane in the end of the New Testament in Greek, which she sent to her Sister, the Lady Katherine, the night before she suffered 422
A Prayer of the Lady Jane 423
The Words and Behaviour of the Lady Jane upon the Scaffold. *ibid.*
Certain Verses written by the Lady Jane; Epitaphs, etc. . . 424
A Monition of Bonner to his Clergy, for the certifying of the Names of such as would not come in Lent to Confession, and Receiving at Easter 426
Articles sent from the Queen to Bonner, etc., to be put in speedy Execution. . . . . *ibid.*

A.D. PAGE
1554. Articles sent from the Queen, unto the Ordinary, and by him and his Officers, by her Commandment, to be put in Execution in the whole Diocese 427
A Prescript of the Lord Mayor to the Aldermen 429
A Copy of the Queen's Proclamation for driving Strangers and Foreigners out of the realm . . . . . *ibid.*
The Style of Queen Mary altered, writing to Bonner for the summoning of a Convocation 433
The Dignity of Priests extolled by Bonner, in a Fragment of an Exhortation to them of the Convocation-house; copied out by them that stood by and heard him . . . . . *ibid.*
The Sum and Effect of the Communication between Dr. Ridley and Secretary Bourne, with others, at the Lieutenant's Table in the Tower 434
How Thomas Cranmer Archbishop, Bishop Ridley, and Master Latimer, were sent down to Oxford to dispute; with the Order and Manner and all other Circumstances unto the said Disputation, and also to their Condemnation, appertaining 439
The Arguments, Reasons, and Allegations, used in the Disputation 444
Disputation at Oxford, between Dr. Smith, with his other Colleagues and Doctors, and Bishop Ridley 469
The Disputation had at Oxford, the 18th day of April, 1554, between Master Hugh Latimer, answerer, and Master Smith and others, opposers 500
Address to the Reader; together with the Disputation of Master Harpsfield, Bachelor of Divinity, answering for his Form, to be made Doctor 511
Certain Observations or Censures given to the Reader, upon the Disputations of the Bishops and Doctors above mentioned: declaring what Judgment is to be given, as well touching the Arguments of the Adversaries, as also to the Answers of the Martyrs 520
A Table declaring divers and sundry Respects how the Holy Real Body of Christ our Saviour, both in the Sacrament and beside the Sacrament, is present, eaten, and united to us . 523
A Table of the principal Arguments brought against Doctor Cranmer 525
The same against Doctor Ridley 526
The same against Master Latimer. 527
The Answers and Resolutions to the Arguments above mentioned, by Number and Order of the same 528
The Report and Narration of Master Ridley, concerning the misordered Disputation had against him and his Fellow-prisoners at Oxford 532
A Letter of Bishop Ridley to the Prolocutor; also a second . 534
The Copy of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter to the Council, sent by Dr. Weston, who refused to deliver it . . 535
Bishop Ridley to Archbishop Cranmer 536
Other Things which happened in this Realm, in this tumultuous Time . . . . . *ibid.*
A Purgation of Thomas Cranmer, against certain Slanders and Rumours falsely raised upon him 539
The godly End and Death of the Duke of Suffolk, beheaded on Tower-hill 544
The Apology of Master Mantel the Elder 546
A Copy of a certain Declaration drawn and sent abroad out of Prison by Master Bradford, Master Saunders, and divers other godly Preachers, concerning their Disputation and Doctrine of their Religion 550
Verses of John White, Bishop of Lincoln, and of others, concerning Philip and Mary; both Latin and English . . . 555

A.D. PAGE
1554. A Story of a Rood set up in Lancashire 564
A Mandate of Bishop Bonner, to abolish the Scriptures and Writings painted upon Church Walls 565
Copy of a Letter sent from the Council to Bonner, concerning Queen Mary's conceiving with Child 567
The Tenor of Cardinal Pole's Oration made in the Parliament House 568
Copy of the Supplication and Submission, exhibited to the King and Queen's Majesties, by the Lords and Commons of the Parliament 570
An Absolution pronounced by Cardinal Pole to the whole Parliament of England, in the presence of the King and Queen 572
Copy of King Philip's Letter to Pope Julius, touching the Restoring of the Realm of England: translated out of Spanish into English; followed by the Cardinal's Letter on the same Matter . . . . . *ibid.*
A lamentable Example of Cruelty, showed upon John Bolton, a Man of Reading, imprisoned for the true Testimony of a Christian Conscience 575
Notes of a Sermon of the Bishop of Winchester, preached at Paul's Cross 577
1555. Master Rose, with Thirty Persons, taken at a Communion in Bow Church-yard 579
Extract of an Act for the Government of Queen Mary's Issue. 580
A Prayer made by Dr. Weston, Dean of Westminster, daily to be said for the Queen's Deliverance; followed by another Prayer that the Child may be well-favoured and witty, etc.; also another Prayer for the same Object 581
A Letter sent to Master Hooper, concerning the Taking of a godly Company in Bow Church-yard, at their Prayer; with the Answer unto it 585
A Letter of Consolation sent from Master Hooper, to the godly Brethren taken in Bow Church-yard in Prayer, and laid in the Compter in Bread-street 586
A Supplication of the Persecuted Preachers to the King and Queen 589

BOOK XI.

WHEREIN IS DISCOURSED THE BLOODY MURDERINGS OF GOD'S SAINTS, WITH THE PARTICULAR PROCESSES AND NAMES OF SUCH GODLY MARTYRS, BOTH MEN AND WOMEN, AS, IN THIS TIME OF QUEEN MARY, WERE PUT TO DEATH.

1555. The Story, Life, and Martyrdom of Master John Rogers . . 591
The Examination and Answer of John Rogers, made to the Lord Chancellor and to the rest of the Council, the 22d of January 593
The Second Confession of John Rogers, made, and that should have been made (if it might have been heard), the 28th and 29th day of January 597
The Sentence Condemnatory against Master Rogers . . . 601
Other godly Matter, penned by Master Rogers, including his Admonitions, Sayings, and Prophesyings 603
The History and Martyrdom of Laurence Saunders, burned for the Defence of the Gospel, at Coventry 612
A Parcel of a Letter of Laurence Saunders, sent to the Bishop of Winchester, as an Answer to certain Things wherewith he had before charged him 617
Letters of Laurence Saunders, to his Wife and to a Friend, etc. 618

A.D. PAGE
1555. The same to Archbishop Cranmer, to his Fellow-prisoners in the Marshalsea, to his Wife; with two others, on the Communion of Saints, and the true Taste of God's Love by Faith, with the Fruits thereof 620
The First Examination of Laurence Saunders 625
A certain Communication between Laurence Saunders and Dr. Pendleton, in the beginning of Queen Mary's Time . 628
A Letter to Master Ferrar Bishop of St. David's, Dr. Taylor, Master Bradford, and Master Philpot 630
A Letter which Laurence Saunders did write to his Wife, and others of the faithful Flock, after his Condemnation to the Fire; written the last of February, 1555, out of the Compter in Bread-street 631
Other Letters of Laurence Saunders, to Mrs. Lucy Harrington; to his Wife, with a Remembrance to Masters Harrington and Hurland; also to the same and other Friends, etc. . . 632
Letters to his Wife, a little before his Burning; also a Letter to Masters Robert and John Glover, written the same Morning that he was burnt 635
A Letter of Justice Saunders; and another wherein he seeketh to win Laurence Saunders to Popery 636
The Story, Life, and Martyrdom of Master John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester; burnt for the Defence of the Gospel at Gloucester, Feb. 9 . . . . . *ibid.*
The King's Letter or Grant for the Dispensation of John Hooper, elected Bishop of Gloucester, written to the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Bishops 640
A Letter of the Earl of Warwick to the Archbishop, in the behalf of Master Hooper 641
A Letter of Ridley to the said Bishop of Gloucester 642
A Letter or Report of a certain godly Man, declaring the Order of Master Hooper's Deprivation from his Bishoprics, March 19, A.D. 1554 645
Master Hooper examined before the Commissioners . . . 646
The true Report of Master Hooper's Entertainment in the Fleet; written with his own hand, the 7th of January, 1555. 647
Another Examination of Master Hooper 648
Another Examination, followed by the third and last . . . 649
A Letter of Master Hooper, for the Stopping of certain false Rumours, spread abroad, of his Recantation 650
Degradatio Hooperi 651
The Form and Manner used in the Degrading of Bishop Hooper 652
Master Hooper's Prayer 657
Verses on Hooper; also a Letter which he wrote out of Prison to certain of his Friends 659
Comparison between Hooper and Polycarp 661
A Letter of Hooper to certain godly Professors and Lovers of the Truth, instructing them how to behave themselves in that woeful Alteration and Change of Religion 662
To Master Ferrar, Dr. Taylor, Masters Bradford and Philpot, prisoners in the King's Bench in Southwark 664
An Exhortation to Patience, sent to his godly Wife, Anne Hooper; whereby all true Members of Christ may take Comfort and Courage to suffer Trouble and Affliction for the Profession of his Holy Gospel 665
To a certain godly Woman, instructing her how she should behave herself in the time of her Widowhood; also another Letter to Hooper's dear Brethren, his receivers and helpers in London 670

A.D. PAGE
1555. To a Merchant in London, by whose means he had received much Comfort in the Fleet; also to Mistress Wilkinson, a Woman hearty in God's Cause, and comfortable to His afflicted Members; afterwards dying in exile at Frankfort . . . 672
To his dear Friends in God, Master John Hall and his Wife, exhorting them to stand fast in the Truth; also to his beloved Sister in the Lord, Mistress Anne Warcop 673
A Letter of Master Bullinger to the most reverend Father, Master John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and now Prisoner for the Gospel of Jesus Christ, my Fellow-elder and most dear Brother in England 675
The History of Doctor Rowland Taylor, who suffered for the Truth of God's Word, the 9th of February 676
The Examination of Dr. Taylor 681
Dr. Taylor's Deprivation 684
Dr. Taylor before the Bishop of Winchester and others . . 685
A Letter of Dr. Taylor, containing the Report and Talk between him and the Lord Chancellor and other Commissioners, January 22d . . . . . *ibid.*
The Copy of another Letter to his Friend, touching his Assertion of the Marriage of Priests, etc. 687
The Places of the Doctors alleged before, in Dr. Taylor's Letter 689
A brief Recapitulation out of Dr. Taylor's Causes afore touched, for the Reader more evidently to see how the Papists do against their own knowledge, in forbidding Priests' Marriage . . . . . *ibid.*
Dr. Taylor, the fourth Time, with Masters Bradford and Saunders, brought before Winchester and other Bishops. . 690
The last Will and Testament of Dr. Rowland Taylor, written in the Book which he gave to his Son 693
A Letter of Dr. Taylor to his Wife 701
Certain Letters of the King of Denmark to Queen Mary, respecting Miles Coverdale 705
Queen Mary's Answer 707
The Declaration of the Bishop of London, to be published to the Lay-people of his Diocese, concerning their Reconciliation 708
The Form of Absolution to be kept by the Pastors and Curates in private Confessions, concerning this Reconciliation, etc.. 710
The lamentable and pitiful History of Master James Hales, Judge . . . . . *ibid.*
The Communication between the Lord Chancellor and Judge Hales 712
The History of Thomas Tomkins, Martyr; who, having first his hand burned, after was burned himself by Bishop Bonner, for the constant Testimony of Christ's true Profession 717
The First Examination of Tomkins, with his Confession of Faith 719
Articles objected against him; also his Second Examination . 720
His Confession repeated by Bonner; also his last Appearance and Condemnation 721
The notable History of William Hunter, a young man, an Apprentice, of nineteen years, pursued to death by Justice Brown, for the Gospel's sake; worthy of all young men and parents to be read 722
The History of Master Causton and Master Higbed, two worthy Gentlemen of Essex, who, for their sincere Confession of their Faith under Bonner Bishop of London, were martyred and burned 729

A.D. PAGE
1555. Their Examinations, and Articles ministered by Bonner . . 730
Other Examinations, and their Answers to the Articles, etc. . 731
The Confession of their Faith, delivered to the Bishop of London, etc., and for which they were condemned 734
William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence, with their Examinations and Articles or Interrogatories objected by Bishop Bonner 737
Their Answers to the Articles 738
The last Appearance of the aforesaid Prisoners 739
The Prayer that Stephen Knight said at his Death, upon his knees, being at the Stake, at Maldon 740
The Death and Martyrdom of John Laurence, Priest . . . *ibid.*

ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOL. VI.

PAGE
The Cruel Handling of William Gardiner in Portugal 281
The Burning of Master John Rogers, Vicar of St. Sepulchre's . . 611
The Burning of Master Laurence Saunders, at Coventry . . . 628
The Burning of Master Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester 658
The Martyrdom of Dr. Rowland Taylor, at Hadley 700

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

VOL. VI.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

CONTINUATION OF BOOK IX;[1]

PROCEEDING WITH

THE ACTS AND THINGS DONE IN THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

Books in the Latin Service abolished.

Edward VI. A. D. 1549.

It followeth now in the story, that certain of the vulgar multitude, hearing of the apprehension of the lord protector, and supposing the alteration of the public service into English, and administration of the sacrament and other rites lately appointed in the church, had been the act, chiefly or only, of the said lord protector, began upon the same to noise and bruit abroad, that they should now have their old Latin Service, with holy bread and holy water, and their other like superstitious ceremonies again: whereupon the king, with the body and state of the privy-council then being, directed out his letters of request and strait commandment to the bishops, in their dioceses, touching the same, in form and manner as followeth.

Evil disposed people think to have the Latin service again.

*A[2] certain Precept or Decree of King Edward, directed to the Bishops in their dioceses, for the Abolishing of Books of the Latin Service, and of certain other Ceremonies.

Right reverend father in God, right truly and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas the book, entitled The Book of Common Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England, was agreed upon and set forth by act of parliament, and by the same act commanded to be used of all persons within this our realm, yet, nevertheless, we are informed that divers unquiet and evil-disposed persons, since the apprehension of the duke of Somerset, have noised and bruited abroad, that they should have again their old Latin service, their conjured bread and water, with such like vain and superstitious ceremonies, as though the setting-forth of the said book, had been

Books of the Latin service called in.

(1) See the Latin Edition, Basle, 1559, p. 200. Ed. 1563, p. 726. Ed. 1570, p. 1519. Ed. 1576, p. 1288. Ed. 1583, p. 1330. Ed. 1597, p. 1211. Ed. 1684, vol. ii. book ix. p. 46.—Ed.
(2) See Edition 1563, p. 726.—Ed

Edward VI. A.D. 1549.

the only act of the aforenamed duke: We, therefore, by the advice of the body and state of our Privy Council, not only considering the said book to be our own act, and the act of the whole state of our realm assembled together in the parliament, but also the same to be grounded upon holy Scripture, agreeable to the order of the primitive church, and much to the edifying of our subjects,—to put away all such vain expectation of having the public service, the administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, again in the Latin tongue (which were but a preferring of ignorance to knowledge, and darkness to light, and a preparation to bring in papistry and superstition again)—have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to require and nevertheless straitly command and charge you, that ye, immediately upon the receipt hereof, do command the dean and prebendaries of your cathedral church, the parson, vicar, or curate, and churchwardens of every parish within your diocese, to bring and deliver to you, or your deputy, every of them, for their church and parish, at such convenient place as ye shall appoint, all antiphoners, missals, grails, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, portuesies, journals, and ordinals, after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, Bangor, Hereford, or any other private use; and all other books of service, the keeping whereof should be let to the using of the said Book of Common Prayers; and that ye take the same books into your hands, or into the hands of your deputy, and them so deface and abolish, that they never after may serve, either to any such use as they were first provided for, or be at any time a let to that godly and uniform order, which, by a consent, is now set forth. And if ye shall find any person stubborn or disobedient in not bringing in the said books, according to the tenor of these our letters, that then you commit the same person to ward, to such time as ye have certified us of his misbehaviour: and we will and command you, that ye also search, or cause such search to be made, from time to time, whether any books be withdrawn or hid, contrary to the tenor of these our letters; and the same books to receive into your hands, and to use, as in these our letters we have appointed.

And furthermore, whereas it is come to our knowledge, that divers froward and obstinate persons do refuse to pay toward the finding of bread and wine for the Holy Communion, according to order prescribed in the said book, by reason whereof the holy communion is many times omitted upon the Sunday: these are to will and command you, to convent such obstinate persons before you, and them to admonish and command to keep the order prescribed in the same book. And if any shall refuse so to do, punish them by suspension, excommunication, or other censures of the church. Fail ye not thus to do, as ye will avoid our displeasure.

Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 25th of December, the third year of our reign.

Thomas Cranmer,	J. Russell,
R. Rich, Cancel.	H. Dorset,
W. Saint John,	W. North.*

Common bread used in the holy communion.

Whereby it may appear to us now, that no wafer-cakes, but common bread was then, by the king's appointment, ordinarily received and used in churches. This was about the latter end of December, A.D. 1549.

TAKING DOWN OF ALTARS, AND SETTING UP THE TABLE INSTEAD THEREOF.

A.D. 1550.

Furthermore, in the year next following (1550), other letters, likewise, were sent for the taking down of altars in churches, and setting up the table instead of the same, unto Nicholas Ridley, who, being bishop of Rochester before, was then made bishop of London, in Bonner's place. The copy and contents of the king's letters are these, as follow.

The King's Letter to Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, &c.

Edward VI. A. D. 1550.

Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas it is come to our knowledge, that the altars within the most part of the churches of this realm being already upon good and godly considerations taken down, there do yet remain altars standing in divers other churches, by occasion whereof much variance and contention ariseth among sundry of our subjects, which, if good foresight were not had, might perchance engender great hurt and inconvenience; we let you wit, that, minding to have all occasion of contention taken away, which many times groweth by those and such like diversities, and considering that amongst other things belonging to our royal office and cure, we do account the greatest to be, to maintain the common quiet of our realm; we have thought good, by the advice of our council, to require you, and nevertheless especially to charge and command you, for the avoiding of all matters of further contention and strife about the standing or taking away of the said altars, to give substantial order throughout all your diocese, that with all diligence all the altars in every church or chapel, as well in places exempted as not exempted, within your said diocese, be taken down; and instead thereof, a table be set up in some convenient part of the chancel, within every such church or chapel, to serve for the ministration of the blessed communion. And, to the intent the same may be done without the offence of such our loving subjects as be not yet so well persuaded in that behalf as we would wish, we send unto you herewith certain considerations gathered and collected, that make for the purpose; the which, and such other as you shall think meet to be set forth to persuade the weak to embrace our proceedings in this part, we pray you cause to be declared to the people by some discreet preachers, in such places as you shall think meet, before the taking-down of the said altars; so as both the weak consciences of others may be instructed and satisfied as much as may be, and this our pleasure the more quietly executed. For the better doing whereof, we require you to open the aforesaid considerations in that our cathedral church in your own person, if you conveniently may, or otherwise, by your chancellor, or some other grave preacher, both there and in such other market towns, and most notable places of your diocese, as you may think most requisite.

Altars taken down and destroyed.

Considerations to persuade the people.

Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 24th day of November, the fourth year of our reign.

Edward Somerset, John Warwick, Edward Clinton,
Thomas Cranmer, John Bedford, H. Wentworth,
William Wiltshire, William North, Thomas Ely.

REASONS WHY THE LORD'S BOARD SHOULD RATHER BE AFTER THE FORM OF A TABLE, THAN OF AN ALTAR.

*[1] "I am not ashamed of the gospel, because it is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth." [Rom. i. 16.]

Certain reasons why the reverend father, Nicholas, bishop of London, amongst other his injunctions given in his late visitation, did exhort those churches in his diocese, where the altars, as then, did remain, to conform themselves to those other churches which had taken them down, and had set up, instead of the multitude of their altars, one decent table in every church. And that herein he did not only not any thing contrary unto the Book of Common Prayer, or to the king's majesty's proceedings, but that he was induced to do the same, partly moved by his office and duty, wherewith he is charged in the same book, and partly, for the advancement and sincere setting-forward of God's holy word, and the king's majesty's most godly proceedings.*

First Reason:—The form of a table shall more move the simple from the

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 727.—Ed.

Edward VI. A. D. 1550.

superstitious opinions of the popish mass, unto the right use of the Lord's Supper. For the use of an altar is to make sacrify upon it; the use of a table is to serve for men to eat upon. Now, when we come unto the Lord's board, what do we come for? to sacrifice Christ again, and to crucify him again, or to feed upon him, that was once only crucified and offered up for us? If we come to feed upon him, spiritually to eat his body, and spiritually to drink his blood (which is the true use of the Lord's Supper), then no man can deny but the form of a table is more meet for the Lord's board, than the form of an altar.

Answer to certain cavillers who take hold of the term 'altar' in the king's book. How the table may be called an altar.

Second Reason:—Whereas it is said, 'The Book of Common Prayer maketh mention of an altar; wherefore, it is not lawful to abolish that which the book alloweth:' to this it is thus answered: The Book of Common Prayer calleth the thing whereupon the Lord's Supper is ministered, indifferently a table, an altar, or the Lord's board; without prescription of any form thereof, either of a table or of an altar: so that whether the Lord's board have the form of an altar, or of a table, the Book of Common Prayer calleth it both an altar and a table. For, as it calleth it an altar, whereupon the Lord's Supper is ministered, a table, and the Lord's board, so it calleth the table, where the holy communion is distributed with lauds and thanksgiving unto the Lord, an altar, for that there is offered the same sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. And thus it appeareth, that here is nothing either said or meant contrary to the Book of Common Prayer.

Third Reason:—The popish opinion of mass was, that it might not be celebrated but upon an altar, or at the least upon a super-altar, to supply the fault of the altar, which must have had its prints and characters; or else it was thought that the thing was not lawfully done. But this superstitious opinion is more holden in the minds of the simple and ignorant by the form of an altar, than of a table; wherefore it is more meet, for the abolishment of this superstitious opinion, to have the Lord's board after the form of a table, than of an altar.[1]

The name of an altar, how derived.

Fourth Reason:—The form of an altar was ordained for the sacrifices of the law, and therefore the altar in Greek is called θυσιαστήριον, 'quasi sacrificii locus.' But now both the law and the sacrifices thereof do cease: wherefore the form of the altar used in the altar ought to cease withal.

Christ used a table and not an altar. The altar never used among the apostles.

Fifth Reason:—Christ did institute the sacrament of his body and blood at his last supper, at a table, and not at an altar; as it appeareth manifestly by the three Evangelists. And St. Paul calleth the coming to the holy communion, the coming unto the Lord's Supper. And also it is not read that any of the apostles or the primitive church did ever use any altar in ministration of the holy communion.

Wherefore, seeing the form of a table is more agreeable to Christ's institution, and with the usage of the apostles, and of the primitive church, than the form of an altar, therefore the form of a table is rather to be used, than the form of an altar, in the administration of the holy communion.

Sixth and last Reason:—It is said in the Preface of the Book of Common Prayer, that if any doubt do arise in the use and practising of the same book; to appease all such diversity, the matter shall be referred unto the bishop of the diocese, who, by his discretion, shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same order be not contrary unto any thing contained in that book.

After these letters and reasons received, the fore-named Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, consequently upon the same did hold his visitation, wherein, amongst other his injunctions, the said bishop exhorted those churches in his diocese, where the altars did then

(1) This reason for taking away the superstitious opinion, serveth also as well for abolishing other things besides altars, etc.

Edward VI.

A.D. 1549 to 1550.

remain, to conform themselves unto those other churches which had taken them down, and had set up, instead of the multitude of their altars, one decent table in every church. Upon the occasion whereof here arose a great diversity about the form of the Lord's board, some using it after the form of a table, and some of an altar. Wherein when the said bishop was required to say and determine what was most meet, he declared he could do no less of his bounden duty, for the appeasing of such diversity, and to procure one godly uniformity, but to exhort all his diocese unto that which he thought did best agree with Scripture, with the usage of the apostles, and with the primitive church, and to that which is not only not contrary unto any thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer (as is before proved), but also might highly further the king's most godly proceedings in abolishing of divers vain and superstitious opinions of the popish mass out of the hearts of the simple, and to bring them to the right use, taught by holy Scripture, of the Lord's Supper. And so appointed he the form of a right table to be used in his diocese, and, in the church of Paul, brake down the wall standing then by the high altar's side.[1]

Ridley appointed in his diocese the right form of a table.

The wall by the high altar in St. Paul's broken down by Ridley.

Now we will enter (God willing) into those matters which happened between king Edward and his sister Mary, as by their letters here following are to be seen.

A Letter of the Lady Mary to the Council, June 22, 1549.

To my Lord Protector, and the rest of the King's Majesty's Council:

My lord, I perceive by the letters which I late received from you, and other of the king's majesty's council, that ye be all sorry to find so little conformity in me touching the observation of his majesty's laws; who am well assured, that I have offended no law, unless it be a late law of your own making, for the altering of matters in religion, which, in my conscience, is not worthy to have the name of a law, both for the king's honour's sake, the wealth of the realm, and giving an occasion of an evil bruit through all Christendom, besides the partiality used in the same, and (as my said conscience is very well persuaded) the offending of God, which passeth all the rest: but I am well assured that the king his father's laws were all allowed and consented to without compulsion by the whole realm, both spiritual and temporal, and all ye executors sworn upon a book to fulfil the same, so that it was an authorized law; and that I have obeyed, and will do, with the grace of God, till the king's majesty my brother shall have sufficient years to be a judge in these matters himself; wherein, my lord, I was plain with you at my last being in the court, declaring unto you, at that time, whereunto I would stand; and now do assure you all, that the only occasion of my stay from altering mine opinion, is for two causes: one principally for my conscience' sake; the other, that the king my brother shall not hereafter charge me to be one of those that were agreeable to such alterations in his tender years. And what fruits daily grow by such changes, since the death of the king my father, to every indifferent person it well appeareth, both to the displeasure of God, and unquietness of the realm. Notwithstanding, I assure you all, I would be as loth to see his highness take hurt, or that any evil should come to this his realm, as the best of you all; and none of you have the like cause, considering how I am compelled by nature, being his majesty's poor and humble sister, most tenderly to love and pray for him, and unto this his realm (being born within the same) wish all wealth, and prosperity to God's honour. And if any judge of me the contrary for mine opinion's sake (as I trust none doth), I doubt not in the end, with God's help, to prove

(1) King Edward's Letter to bishop Ridley, and the six reasons above specified, with these last observations, were republished in London in 1641.—Ed.

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1550.

myself as true a natural and humble sister, as they of the contrary opinion, with all their devices and altering of laws, shall prove themselves true subjects; praying you my lord, and the rest of the council, no more to trouble and unquiet me with matters touching my conscience, wherein I am at a full point, with God's help, whatsoever shall happen to me; intending, with His grace, to trouble you little with any worldly suits, but to bestow the short time I think to live, in quietness, and pray for the king's majesty and all you; heartily wishing, that your proceedings may be to God's honour, the safeguard of the king's person, and quietness to the whole realm.

Moreover, whereas your desire is, that I should send my comptroller and Dr. Hopton unto you, by whom you would signify your minds more amply, to my contentation and honour; it is not unknown to you all, that the chief charge of my house resteth only upon the travails of my said comptroller, who hath not been absent from my house three whole days since the setting-up of the same, unless it were for my letters patent: so that if it were not for his continual diligence, I think my little portion would not have stretched so far. And my chaplain, by occasion of sickness, hath been long absent, and is not yet able to ride. Therefore, like as I cannot forbear my comptroller, and my priest is not able to journey, so shall I desire you my lord, and all the rest of the council, that, having any thing to be declared to me, except matters of religion, ye will either write your minds, or send some trusty person, with whom I shall be contented to talk, and make answer as the case shall require: assuring you, that if any servant of mine, either man or woman, or chaplain, should move me to the contrary of my conscience, I would not give ear to them, nor suffer the like to be used within my house. And thus, my lord, with my hearty commendations, I wish unto you and the rest as well to do as myself.

From my house at Kenninghall, the 22d of June, 1549.

Your assured friend to my power,

Mary.

A Remembrance of certain Matters appointed by the Council to be declared by Dr. Hopton to the Lady Mary's Grace, for Answer to her former Letter; which said Hopton was, after she came to her reign, Bishop of Norwich.

Her grace writeth, 'that the law made by parliament is not worthy the name of law;' meaning the statute for the communion, etc.

You shall say thereto:—'The fault is great in any subject to disallow a law of the king, a law of the realm; by long study, free disputation, and uniform determination of the whole clergy, consulted, debated, and concluded: but the greater fault is in her grace, being next of any subject in blood and estate to the king's majesty her brother and good lord, to give example of disobedience, being a subject, or of unnaturalness, being his majesty's sister, or of neglecting the power of the crown, she being by limitation of law next to the same. The example of disobedience is most perilous in this time, as she can well understand: her unkindness resteth in the king's own acceptation: the neglecting of the power, before God is answerable, and in the world toucheth her honour.

'The executors,' she saith, 'were sworn to King Henry the Eighth's laws.'

You shall say:—'It is true, they were sworn to him, his laws, his heirs, and successors; which oath they duly observe, and should offend if they should break any one jot of the king's laws now being, without a dispensation by a law. And herein her grace shall understand, that it is no law, which is dissolved by a law: neither may her grace do that injury to the king's majesty her brother, to diminish his authority so far, that he may not, by the free consent of a parliament, amend and alter unprofitable laws, for the number of inconveniences which hereof might follow; as her grace with consideration may well perceive.'

'Offence taken by the sending for her officers.'

You shall say:—'If her grace consider the first letters of that purpose,

they will declare our good meaning to her, and her gentle usage, requiring the presence of her trusty servant, because she might give more trust to our message.'

Edward VI.

A.D. 1549 to 1550.

'Her house is her flock.'

You shall say:—'It is well liked, her grace should have her house or flock, but not exempt from the king's orders: neither may there be a flock of the king's subjects, but such as will hear and follow the voice of the king their shepherd. God disalloweth it; law and reason forbiddeth it; policy abhorreth it; and her honour may not require it.'

'Her grace deferreth her obedience to the king's laws, until his majesty be of sufficient years.'

You shall say:—'She could in no one saying more disallow the authority of the king, the majesty of his crown, and the state of the realm. For herein she suspendeth his kingdom, and esteemeth his authority by his age, not by his right and title. Her grace must understand, he is a king by the ordinance of God, by descent of royal blood, not by the numbering of his years.'

'As a creature subject to mortality, he hath youth: and, by God's grace, shall have age; but, as a king, he hath no difference by days and years. The Scripture plainly declareth it, not only young children to have been kings by God's special ordinance, but also (which is to be noted) to have had best success in their reign, and the favour of God in their proceedings: yea, in their first years have they most purely reformed the church and state of religion. Therefore her grace hath no cause thus to diminish his majesty's power, and to make him, as it were, no king until she think him of sufficient years. Wherein how much his majesty may be justly offended, they be sorry to think.'

She saith, 'she is subject to none of the council.'

You shall say:—'If her grace understandeth it of us in that acceptation as we beprivate men, and not councillors sworn to the king's majesty, we acknowledge us not to be superiors; but, if she understand her writing of us as councillors and magistrates ordained by his majesty, her grace must be contented to think us of authority sufficient, by the reason of our office, to challenge a superiority; not to rule by private affection, but by God's providence; not to our estimation, but to the king's honour; and, finally, to increase the king's estate with our council, our dignity and vocation. And we think her grace will not forget the saying of Solomon, in the sixth chapter of the Book of Wisdom, to move a king to rule by council and wisdom, and to build his estate upon them. Wherefore her grace must be remembered, the king's majesty's politic body is not made only of his own royal material body, but of a council, by whom his majesty ruleth, directeth, and governeth his realm: in the place of which council her grace is not ignorant that we be set and placed. Wherefore the reputation she shall give us, she shall give it to the king's honour; and that which she shall take from us, she shall take from his majesty, whose majesty, we think, if it might take increase or honour, as God giveth a daily abundance, it should receive rather increase from her, being his majesty's sister, than thus any abatement.

'She received Master Arundel, and Master Englefield.'

You shall say:—'All the council remembereth well her refusal to have her house charged with any more number, alleging the small proportion for her charge; and therefore it was thought to come more for their earnest suit, meaning to be privileged subjects from the law, than of her desire, who refused very often to increase her number. Their cautel the king might not suffer, to have his law disobeyed; their countries where they should serve, by them to be destitute; and, having been servants to his majesty, the circumstances of their departure might in no wise be liked.'

'She refused to hear any man to the contrary of her opinion.'

You shall say:—'It is an answer more of will than of reason; and, there-

Edward VI. A.D. 1549 to 1550.

fore, her grace must be admonished neither to trust her own opinion without ground, neither to mislike all others having ground. If hers be good, it is no hurt if she hear the worse: if it be ill, she shall do well to hear the better: she shall not alter by hearing, but by hearing the better. And because she shall not mislike the offer, let her grace name of learned men whom she will; and further than they by learning shall prove, she shall not be moved. And so far, it is thought, reason will compel her grace.'

In the end ye shall say:—'The good wills and minds of the lord protector and the council are so much toward her grace, that howsoever she would herself in honour be esteemed, howsoever in conscience quieted, yea howsoever benefited, saving their duties to God and the king, they would as much; and in their doings (if it please her to prove it) will be nothing inferiors; assuring her grace, that they be most sorry that she is thus disquieted: and, if necessity of the cause, the honour and surety of the king, and the judgment of their own conscience moved them not, thus far they would not have attempted. But their trust is, her grace will allow them the more, when she shall perceive the cause, and think no less could be done by them, where she provoked them so far.'

These and other of like credit, more amply committed to you in speech, you shall declare to her grace; and further, declare your conscience for the allowing of the manner of the Communion,[1] as ye have plainly professed it before us.

At Richmond the 14th[2] of June, 1549.

A Letter of the Lady Mary, to the Lord Protector and the rest of the Council, the 27th of June, 1549.

My lord, I perceive by letters directed from you, and other of the king's majesty's council, to my comptroller, my chaplain, and Master Englefield my servant, that ye will them, upon their allegiance, to repair immediately to you; wherein you gave me evident cause to change mine accustomed opinion of you all: that is to say, to think you careful of my quietness and well doing, considering how earnestly I writ to you for the stay of two of them, and that not without very just cause. And as for Master Englefield, as soon as he could have prepared himself, having his horses so far off, although ye had not sent at this present, he would have performed your request. But indeed I am much deceived; for I suppose ye would have weighed and taken my letters in better part, if ye have received them; if not, to have tarried my answer: and I not to have found so little friendship, nor to have been used so ungently at your hands, in sending for him upon whose travail doth rest the whole charge of my whole house, as I writ unto you lately; whose absence therefore shall be to me and my said house no little displeasure, especially being so far off. And beside all this, I do greatly marvel to see your writing for him and the other two, with such extreme words of peril to ensue towards them in case they did not come, and specially for my comptroller, whose charge is so great, that he cannot suddenly be meet to take a journey: which words, in mine opinion, needed not (unless it were in some very just and necessary cause) to any of mine, who taketh myself subject to none of you all; not doubting but, if the king's majesty my brother were of sufficient years to perceive this matter, and knew what lack and incommodity the absence of my said officer should be to my house, his grace would have been so good a lord to me, as to have suffered him to remain where his charge is. Notwithstanding, I have willed him at this time to repair to you, commanding him to return forthwith, for my very necessity's sake; and I have given the like leave to my poor sick priest also, whose life I think undoubtedly shall be put to hazard by the wet and cold painful travail of this journey. But, for my part, I assure you all, that since the king my father, your late master and very good lord, died, I never took you for other than my friends: but in this it appeareth contrary. And saving I thought verily that

(1) Note Dr. Hopton's allowance of the Communion in those days.
(2) Judging by the documents before and after, this date is likely to have been June the 24th. — Ed.

my former letters should have discharged this matter, I would not have troubled myself with writing the same; not doubting but you do consider, that none of you all would have been contented to have been thus used at your inferiors' hands; I mean, to have had your officer, or any of your servants, sent for by force (as ye make it), knowing no just cause why. Wherefore I do not a little marvel, that ye had not this remembrance towards me, who always have willed and wished you as well to do as myself; and both have prayed and will pray for you all, as heartily as for mine own soul, to Almighty God, whom I humbly beseech to illuminate you all with his holy Spirit; to whose mercy, also, I am at a full point to commit myself, whatsoever shall become of my body. And thus, with my commendations, I bid you all farewell.

From my house at Kenninghall, the 27th of June.

Your friend, to my power, though you give me contrary cause,

Mary.

A Copy of the King's Majesty's Letter to the Lady Mary, the 24th of January, 1550.

Right dear, &c.—We have seen by letters of our council, sent to you of late, and by your answer thereunto, touching the cause of certain your chaplains having offended our laws in saying of mass, their good and convenient advices, and your fruitless and indirect mistaking of the same: which thing moveth us to write at this time, that where good counsel from our council hath not prevailed, yet the like from ourself may have due regard. The whole matter we perceive rests in this, that you, being our next sister, in whom above all other our subjects, nature should place the most estimation of us, would, wittingly and purposely, not only break our laws yourself, but also have others maintained to do the same. Truly, howsoever the matter may have other terms, other sense it hath not; and, although by your letter it seemeth you challenge a promise made, that so you may do; yet, surely, we know the promise had no such meaning, neither to maintain, nor to continue your fault. You must know this, sister; you were at the first time, when the law was made, borne withal, not because you should disobey the law, but that, by our lenity and love showed, you might learn to obey it. We made a difference of you from our other subjects, not for that all others should follow our laws, and you only gainstand them, but that you might be brought as far forward by love, as others were by duty. The error wherein you would rest is double, and every part so great, that neither for the love of God we can well suffer it unredressed, neither for the love of you, can we but wish it amended. First, you retain a fashion in honouring of God, who, indeed, thereby is dishonoured: and therein err you in zeal for lack of science; and, having science offered you, you refuse it, not because it is science, we trust (for then should we despair of you), but because you think it is none. And, surely, in this we can best reprehend you, learning daily in our school, that therefore we learn things because we know them not, and are not allowed to say, We know not those things, or, We think they be not good, and therefore we will not learn them. Sister, you must think nothing can commend you more than reason, according to the which you have been hitherto used; and now, for very love, we will offer you reason ourself. If you are persuaded in conscience to the contrary of our laws, you or your persuaders shall freely be suffered to say what you or they can, so that you will hear what shall be said again.

In this point, you see, I pretermit my estate, and talk with you as your brother rather than your supreme lord and king. Thus should you, being as well content to hear of your opinions as you are content to hold them, in the end thank us as much for bringing you to light, as now, before you learn, you are loth to see it. And if thus much reason with our natural love shall not move you, whereof we would be sorry, then must we consider the other part of your fault, which is the offence of our laws. For though, hitherto, it hath been suffered in hope of amendment, yet now, if hope be none, how shall there be sufferance? Our charge is to have the same care over every man's estate, that every man ought to have over his own. And in your own house as you would be loth openly to suffer one of your servants, being next you, most manifestly to break your orders, so must you think in our state it shall

Edward VI. A. D. 1550.

miscontent us to permit you, so great a subject, not to keep our laws. Your nearness to us in blood, your greatness in estate, the condition of this time, maketh your fault the greater. The example is unnatural, that our sister should do less for us than our other subjects. The cause is slanderous, for so great a personage to forsake our majesty.

Finally, it is too dangerous in a troublesome commonwealth, to make the people to mistrust a faction. We be young, you think, in years to consider this. Truly, sister, it troubleth us somewhat the more; for it may be, this evil, suffered in you, is greater than we can discern; and so we be as much troubled because we doubt whether we see the whole peril, as we be for that we see. Indeed we will presume no further than our years give us; that is, in doubtful things not to trust our own wits, but in evident things we think there is no difference. If you should not do as other subjects do, were it not evident that therein you should not be a good subject? Were it not plain, in that case, that you should use us not as your sovereign lord? Again, if you should be suffered to break our laws manifestly, were it not a comfort for others so to do? and if our law be broken, and contemned, where is our estate? These things be so plain, as we could almost have judged them six years past; and indeed it grieveth us not a little, that you, who should be our most comfort in our young years, should alone give us occasion of discomfort. Think you not but it must needs trouble us? and if you can so think, you ought, sister, to amend it. Our natural love towards you, without doubt, is great; and therefore diminish it not yourself. If you will be loved by us, show some token of love towards us, that we say not with the Psalm, 'Mala pro bonis mihi reddiderunt.' If you will be believed, when by writing you confess us to be your sovereign lord, hear that which in other things is often alleged, 'Ostende mihi fidem tuam ex factis tuis.'

In the answer of your letter to our council, we remember you stick only upon one reason divided into two parts. The first is, that in matters of religion your faith is none other, but as all Christendom doth confess. The next is, you will assent to no alteration; but wish things to stand as they did at our father's death. If you mean, in the first, to rule your faith by that you call Christendom, and not by this church of England wherein you are a member, you shall err in many points, such as our father and yours would not have suffered, whatsoever you say of the standing-still of things as they were left by him. The matter is too plain to write what may be gathered (and too perilous) to be concluded against you. For the other part, if you like no alteration by our authority, of things not altered by our father, you should do us too great an injury. We take ourself, for the administration of this our commonwealth, to have the same authority which our father had, diminished in no part, neither by example of Scripture, nor by universal laws. The stories of Scripture be so plenteous, as almost the best ordered church of the Israelites was by kings younger than we be. Well, sister, we will not in these things interpret your writings to the worst; Love and Charity shall expound them. But yet you must not thereby be bold to offend in that whereunto, you see, your writings might be wrested. To conclude; we exhort you to do your duty, and if any impediment be thereof, not of purpose, you shall find a brotherly affection in us to remedy the same. To teach and instruct you, we will give order; and so procure you to do your duty willingly, that you shall perceive you are not used merely as a subject, and only commanded, but as a daughter, a scholar, and a sister, taught, instructed and persuaded: for the which cause, when you have considered this our letter, we pray you that we may shortly hear from you.

The Lady Mary, to the King's most excellent Majesty, February 3d, 1550.

My duty most humbly remembered to your majesty, please it the same to understand that I have received your letters by Master Throgmorton this bearer: the contents whereof do more trouble me than any bodily sickness, though it were even to the death; and the rather for that your highness doth charge me to be both a breaker of your laws, and also an encourager of others to do the like. I most humbly beseech your majesty to think, that I never intended towards you otherwise than my duty compelleth me unto: that is, to wish your

highness all honour and prosperity, for the which I do and daily shall pray. And whereas it pleaseth your majesty to write, that I make a challenge of a promise made otherwise than it was meant, the truth is, the promise could not be denied before your majesty's presence at my last waiting upon the same. And although, I confess, the ground of faith (whereunto I take reason to be but an handmaid), and my conscience also, hath and do agree with the same, yet, touching that promise, for so much as it hath pleased your majesty (God knoweth by whose persuasion) to write, 'it was not so meant;' I shall most humbly desire your highness to examine the truth thereof indifferently, and either will your majesty's ambassador, now being with the emperor, to inquire of the same, if it be your pleasure to have him move it, or else to cause it to be demanded of the emperor's ambassador here, although he were not within this realm at that time. And thereby it shall appear, that in this point I have not offended your majesty, if it may please you so to accept it. And albeit your majesty (God be praised) hath at these years as much understanding and more, than is commonly seen in that age, yet, considering you do hear but one part (your highness not offended), I would be a suitor to the same, that till you were grown to more perfect years, it might stand with your pleasure to stay in matters touching the soul. So, undoubtedly, should your majesty know more, and hear others, and nevertheless be at your liberty, and do your will and pleasure. And whatsoever your majesty hath conceived of me, either by letters to your council, or by their report, I trust in the end to prove myself as true to you, as any subject within your realm; and will by no means stand in argument with your majesty, but in most humble wise beseech you, even for God's sake, to suffer me, as your highness hath done hitherto. It is for no worldly respect I desire it, God is my judge; but rather than to offend my conscience, I would desire of God to lose all that I have, and also my life; and, nevertheless, live and die your humble sister and true subject. Thus, after pardon craved of your majesty for my rude and bold writing, I beseech Almighty God to preserve the same in honour, with as long continuance of health and life, as ever had noble king.

From Beaulieu, the third of February.

Your majesty's most humble and unworthy sister,

Mary.

The Lady Mary to the Lords of the Council, the 4th of December, 1550.

My lords, your letters dated the second of this present were delivered unto me the third of the same: and whereas you write that two of my chaplains, doctors Mallet and Barkly, be indicted for certain things committed by them contrary to the king's majesty's laws, and process for them also awarded forth, and delivered to the sheriff of Essex; I cannot but marvel they should be so used, considering it is done, as I take it, for saying mass within my house: and although I have been, of myself, minded always, and yet am, to have mass within my house; yet I have been advertised that the emperor's majesty hath been promised, that I should never be unquieted nor troubled for my so doing, as some of you, my lords, can witness. Furthermore, besides the declaration of the said promise made to me by the emperor's ambassador that dead is, from his majesty, to put my chaplains more out of fear, when I was the last year with the king's majesty my brother, that question was then moved, and could not be denied, but affirmed by some of you before his majesty to be true; being not so much unquieted for the trouble of my said chaplains, as I am to think how this matter may be taken, the promise to such a person being no better regarded. And for mine own part, I thought full little to have received such ungentleness at your hands, having always (God is my judge) wished unto the whole number of you as to myself; and have refused to trouble you, or to crave any thing at your hands, but your good will and friendship, which very slenderly appeareth in this matter. Notwithstanding, to be plain with you, howsoever ye shall use me or mine, with God's help I will never vary from mine opinion touching my faith. And if ye, or any of you, bear me the less good will for that matter, or faint in your friendship towards me only for the same, I must and will be contented, trusting that God will in the end show his mercy upon me; assuring you, I would rather refuse the friendship of all the world (whereunto I trust I shall never be driven), than forsake any point of my faith. I am not without

Edward VI. A. D. 1550.

some hope that ye will stay this matter, not enforcing the rigour of the law against my chaplains. The one of them was not in my house these four months, and Dr. Mallet, having my license, is either at Windsor, or at his benefice, who, as I have heard, was indicted for saying mass out of my house; which was not true. But indeed, the day before my removing from Woodham Walter, my whole household in effect being gone to Newhall, he said mass there by mine appointment. I see and hear of divers that do not obey your statutes and proclamations, and nevertheless escape without punishment. Be ye judges if I be well used, to have mine punished by rigour of a law, besides all the false bruits that ye have suffered to be spoken of me. Moreover, my chaplain Dr. Mallet, besides mine own commandment, was not ignorant of the promise made to the emperor, which did put him out of fear. I doubt not, therefore, but ye will consider it as, by that occasion, no piece of friendship be taken away, nor I to have cause but to bear you my good will, as I have done heretofore: for albeit I could do you little pleasure, yet of my friendship ye were sure, as, if it had lien in my power, ye should have well known. Thus, with my hearty commendations to you all, I pray Almighty God to send you as much of his grace, as I would wish to mine own soul.

From Beaulieu, the 4th of December.

Your assured friend to my power,

Mary.

The Council to the Lady Mary, the 25th of December, 1550.

After our due commendations to your grace. By your letters to us, as an answer to ours, touching certain process against two of your chaplains, for saying mass against the law and statute of the realm, we perceive both the offence of your chaplains is otherwise excused than the matter may bear, and also our good wills otherwise misconstrued than we looked for. And for the first part, whereas your greatest reason to excuse the offence of a law, is a promise made to the emperor's majesty, whereof you write, that first some of us be witnesses; next, that the ambassador for the emperor declared the same unto you; and lastly, that the same promise was affirmed to you before the king's majesty at your last being with him: we have thought convenient to repeat the matter from the beginning, as it hath hitherto proceeded; whereupon it shall appear how evidently your chaplains have offended the law, and you also mistaken the promise. The promise is but one in itself, but by times thrice as you say repeated: of which times, the first is chiefly to be considered, for upon that do the other two depend.

It is very true the emperor made request to the king's majesty, that you might have liberty to use the mass in your house, and to be as it were exempted from the danger of the statute: to which request divers good reasons were made, containing the discommodities that should follow the grant thereof, and means devised rather to persuade you to obey and receive the general and godly reformation of the whole realm, than by a private fancy to prejudice a common order. But yet, upon earnest desire and entreaty made in the emperor's name, thus much was granted, that for his sake and your own also, it should be suffered and winked at, if you had the private mass used in your own closet for a season, until you might be better informed, whereof there was some hope, having only with you a few of your own chamber, so that for all the rest of your household the service of the realm should be used. and none other: further than this the promise exceeded not. And, truly, such a matter it then seemed to some of us, as indeed it was, that well might the emperor have required of the king's majesty a matter of more profit, but of more weight or difficulty to be granted, his majesty could not. After this grant in words, there was, by the ambassador now dead, oftentimes desired some writing, as a testimony of the same. But that was ever denied; not because we meant to break the promise, as it was made, but because there was daily hope of your reformation.

Now to the second time: you say, the emperor's ambassador's declaration made mention of a promise to you. It might well so be; but, we think, no otherwise than as it appeareth before written. If it were his fault, it was to declare more than he heard: ours it may not be, that deny not what we have said. As for the last time, when ye were with the king's majesty, the same some of us (whom by these words your letter noteth) do well remember, that no other

thing was granted to you in this matter, but as the first promise was made to the emperor; at which time you had too many arguments made to approve the proceedings of the king's majesty, and to condemn the abuse of the mass, to think, that where the private mass was judged ungodly, there you should have authority and ground to use it. About the same time, the ambassador made means to have some testimony of the promise under the great seal; and that not being heard, to have it but by a letter; and that, also, was not only denied, but divers good reasons alleged, that he should think it denied with reason, and so to be contented with an answer. It was told him, in reducing that which was commonly called the mass to the order of the primitive church, and the institution of Christ, the king's majesty and his whole realm had their consciences well quieted; against the which if any thing should be willingly committed, the same should be taken as an offence to God, and a very sin against a truth known. Wherefore, to license by open act such a deed, in the conscience of the king's majesty and his realm, were even a sin against God. The most that might herein be borne, was, that the king's majesty might, upon hope of your grace's reconciliation, suspend the execution of his law, so that you would use the license as it was first granted. Whatsoever the ambassador hath said to others, he had no other manner of grant from us; nor, having it thus granted, could allege any reason against it.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1550.

And whereas in your letter your grace noteth us as breakers of the promise made to the emperor, it shall appear who hath broken the promise: whether we, that have suffered more than we licensed; or you, that have transgressed that which was granted. Now, therefore, we pray your grace confer the doings of your chaplains with every point of the premises; and, if the same cannot be excused, then think also how long the law hath been spared. If it prick our consciences somewhat, that so much should be used as by the promise you may claim, how much more should it grieve us to license more than you can claim? And yet could we be content to bear a great burden to satisfy your grace, if the burden pressed not our consciences so much as it doth; whereof we must say as the apostle said, 'Gloriatio nostra est hæc, testimonium conscientiæ nostræ.'

For the other part of your grace's letter, by the which we see you misconstrue our good wills in writing to you, howsoever the law had proceeded against your chaplains, our order in sending to you was to be liked, and therein, truly, had we special regard of your grace's degree and estate. And, because the law itself respecteth not persons, we thought to give respect to you, first signifying to you what the law required, before it should be executed; that, being warned, your grace might either think no strangeness in the execution, or for an example of obedience cause it to be executed yourself. Others we see perplexed with suddenness of matters: your grace we would not have unwarned, to think any thing done on a sudden. Truly we thought it more commendable for your grace to help the execution of a law, than to help the offence of one condemned by law. And in giving you knowledge what the king's laws required, we looked for help in the execution, by you the king's majesty's sister. The greater personage your grace is, the nigher to the king, so much more ought your example to further his laws: for which cause it hath been called a good commonwealth where the people obeyed the higher estates, and they obeyed the laws. As nature hath joined your grace to the king's majesty to love him most entirely, so hath reason and law subdued you to obey him willingly. The one and the other we doubt not but your grace remembereth: and as they both be joined together in you his majesty's sister, so, we trust, you will not sever them; for indeed your grace cannot love him as your brother, but you must obey his majesty as his subject.

Example of your obedience and reverence of his majesty's laws, is instead of a good preacher to a great number of his majesty's subjects, who, if they may see in you negligence of his majesty, or his laws, will not fail, but follow on hardly; and then their fault is not their own but yours, by example; and so may the king's majesty, when he shall come to further judgment, impute the fault of divers evil people (which thing God forbid) to the sufferance of your grace's doings. And therefore we most earnestly, from the depth of our hearts, desire it, that as nature hath set your grace nigh his majesty by blood, so your love and zeal to his majesty will further his estate by obedience.

Edward VI.
A. D. 1550.

In the end of your letter two things be touched, which we cannot pretermit; the one is, you seem to charge us, with permission of men to break laws and statutes. We think indeed it is too true, that laws and proclamations be broken daily, the more pity it is; but, that we permit them, we would be sorry to have it proved. The other is, that we have suffered bruits to be spoken of you: and that also must be answered as the other. It is pity to see men so evil, as whom they may touch with tales and infamies they care not, so they miss not the best. Such is the boldness of people, that neither we can fully bridle them to raise tales of you, nor of ourselves. And yet, whensoever any certain person may be gotten, to be charged with any such, we never leave them unpunished. Indeed the best way is, both for your grace, and us also, that when we cannot find and punish the offender, let us say as he said that was evil spoken of, 'Yet will I so live, as no credit shall be given to my backbiters.' Certainly, if we had credited any evil tale of your grace, we would friendly have admonished you thereof; and so also proceeded, as either the tale-tellers should have been punished, or else to have proved their tales. And, therefore, we pray your grace to think no unkindness in us, that any evil bruits have been spread by evil men; but think rather well of us, that, howsoever they were spread, we believed them not.

Hitherto your grace seeth we have written, somewhat at length, of the promise made to you, and our meanings in our former writings. And now, for the latter part of our letter, we will, as briefly as we can, remember to you two special matters, whereof the one might suffice to reform your proceedings; and both together, well considered, we trust shall do your grace much good. The one is, the truth of that you be desired to follow; the other is, the commodity that thereby shall ensue. They both make a just commandment, and, because of the first the latter followeth, that first shall be entreated of. We hear say, your grace refuseth to hear any thing reasoned contrary to your old determination; wherein you may make your opinion suspicious, as that you are afraid to be dissuaded. If your faith in things be of God, it may abide any storm or weather; if it be but of sand, you do best to eschew the weather. That which we profess, hath the foundation in Scriptures upon plain texts and no glosses, the confirmation thereof by the use in the primitive church, not in this latter corrupted. And indeed our greatest change is not in the substance of our faith; no, nor in any one article of our creed; only the difference is, that we use the ceremonies, observations, and sacraments of our religion, as the apostles and first fathers in the primitive church did. You use the same that corruption of time brought in, and very barbarousness and ignorance nourished; and seem to hold for custom against the truth, and we for truth against custom.

Your grace, in one or two places of your letter, seemeth to speak earnestly in the maintenance of your faith, and therein (so that your faith be according to the Scriptures) we must have the like opinion. The saying is very good, if the faith be sound. But, if every opinion your grace hath (we cannot tell how conceived), shall be your faith, you may be much better instructed. St. Paul teacheth you, that faith is by the word of God; and it was a true saying of him that said, 'Non qui cuivis credit fidelis est, sed qui Deo.' For where hath your grace ground for such a faith, to think common prayer in the English church should not be in English, that images of God should be set up in the church, or that the sacrament of Christ's body and blood should be offered by the priests for the dead; yea, or that it should be otherwise used than by the Scripture it was instituted? Though you have no Scripture to maintain them, we have evident Scriptures to forbid them. And although fault may be found, that of late baptism hath been used in your grace's house, contrary to law, and utterly without license, yet is it the worse, that contrary to the primitive church, it hath been in an unknown tongue, by the which the best part of the sacrament is unused, and as it were a blind bargain made by the godfathers in a matter of illumination: and thus in the rest of the things in which your grace differeth from the common order of the realm, where have you ground or reason but from custom, which, oftentimes, is mother of many errors? And although in civil things she may be followed, where she causeth quiet, yet not in religious, where she excuseth no error, as in Leviticus it is said, 'Ye shall not do after the custom of Egypt, wherein ye dwelled, nor after the custom of Canaan; no,

you shall not walk in their laws, for I am your Lord God, keep you my laws and commandments.' *Edward VI.*

The points wherein your grace differeth in your faith, as you call it, may be showed where, when, how, and by whom, they began, since the gospel was preached, the church was planted, and the apostles martyred; at which time your faith depended upon the Scripture, and otherwise there was no necessity to believe. For, as Jerome saith, 'Quod de scripturis non habet auctoritatem, eâdem facilitate contemnitur quâ probatur.' And because your grace, as we hear say, readeth sometimes the doctors, we may allege unto you two or three places of other principal doctors. Augustine saith, 'Cum Dominus tacuerit, quis nostrûm dicat, illa vel illa sunt: aut si dicere audeat, unde probat?' And Chrysostome's saying is not unlike: 'Multi, inquit, jactant Spiritum Sanctum; sed qui propria loquuntur, falsò illum prætendunt.' And if you will take their meaning plain, read the fifth chapter of the first book of 'Ecclesiastica historia;' and where Constantine had these words in the council, 'In disputationibus, inquit, rerum divinarum habetur præscriptis Spiritûs Sancti doctrina; evangelici et apostolici libri cum prophetarum oraculis plene nobis ostendunt sensum Numinis; proinde, discordiâ positâ, sumamus ex verbis Spiritûs quæstionum explicationes.' What plainer sayings may be than these, to answer your fault? Again too, infinite it were to remember your grace of the great number of particular errors (crept into the church), whereupon you make your foundation. The fables of false miracles and lewd pilgrimages may somewhat teach you. Only this we pray your grace to remember with yourself, the two words that the Father said of his Son Jesus Christ, 'Ipsum audite.' A. D. 1550.

To the second point, of the commodity that may follow your obedience, we, having by the king's authority in this behalf, the governance of this realm, must herein be plain with your grace. And if our speech offend in the same, then must your grace think it is our charge and office to find fault where it is, and our part to amend it as we may. Most sorry truly we be, that your grace, whom we should otherwise honour for the king's majesty's sake, by your own deeds should provoke us to offend you; we do perceive great discommodity to the realm by your grace's singularity (if it may be so named) in opinion; and in one respect, as you are sister to our sovereign lord and master, we most humbly beseech your grace to show your affection continually towards him, as becometh a sister. And as your grace is a subject, and we councillors to his majesty's estate, we let you know that the example of your grace's opinion hindereth the good weal of this realm, which thing we think is not unknown to you; and, if it be, we let your grace know it is too true. For God's sake we beseech your grace, let nature set before your eyes the young age of the king your brother: let reason tell you the looseness of the people. How then can you, without a wailing heart, think that you should be the cause of disturbance? If your grace see the king, being the ordinary ruler under God, not only of all others in the realm, but of you also, call his people by ordinary laws one way, with what heart can your grace stay yourself without following; much worse to stay others that would follow their sovereign lord? Can it be a love in you to forsake him, his rule and law, and take a private way by yourself? if it be not love, it is much less obedience. If your grace think the king's majesty to be over his people, as the head in a man's body is over the rest, not only in place but in dignity and science, how can you, being a principal member in the same body, keep the nourishment from the head?

We pray your grace most earnestly, think this thing so much grieveth us, as for our private affection and good wills to you though we should dissemble, yet for our public office we cannot but plainly inform your grace, not doubting but that your wisdom can judge what our office is, and, if it were not your own cause, we know your grace by wisdom could charge us, if we suffered the like in any other. Truly every one of us apart honoureth your grace for our master's sake, but when we join together in public service, as in this writing we do, we judge it not tolerable, to know disorder, to see the cause, and leave it unamended. For though we would be negligent, the world would judge us. And therefore we do altogether eftsoons require your grace, in the king's majesty's name, that if any of your two chaplains, Mallet or Barkley, be returned, or as soon as any of them shall return to your grace's house, the same may be, by your grace's commandment or order, sent and delivered to the sheriff of Essex,

Edward VI. A. D. 1550.

who hath commandment from the king's majesty, by order of the law and of his crown, to attach them; or, if that condition shall not like your grace, yet that then he may be warned from your grace's house, and not kept there, to be as it were defended from the power of the law. Which thing we think surely neither your grace will mean, nor any of your council assent thereto.

And so, to make an end of our letter, being long for the matter, and hitherto deferred for our great business, we trust your grace first seeth how the usage of your chaplains differeth from the manner of our license, and what good intent moved us to write to you in our former letters; lastly, that the things whereunto the king and the whole realm hath consented, be not only lawful and just by the policy of the realm, but also just and godly by the laws of God. So that if we, which have charge under the king, should willingly consent to the open breach of them, we could neither discharge ourselves to the king for our duties, neither to God for our conscience; the consideration of which things we pray Almighty God, by his holy Spirit, to lay in the bottom of your heart, and thereupon to build such a profession in you, as both God may have his true honour, the king his due obedience, the realm concord, and we most comfort. For all the which we do heartily pray, and therewith, for the continuance of your grace's health to your heart's desire.

From Winchester, the 25th of December, 1550.

The Lady Mary to the Lords of the Council, the 2d of May, 1551.

My lords, after my hearty commendations to you, although both I have been, and also am, loth to trouble you with my letters, yet nevertheless the news which I have lately heard touching my chaplain, Dr. Mallet, forceth me thereunto at this present; for I hear, by credible report, that you have committed him to the Tower, which news seems to me very strange. Notwithstanding I thought it good by these to desire you to advertise me what is the cause of his imprisonment, assuring you I would be sorry that any of mine should deserve the like punishment, and there is no creature within the king's majesty's realm would more lament, that any belonging to them should give just cause so to be used, than I would do; who would have thought much friendship in you, if you had given me knowledge wherein my said chaplain had offended, before you had ministered such punishment unto him, eftsoons requiring you to let me know by this bearer the truth of the matter. And thus, thanking you for the short dispatch of the poor merchant of Portugal, I wish to you all no worse than to myself, and so bid you farewell.

From Beaulieu, the 2d of May.

Your friend to my power,
Mary.

The Council to the Lady Mary, the 6th of May, 1551.

After our humble commendations to your grace: we have received your letters of the second of this month, by the which your grace seemeth to take it strangely that Dr. Mallet is committed to prison, whereof we have the more marvel, seeing it hath been heretofore signified unto you, that he hath offended the king's majesty's laws, and was therefore condemned; and your grace hath been by our letters earnestly desired, that he might be delivered to the sheriff of Essex, according to the just process of the law, to the which all manner of persons of this realm be subject. Wherefore, howsoever it seem strange at this time to your grace, that he is imprisoned, it may seem more strange to others that he hath escaped it thus long; and, if the place, being the Tower, move your grace not to impute his imprisonment to his former offence, then we pray your grace to understand that indeed it is for the very same, and the place of the imprisonment to be at the king's majesty's pleasure, from whom, besides the charge of his laws, we have express commandment to do that we do. And so we beseech your grace to think of us, that neither in this case, nor in any other, we mean to do any other than minister; and see, as much as in our power lieth, justice ministered indifferently to all persons. Which doing, then we think your grace should not think it any lack of friendship that we did not certify you of the offence of your chaplain, although indeed the cause hath

already been certified. And we trust your grace, both of your natural nearness to the king's majesty, and your own good wisdom, will not mislike our ministry in the execution of the laws of the realm, and the pleasure of the king's majesty. So we wish to your grace, from the bottom of our heart, the grace of Almighty God, with the riches of his holy gifts.

Edward VI. A.D. 1550.

The Lady Mary to the Council, the 11th of May, 1551.

My lords, it appeareth by your letters of the sixth of this present, which I have received, that the imprisonment of my chaplain, Dr. Mallet, is for saying of mass; and that he was condemned for the same. Indeed, I have heard that he was indicted, but never condemned. Nevertheless I must needs confess and say, that he did it but by my commandment; and I said unto him, that none of my chaplains should be in danger of the law for saying mass in my house. And thereof to put him out of doubt, the emperor's ambassador that dead is, declared unto him before that time, how and after what sort the promise was made to his majesty, whereby it appeareth that the man hath not in that willingly offended. Wherefore I pray you to discharge him of imprisonment, and set him at liberty. If not, ye minister cause not only to him, but to others, to think that I have declared more than was true; which I would not wittingly do, to gain the whole world. And herein, as I have often said, the emperor's majesty can be best judge; and, to be plain with you, according to mine old custom, there is not one amongst the whole number of you all, that would be more loth to be found untrue of their word than I. And well I am assured, that none of you have found it in me. My lords, I pray you seek not so much my dishonour as to disprove my word, whereby it shall appear too plain, that you handle me not well. And if you have cause to charge my chaplain for this matter, lay that to me, and I will discharge it again, by your promise made to the emperor's majesty, which you cannot rightfully deny; wishing rather that you had refused it in the beginning, than, after such promise made, and to such a person, to seem to go from it; which, my lords, as your very friend I heartily desire you to consider, and to give me no cause to think you otherwise than my friends, considering I have always, and yet do (God is my judge) wish to you all no worse, neither in souls nor bodies, than to myself. And so, with my hearty commendations, I commit you all to God.

From Beaulieu, the 11th of May.

Your assured friend to my power,
Mary.

The Council to the Lady Mary, the 27th of May, 1551.

After our due commendations to your grace: although the same receiveth not answer so soon as perchance was looked for upon the return of your grace's servant, yet we doubt not but your grace, understanding that whereas we have matters of estate pertaining to the king's majesty in hand (as indeed we have had of late the deferring of the answer, in a matter being no greater), requireth to be borne withal. And touching the answer of your grace's letter for Dr. Mallet, we pray your grace to understand, that although you write, 'he was indicted, but not condemned,' and so seem to take exception at the manner of his imprisonment; yet, if they which informed your grace of that manner of reason in the law, were as well disposed to please your grace with truth, as the reason indeed is not true, then should they have told your grace, that, by the act of parliament, if either Mallet hath been convicted by the oaths of twelve men, or that the fact have been notorious, then the punishment doth follow justly. The truth of the one and the other way of conviction in this case is notorious enough, besides his flying from the process of the law.

And whereas your grace, to relieve him, would take the fault upon yourself, we are sorry to perceive your grace so ready to be a defence to one that the king's law doth condemn. Nevertheless, he is not punished because your grace bade him and willed him to do that which was an offence, but he is punished for doing it. And if we should not so see the king's laws executed without respect, it might appear that we have too much neglected our duty; and for that your grace taketh it as a discredit to yourself, that he should be punished

Edward VI. A.D. 1550.

for that you bade him do, alleging to him that you had authority so to do, and that so promise was made to the emperor, it hath been both written and said to your grace what is truth in that behalf. And howsoever that your grace pretendeth your license to have mass said before yourself, for a time of your reconciliation, it had been far out of reason to have desired that whosoever was your chaplain, might say mass in any house that was yours, when your grace's self was not there: for so is Dr. Mallet's offence, for saying mass at one of your houses where your grace was not, which thing as it was never granted, so do we not remember that ever it was demanded. The suit that hath been at any time made, either by the emperor's ambassador that dead is, or by him that now is, was never but in respect of your grace, and not to be taken that the emperor or his ambassador meant to privilege Master Doctor Mallet, or any other, to say mass out of your presence. Wherefore, as we do plainly write to your grace, so we do pray you to take it in good part, and think we be as ready to do our due reverence towards your grace in any thing we may do with our duty to our master, as any your grace may command; and of such wisdom we know your grace to be, that ye should judge the better of us, for that we be diligent to see the laws of the realm executed, wherein resteth the strength and safeguard of the king's majesty, our sovereign lord and master.

The Lady Mary to the Lords of the Council, the 21st of June, 1551.

My lords, although I received by my servant, this bearer (who lately delivered unto you my letters, wherein I desired to have my chaplain Dr. Mallet discharged of his imprisonment), your gentle message in general words, for the which I give you most hearty thanks; yet have I no knowledge whether you will set him at liberty or no; but I think that your weighty affairs at that time was the let and cause ye did not write, for else I doubt not but ye would have answered me. Wherefore not being satisfied, and understanding ye would gladly pleasure me, I thought good eftsoons to desire you that my said chaplain may have his liberty, wherein I assure you ye shall much gratify me, being not a little troubled that he is so long in prison without just cause, seeing the matter of his imprisonment is discharged by the promise made to the emperor's majesty, as in my late letter I declared unto you. Wherefore, my lords, I pray you let me have knowledge by this bearer, how ye will use me in this matter; wherein if ye do pleasure me accordingly, then shall it well appear that ye regard the aforesaid promise, and I will not forget your gentleness therein, God willing, but requite it to my power. And thus, with my hearty commendations to you all, I bid you farewell.

From Beaulieu, the 21st of June.

Your assured friend to my power,
Mary.

The Council to the Lady Mary, the 24th of June, 1551.

After our humble commendations to your grace, we have received your grace's letter of the 21st hereof, wherein is received the same request that in your former letters hath been made for the release of Dr. Mallet; and therein also your grace seemeth to have looked for the same answer of your former letter, the which indeed partly was omitted (as your grace conjectureth) by the reason of the king's majesty's affairs, wherewith we be thoroughly occupied: partly for that we had no other thing to answer than you had heretofore heard in the same matter. And therefore whereas your grace desireth a resolute answer, we assure the same we be right sorry for the matter, and that it should be your grace's chance to move it, sith we cannot, with our duties to the king's majesty, accomplish your desire. So necessary a thing it is to see the laws of the realm executed indifferently in all manner of persons, and in these cases of contempt of the ecclesiastical orders of this church of England, that the same may not, without the great displeasure of God, and the slander of the state, be neglected: and therefore your grace may please to understand, that we have not only punished your chaplain, but all such others whom we find in like case to have disobeyed the laws of the king's majesty.

And touching the excuse your grace oftentimes useth, of a promise made, we assure your grace, none of us all, nor any other of the council, as your grace hath been certified, hath ever been privy to any such promise, otherwise than

hath been written. And in that matter your grace had plain answer both by us of the king's majesty's council, at your being last in his majesty's presence; and therein also your grace might perceive his majesty's determination; whereunto we beseech your grace not only to incline yourself, but also to judge well of us that do addict ourselves to do our duties. And so also shall we be ready to do, with all our hearts, our due reverence toward your grace, whose preservation we commend to Almighty God with our prayer.

The Lady Mary to the King's Majesty, the 19th of August, 1551.

My duty most humbly remembered to your majesty, it may please the same to be advertised, that I have received by my servants your most honourable letters, the contents whereof do not a little trouble me; and so much the more, for that any of my said servants should move or attempt me in matters touching my soul, which I think the meanest subject within your highness's realm could evil bear at their servants' hands; having, for my part, utterly refused heretofore to talk with them in such matters, and of all other persons least regarded them therein, to whom I have declared what I think, as she which trusted that your majesty would have suffered me, your poor sister and beadswoman, to have used the accustomed mass, which the king, your father, and mine, with all his predecessors, did evermore use: wherein also I have been brought up from my youth. And thereunto my conscience doth not only bind me, which by no means will suffer me to think one thing, and do another, but also the promise made to the emperor by your majesty's council was an assurance to me, that in so doing I should not offend the laws, although they seem now to qualify and deny the thing. And at my last waiting upon your majesty, I was so bold to declare my mind and conscience in the same, and desired your highness, rather than you should constrain me to leave mass, to take away my life; whereunto your majesty made me a very gentle answer.

And now I most humbly beseech your highness, to give me leave to write what I think touching your majesty's letters. Indeed, they be signed with your own hand, and nevertheless (in mine opinion) not your majesty's in effect, because it is well known (as heretofore I have declared in the presence of your highness), that although, our Lord be praised, your majesty hath far more knowledge and greater gifts than others of your years, yet it is not possible that your highness can at these years be a judge in matters of religion; and therefore I take it that the matter in your letters proceedeth from such as do wish those things to take place which be most agreeable to themselves, by whose doings, your majesty not offended, I intend not to rule my conscience. And thus, without molesting your highness any further, I humbly beseech the same, even for God's sake, to bear with me as you have done; and not to think that by my doings or example any inconvenience might grow to your majesty or your realm; for I use it not after such sort: putting no doubt but in time to come, whether I live or die, your majesty shall perceive that mine intent is grounded upon a true love towards you, whose royal estate I beseech Almighty God long to continue, which is and shall be my daily prayer, according to my duty. And, after pardon craved of your majesty for these rude and bold letters, if neither at my humble suit, nor for the regard of the promise made to the emperor, that your highness will suffer and bear with me as you have done, till your majesty may be a judge herein yourself, and rightly understand their proceedings (of which your goodness yet I despair not): otherwise, rather than to offend God and my conscience, I offer my body at your will; and death shall be more welcome than life with a troubled conscience: most humbly beseeching your majesty to pardon my slowness in answering your letters; for mine old disease would not suffer me to write any sooner. And thus I pray Almighty God, to keep your majesty in all virtue and honour, with good health and long life to his pleasure.

From my poor house at Copped-Hall, the 19th of August.

Your majesty's most humble sister,

Mary.

The King's Answer to the Lady Mary, the 24th of August, 1551.

Right dear and right entirely beloved sister, we greet you well, and let you know that it grieveth us much to perceive no amendment in you, of that which

Edward VI. A.D. 1550.

we, for God's cause, your soul's health, our conscience, and the common tranquillity of our realm, have so long desired; assuring you that our sufferance hath much more demonstration of natural love, than contentation of our conscience, and foresight of our safety. Wherefore, although you give us occasion, as much almost as in you is, to diminish our natural love; yet we be loth to feel it decay, and mean not to be so careless of you as we be provoked.

And therefore, meaning your weal, and therewith joining a care not to be found guilty in our conscience to God, having cause to require forgiveness that we have so long, for respect of love toward you, omitted our bounden duty, we send at this present our right trusty and right well-beloved councillor, the lord Rich, chancellor of England, and our trusty and right well-beloved councillors, sir A. W., knight, comptroller of our household, and sir W. P., knight, one of our principal secretaries, in message to you, touching the order of your house, willing you to give them firm credit in those things they shall say to you from us, and do there in our name.

Given under our signet at our castle of Windsor, the 24th of August, in the fifth year of our reign.

A Copy of the King's Instructions, given to the said Lord Chancellor, and to Sir A. W. and W. P. Knights, etc., the 24th of August, 1551.

First, you the said lord chancellor, and your colleagues, shall make your immediate repair to the said lady Mary, giving to her his majesty's hearty commendations, and show the cause of your coming to be as followeth.

Although his majesty hath long time, as well by his majesty's own mouth and writing, as by his council, travailed that the said lady, being his sister, and a principal subject and member of his realm, should both be indeed, and also show herself, conformable to the laws and ordinances of the realm, in the profession and rites of religion, using all the gentle means of exhortation and advice that could be devised, to the intent that the reformation of the fault might willingly come of herself, as the expectation and desire of his majesty, and all good wise men was; yet, notwithstanding his majesty seeth that hitherto no manner of amendment hath followed, but, by the continuance of the error, and manifest breach of his laws, no small peril consequently may hap to the state of his realm; especially the sufferance of such a fault being directly to the dishonour of God, and the great offence of his majesty's conscience, and all other good men; and therefore of late, even with the consent and advice of the whole state of his privy council, and divers others of the nobility of his realm, whose names ye may repeat, if you think convenient, his majesty did resolutely determine it just, necessary, and expedient, that her grace should not, in any wise, use or maintain the private mass, or any other manner of service than such as, by the law of the realm, is authorized and allowed.

And, to participate this his majesty's determination to her grace, it was thought in respect of a favourable proceeding with herself, to have the same not only to be manifested by her own officers and servants, being most esteemed with her, but also to be executed with them in her house, as well for the quiet proceeding in the very matter, as for the less molesting of her grace with any message by strangers, in that time of her solitariness, wherein her grace was then, by reason of the late sickness. For which purpose her three servants, Rochester, Englefield, and Waldgrave, were sent in message in this manner: first, to deliver his majesty's letter to her; next to discharge the complaints of saying mass, and prohibiting all the household from hearing any. Wherein the king's majesty perceiveth upon their own report, being returned to the court, how negligently, and indeed how falsely, they have executed their commandment and charge; contrary to the duty of good subjects, and to the manifest contempt of his majesty. Insomuch as manifestly they have, before his majesty's council, refused to do that which pertaineth to every true faithful subject, to the offence so far of his majesty, and derogation of his authority, that in no wise the punishment of them could be forborne: and yet, in the manner of the punishment of them, his majesty and his council have such consideration and respect of her person, being his sister, that without doubt his

majesty could not with honour have had the like consideration or favour in the punishment of the dearest councillor he hath, if any of them had so offended. And therefore his majesty hath sent you three, not only to declare to her grace the causes of their sending thither of late his officers in message, but also the causes of their absence now presently; and further, in the default of the said officers, to take order, as well with her chaplains, as with the whole household, that his majesty's laws may be there observed. And in the communication with her, you shall take occasion to answer, in his majesty's name, certain points of her letter, sent now lately to his majesty; the copy of which letter is now also sent to you to peruse, for your better instruction how to proceed therein. First, her allegation of the promise made to the emperor, must be so answered, as the truth of the matter serveth, whereof every of you have heard sufficient testimony divers times in the council.

For her offering of her body at the king's will, rather than to change her conscience, it grieveth his majesty much, that her conscience is so settled in error, and yet no such thing is meant of his majesty, nor of any one of his council, once to hurt, or will evil to her body; but, even from the bottom of their heart, they wish to her 'mentem sanam in corpore sano.' And therefore ye shall do very well to persuade her grace, that this proceeding cometh only of the conscience the king hath to avoid the offence of God, and of necessary counsel and wisdom to see his laws in so weighty causes executed. Item, because it is thought that Rochester had the care and consideration of her grace's provision of household, and by his absence the same might be disordered or disfurnished, his majesty hath sent a trusty skilful man of his own household, to serve her grace for the time; who also is sufficiently instructed by Rochester of the state of her things of household. And if there shall be any thing lacking in the same, his majesty's pleasure is, that his servant shall advertise his own chief officers of household, to the intent, if the same may be supplied of any store here, or other where helped conveniently, her grace shall not lack.

Item, Having thus proceeded with her grace, as for the declarations of the causes of your coming, ye shall then cause to be called before you the chaplains, and all the rest of the household there present; and, in the king's majesty's name, most straitly forbid the chaplains either to say or use any mass or kind of service, other than by the law is authorized. And likewise ye shall forbid all the rest of the company to be present at any such prohibited service, upon pain to be most straitly punished, as worthily falling into the danger of the king's indignation; and alike charge to them all, that if any such offence shall be openly or secretly committed, they shall advertise some of his majesty's council. In the which clause ye shall use the reasons of their natural duty and allegiance that they owe as subjects to their sovereign lord, which derogateth all other earthly duties.

Item, If you shall find either any of the priests, or any other person, disobedient to this order, ye shall commit them forthwith to prison, as ye shall think convenient.

Item, Forasmuch as ye were privy to the determination at Richmond,[1] and there understood how necessary it was to have reformation herein; his majesty, upon the great confidence he hath in your wisdom and uprightness, remitteth to your discretion the manner of the proceeding herein, if any thing shall chance to arise there that in your opinions might, otherwise than according to these instructions, conduce you to the execution of your charge; which, in one sum, is to avoid the use of the private mass, and other unlawful service, in the house of the said lady Mary.

Item, Ye shall devise by some means as you may, to have understanding after your departure, how the order you give is observed, and as you shall judge fit, to certify hither.

E. S., W. W., I. W., I. B., W. N.,
W. H., F. H., I. G., T. D., W. C.

(1) A.D. 1550.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1547 to 1550.

Here followeth the History of the Doings and Attempts of Stephen Gardiner, late Bishop of Winchester,

WITH THE PROCESS OF HIS ARTICLES AND EXAMINATIONS UPON THE SAME.[1]

*Now[2] that we have discoursed the process, doings, and examinations of Edmund Bonner, followeth next in order the Story of Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester, in process not much unlike to the other; in stoutness alike arrogant and glorious; in craft and subtlety going before him, although the order and time of his examinations came behind him.

This Gardiner, having precept and commandment given unto him by the king to preach upon certain points which they had him in suspicion for, in much like sort as Bonner did before, showed himself, in performing the same, both stubborn and wilful, as was declared of the other before. Whereupon the next day after his sermon ensuing, being arrested by sir Anthony Wingfield and sir Ralph Sadler, knights, accompanied with a great number of the guard, he was committed to the Tower; from whence, at length, he was brought to Lambeth, to his examinations, whereof more shall be said hereafter (Christ permitting) at large. In the mean time to comprehend and collect all things in order, first, we will begin with the beginning of his deserved trouble: how he was committed to keep his house, and afterwards had to the Fleet; and what letters he wrote, as well to others as especially to the lord protector; whose answers again to the said bishop, as many as came to our hands, we have thereto annexed, by the example and copy of which his letters, here being expressed for thee, gentle reader, to peruse, thou mayest easily perceive and understand the proud and glorious spirit of that man, his stubborn contumacy against the king, and malicious rebellion against God and true religion, with sleight and craft enough to defend his peevish purposes.*

THE EXAMPLES AND COPIES OF CERTAIN LETTERS[3] WRITTEN BY STEPHEN GARDINER, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, CONTAINING DIVERS MATTERS NOT UNWORTHY TO BE KNOWN FOR THIS PRESENT HISTORY.

Winchester to the Lord Protector, in consequence of a Sermon of the Bishop of St. David's.

May it please your grace to understand, that I have noted some points in my lord of St. David's sermon,[4] which I send unto you herewith, whereby to declare unto you some part what I think, for the whole I cannot express. Somewhat I shall encumber you with my babbling, but he hath encumbered some friends more with his tattling. And alas, my lord! this is a piteous case, that having so much business as ye have, these inward disorders should be

(1) Although the first imprisonment of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in order of time was before the deprivation of bishop Bonner; yet, forsomuch as he was not deposed from his bishopric till the next or second year after, which was 1551, I have therefore driven off the history of the said bishop of Winchester to this present place.

(2) This history of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, is arranged as it is in the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, to which Foxe refers the reader in all his subsequent editions. See Edition 1563, p. 728.—Ed.

(3) To obviate much confusion in the dates, the editor has altered the arrangement of the following five letters.—Ed.

(4) He noteth Master Barlow. [He was consecrated bishop of St. Asaph in 1535, and in 1536 he was removed to St. Davids, which see he retained for about thirteen years: from thence he was translated first to Bath and Wells, and then to Winchester. See Godwin, p. 514.—Ed.]

added unto them, to the courage of such as would this realm any ways evil. For this is the thing they would desire, with hope thereby to disorder this realm, being now a time rather to repair that which needeth reparation, than to make any new buildings which they pretend. Quiet, tranquillity, unity, and concord shall maintain estimation:[1] the contrary may animate the enemy to attempt that which was never thought on, which God forbid.

There was never attempt of alteration made in England, but upon comfort of discord at home; and woe be to them that mind it! If my lord of St. David's, or such others, have their head encumbered with any new platform, I would wish they were commanded, between this and the king's majesty's full age, to draw the plat, diligently to hew the stones, dig the sand, and chop the chalk, in the unseasonable time of building; and, when the king's majesty cometh to full age, to present their labours to him; and, in the mean time, not to disturb the state of the realm,[2] whereof your grace is protector; but that you may, in every part of religion, laws, lands, and decrees (which four contain the state), deliver the same unto our sovereign lord, according unto the trust you be put in; which shall be much to your honour, and as all honest men wish and desire: to which desired effect there can be nothing so noisome and contrarious as trouble and disquiet. Wherein your grace shall be specially troubled, as on whose shoulders all the weight lieth; and whatsoever shall happen amiss by the faults of others, shall be imputed to your grace, as doer thereof, or wanting foresight in time to withstand the same. And albeit that your mind be not faulty in either, yet, if the effect be not to the realm as it were to be wished, the prince, though he were of age, should be excused, and the governors bear the blame. And this is the infelicity of pre-eminence and authority, and specially in this realm, as stories make mention, which should not discourage you, for you need fear nothing without, if quiet be reserved at home; and at home, if the beginning be resisted, the intended folly may easily be interrupted. But if my brother of St. David's may, like a champion with his sword in his hand, make entry for the rest, the door of license opened, there shall more by folly thrust in with him than your grace would wish.[3]

Thus, as I think, I write homely to your grace, because you were content I should write, wherein I consider only to have all things well. And because your grace is the protector and the chief director of the realm, to present unto your wisdom what my folly is, I have been oftentimes blamed for fearing overmuch, and yet I have had an inkling that they that so blamed me, feared even as much as I. Being in the state that you be in, it shall be ever commendable to foresee the worst. In quiet ye be strong, in trouble ye be greatly weak, and bring yourself in danger of one part, when parties be, therewith one to scourge the other: whereas, in concord, they be both yours, in an honest, reverent, lowly fear to do their duty; which, I doubt not, your wisdom can consider, and consider also how noisome any other outward encumber might be, in the time of the minority of our sovereign lord. I told the emperor's council, that our late sovereign lord did much for the emperor, to enter war with him, and to put his realm in his old days in the adventure of fortune, whether he should enjoy it or no; for that is the nature of war. And sometimes the contemned and abject have had the upper hand. And when ye administer the realm for another, it were a marvellous question of him that shall enjoy the realm to say, What meant you, in the time of administration to adventure my realm? Why took ye not rather, for the time of my minority, any peace, whatsoever it were? which is better than the best war, as some men have written.

Winchester against the expedition into Scotland.

I know you have authority sufficient, and wisdom plenty, and yet, being entered to write, I forget for the time what ye be, and commune with you as I were talking at Brussels with you, devising of the world at large. And if I were sworn to say what I think of the state of the world, I would, for a time, let Scots be Scots, with despair to have them, unless it were by conquest, which shall be a goodly enterprise for our young master, when he cometh to age. And, in the mean time, prepare him money for it, and set the realm in an order

(1) Where quiet and tranquillity goeth with right formed religion, by all means it is to be maintained; but, contrary, where God's religion lacketh its right, there the second table must give place to the first.

(2) This bishop reasoneth here as one having more respect to worldly tranquillity than to Christ's glory.

(3) Wily Winchester, under pretence of giving sage counsel, craftily goeth about to incense and set the lord protector against all good men, and all godly proceedings

Edward VI. A.D. 1547 to 1550.

which it hath need of.[1] And for a stay, if the emperor would offer the daughter of the king of Romans, as he did, do with him in our master's minority, as he did with us in his, whereby all this hath chanced unto him. And by this alliance your estimation shall increase, and our sovereign lord's surety not a little increase and be augmented. For of France it must be taken for a rule, 'They be so wanton, they cannot do well longer than they see how they may be scourged, if they do not.' Here is all the wit that I have, which I offer unto you upon this occasion of writing, and shall pray God to put into your mind that which shall be for the best, as I trust he will; and, in the mean time, to extinguish this barbarous contention at home, which can serve only to do hurt, and no good. I had fashioned a letter to Master Ridley,[2] which I send unto your grace, and encumber you with these melancholy writings, engendered of this fondness, which be not worth the reading. And so it may like you to use them, for having heard that which ye have said unto me, and otherwise heard and seen what you do, I shall go occupy my wit in other matters; and now such as have found enterprises shall see, that I letted not their follies (which they called God's word):[3] but for his time the king our sovereign lord that dead is; and after his time you have done much to your honour and reputation;[4] howsoever any shall be here not contented; which miscontentation hath been so fond in some, as they have burst out and wished, that they might, without breach of his laws, kill me; which is to me a token of a marvellous fury, which hath been cause why I am glad both to depart hence, and to depart the sooner, and pray to God to order all things for the best, with preservation of our sovereign lord, and increase of your grace's honour.

Winchester's letter against Ridley.

At my house in Southwark, the last of February.

Your grace's humble bead-man,
S. W.

A Letter of Winchester to Captain Vaughan, dated the 3d of May, 1547.

Master Vaughan, after my right hearty commendations: In my last letters to my lord protector, signifying, according to the general commandment by letters given to all justices of peace, the state of this shire, I declared (as I supposed true) the shire to be in good order, quiet, and conformity; for I had not then heard of any alteration in this shire, which the said letters of commandment did forbid. Now of late, within these two days, I have heard of a great and detestable (if it be true that is told me) innovation in the town of Portsmouth, where the images of Christ and his saints have been most contemptuously pulled down, and spitefully handled. Herein I thought good both to write to you and the mayor, the king's majesty's chief ministers, as well to know the truth, as to consult with you for the reformation of it, to the intent I may be seen to discharge my duty, and discharging it indeed both to God and to the king's majesty, under whom I am here appointed to have cure and care to relieve such as be by any ways fallen, and preserve the rest that stand, from like danger.

Images plucked down at Portsmouth.

Ye are a gentleman with whom I have had acquaintance, and whom I know to be wise, and esteem to have more knowledge, wisdom, and discretion than to allow any such enormities; and therefore I do the more willingly consult with you herein, with request friendly to know of you the very truth in the matter: who be the doers, and the circumstances of it, and whether ye think the matter so far gone with the multitude, and whether the reproof and disproving of the deed, might, without a further danger, be enterprised in the pulpit or not; minding, if it may so be, to send one thither for that purpose upon Sunday next coming. I would use preaching as it should not be occasion of any further folly where a folly is begun; and to a multitude, persuaded in the opinion of destruction of images, I would never preach: for, as Scripture willeth us, we should cast no precious stones before hogs. Such as be infected

(1) Winchester here meaneth a fetch, if he could have brought it about.
(2) For this letter, see p. 5.—Ed.
(3) God's word is folly to Winchester, but to them that be wise in the Lord, it is the wisdom of the Lord to salvation.
(4) This place here seemeth to lack something, or else Winchester lacketh his wits.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1547 to 1550.

with that opinion, they be hogs and worse than hogs[1] (if there be any grosser beasts than hogs be), and have been ever so taken; and in England they are called Lollards, who, denying images, thought therewithal the crafts of painting and graving to be generally superfluous and naught, and against God's laws.

In Germany such as maintained that opinion of destroying of images, were accounted the dregs cast out by Luther after he had tunned all his brewings in Christ's religion, and so taken as hog's meat; for the reproof of whom Luther wrote a book specially: and I have with mine eyes seen the images standing in all churches where Luther was had in estimation. For the destruction of images, containeth an enterprise to subvert religion, and the state of the world with it, and especially the nobility, who, by images, set forth and spread abroad, to be read of all people, their lineage and parentage, with remembrance of their state and acts; and the poursuivant carrieth not on his breast the king's name, written with such letters as a few can spell, but such as all can read be they never so rude, being great known letters in images of three lions, and three fleurs-de-lis, and other beasts holding those arms. And he that cannot read the Scripture written about the king's great seal, yet he can read St. George on horseback on the one side, and the king sitting in his majesty on the other side; and readeth so much written in those images, as, if he be an honest man, he will put off his cap. And although, if the seal were broken by chance, he would and might make a candle of it, yet he would not be noted to have broken the seal for that purpose, or to call it a piece of wax only, whilst it continueth whole. And if by reviling of stocks and stones, in which matter images be graven, the setting of the truth (to be read of all men) shall be contemned; how shall such writing continue in honour as is comprised in clouts and pitch, whereof and whereupon our books be made, such as few can skill of, and not the hundredth part of the realm? And if we (a few that can read), because we can read, in one sort, of letters so privileged as they have many reliefs, shall pull away the books of the rest, and would have our letters only in estimation, and blind all them, shall not they have just cause to mistrust what is meant? And if the cross be a truth, and if it be true that Christ suffered, why may we not have a writing thereof, such as all can read, that is to say, an image? If this opinion should proceed, when the king's majesty hereafter should show his person, his lively image, the honour due by God's law among such might continue; but as for the king's standards, his banners, his arms, they should hardly continue in their due reverence for fear of Lollards' idolatry, which they gather upon Scripture beastly—not only untruly. The Scripture reproveth false images made of stocks and stones, and so it doth false men made of flesh and bones.

The poursuivant carrieth about St. George on horseback, and the king's picture: ergo, images must stand in churches.

Books only to be read, and not to be kneeled to and worshipped.

When the emperor's money was showed to Christ, wherein was the image of the emperor, Christ contemned not that image calling it an idol, nor noted that money to be against God's law, because it had an image in it, as though it were against the precept of God, 'Thou shalt have no graven image;' but taught them good civility, in calling it the emperor's image, and bade them use the money as it was ordered to be used, in its right use.

There is no Scripture that reproveth truth, and all Scripture reproveth falsehood. False writings, false books, false images, and false men, all be naught; to be contemned and despised. As for paper, ink, parchment, stones, wood, bones, A. B. of the chancery hand, and A. B. of the secretary hand, a letter of German fashion, or of any other form, they be all of one estimation, and may be of man, inclining to the devil, used for falsehood, or, applying to God's gracious calling, used to set forth truth.[2] It is a terrible matter to think that this false opinion conceived against images should trouble any man's head; and such as I have known vexed with that devil (as I have known some), be nevertheless wondrously obstinate in it; and if they can find one that can spell Latin to help forth their madness, they be more obdurate than ever were the Jews, and slander whatsoever is said to them for their relief. Of this sort I know them to be; and, therefore, if I wist there were many of that sort with you, I would not irritate them by preaching without fruit, but labour for reformation to my lord protector. But if you thought there might be other ways used first

(1) Then were the old fathers and bishops in the primitive church, with Epiphanius and Charlemagne, and all the council of Frankfort, hogs and dogs.

(2) If every image representing a thing of truth, may stand in a place of worship, then let Winchester's face stand in the church also.

Edward VI. A.D. 1547 to 1550.

to a good effect, I would follow your advice, and proceed with you and the mayor, with both your helps to do that may lie in me to the redress of the matter, which I take to be such an enterprise against Christ's religion, as there cannot be a greater by man excogitated with the devil's instigation, and at this time much hurtful to the common estate, as ye can of your wisdom consider; whom I heartily desire and pray to send me answer, by this bearer, to these my letters, to the intent I may use myself in sending of a preacher thither, or writing to my lord protector, as the case shall require accordingly. And thus fare you heartily well.

From my house at Wolvesey, the 3d of May, 1547.

Steph. Winchester.

A Letter of the Lord Protector, answering to the same.

After hearty commendations: I received of late two letters from your lordship, the one enclosed in a letter of Master Vaughan's to us, and directed to him, the other directed strait unto us; very wittily and learnedly written, whereby we do perceive how earnest you are, that no innovations should be had. The which mind of yours, as we do highly esteem and allow, proceeding from one that would quietness, so we would likewise wish, that you should take good heed that too much fear of innovation or disturbance doth not cause both of them to be. Many times in a host, he that crieth 'Enemies! enemies!' when there be none, causeth not only disturbance, but sometimes a mutiny or rebellion to be made; and he that for fear of a sickness to come, taketh unadvisedly a purgation, sometimes maketh himself sick indeed. We perceive by the said your letters, that heinouser facts and words have been brought to your ears, than there was cause why; and those facts which were punishable, be already by him redressed.

For the matter of images, an order was taken in the late king of famous memory our sovereign lord's days. When the abused images (yet lurking in some places, by negligence of them who should ere this time have looked unto the same) be made now abolished, let not that be made a matter of the abolishing of all images. Though felons and adulterers be punished, all men be not slain. Though the images which did adulterate God's glory be taken away, we may not think by and by all manner of images to be destroyed. Yet, after our advice, better it were for a time to abolish them all, than for that the dead images, the king's loving subjects, being faithful and true to the king's majesty, should be put to variance and disturbance. With quietness the magistrates and rulers shall keep them well in order, whom contentious preachers might irritate and provoke to disorder and strife. So it must be provided that the king's majesty's images, arms, and ensigns, should be honoured and worshipped after the decent order and invention of human laws and ceremonies; and, nevertheless, that other images, contrary to God's ordinances and laws, should not be made partakers of that reverence, adoration, and invocation, which (forbidden by God) should derogate his honour, and be occasion to accumulate God's wrath upon us. Where they be taken for a remembrance, it maketh no great matter though they stand still in the church or market-stead, following the late king of famous memory's counsel and order; yet more gentleness was showed to those books of images, than to the true and unfeigned books of God's word, both being abused, the one with idolatry, the other with contention. The Scripture was removed for a time from certain persons, and almost from all. The images were left still to them who most did abuse them, the thing being yet closed from them which should teach the use. Wherefore it may appear unto us meet, more diligent heed to be taken, that the abused before be not abused again, the advantage of some priests, simplicity of laymen, and great inclination of man's nature to idolatry, giving cause thereto.

Images.

Distinction of images.

More gentleness showed to the books of images, than to God's word in Henry's time.

Papists can better abide the book of God's word than images to be burned.

They that contemn images, because the matter that they are made of is but vile, as stocks and stones, may likewise despise printing in paper, because the ink hath pitch in it, and the paper is made of old rags. And if they be both alike, it might be reasoned why a man should be more aggrieved, that an image of wood, though it were of St. Anne, or St. Margaret, should be burned, than he will that the Bible, wherein the undoubted word of God is comprised, should be torn in pieces, burned, or made paste of. Nor do we now speak of false bibles, nor false gospels, but of the very true gospel, either in Latin, Greek,

or English, which we see every day done, and sometimes commanded, because the translator displeaseth us; and yet herein no man exclaimeth of a terrible and detestable fact done. But let one image, either for age, and because it is worm-eaten, or because it hath been foolishly abused, be burnt or abolished, by and by some men are in exceeding rage, as though not a stock or a stone, but a true saint of flesh and bone should be cast into the fire, which were a detestable and a terrible sight. We cannot but see that images may be counted marvellous books, to whom we have kneeled, whom we have kissed, upon whom we have rubbed our beads and handkerchiefs, unto whom we have lighted candles, of whom we have asked pardon and help: which thing hath seldom been seen done to the gospel of God, or the very true Bible. For who kisseth that, but the priest at the mass, at a painted picture, or in such a ceremony: or who kneeleth unto it, or setteth a candle before it? and yet it seeth or heareth, as well as the images or pictures either of St. John, or our Lady, or Christ.

Images falsely called laymen's books.

Indeed images be great letters; yet as big as they be, we have seen many which have read them amiss. And belike they be so likely to be read amiss, that God himself, fearing the Jews to become evil readers of them, generally did forbid them. Nor is it any great marvel though in reading of them the lay-people are many times deceived, when your lordship (as appeareth) hath not truly read a most true and a most common image. Your lordship hath found out, in the king's highness's great seal, St. George on horseback, which the graver never made in it, nor the sealer ever sealed with it; and this inscription is not very little, and if it were, it could not escape your lordship's eyes. As the inscription testifieth, the king's image is on both the sides; on the one side, as in war, the chief captain; on the other side, as in peace, the liege sovereign in harness, with his sword drawn, to defend his subjects; in his robes, in the seat of justice, with his sceptre rightfully to rule and govern them; as he whom both in peace and war we acknowledge our most natural and chiefest head, ruler, and governor. If it were St. George, my lord, where is his spear and dragon? And why should the inscription round about tell an untruth, and not agree to the image? Yet it is called sometimes so of the rude and ignorant people; but not, by and by, that what is commonly called so, is always truest. And some have thought that by like deceiving, as your lordship herein appeareth to have been deceived, the image of Bellerophon or Perseus was turned first and appointed to be St. George, and of Polyphemus, of Hercules, or of some other Colossus, to be St. Christopher, because authentical histories have not fully proved their two lives. But those be indifferent to be true or not true, either thus invented upon some device, or rising of a true fact or history; and whether it were true or not, it maketh no great matter.

Winchester overseen in mistaking the king's image for St. George.

It were hardly done indeed, my lord, if that you, and a few which can read, should take away from the unlearned multitude their books of their images:[1] but it were more hardly done, if that you, or a few which can read in one or two languages (as Greek and Latin), the word of God, and have had thereby many reliefs and privileges, should pull away the English books from the rest which only understand English; and would have only your letters of Greek and Latin in estimation, and blind all them which understand not these languages, from the knowledge of God's word. And indeed, my lord, by your saying they have just occasion to suspect what is meant.

Distinction between true and false images refuted.

What you mean by true images and false images, it is not so easy to perceive. If they be only false images, which have nothing that they represent, as St. Paul writeth, 'An idol is nothing,'[2] (because there is no such god,) and therefore the cross can be no false image, because it is true that Christ suffered upon it: then the images of the sun and the moon were no idols, for such things there be as the sun and the moon, and they were in the image then so represented, as painting and carving doth represent them. And the image of Ninus and Cæsar, and (as some write) the images of all the twelve chosen gods (as they called them) were the images of once living men. And it might be said, that the image of God the Father hath no such eyes, nose, lips, and a long grey beard, with a furred robe, nor ever had, as they carve and paint him to have. But, if that be a false image and an idol which is otherwise worshipped and accepted than it ought to be, as the brazen serpent, being a true image and

The image of the Father is false; therefore, by Winchester's reason, to be abolished.

(1) If it be against reason, that learned men should take from the unlearned the books of their images, much more is it against reason to take from them the books of God's word.

(2) 1 Cor. viii.

Edward VI. A. D. 1547 to 1550.

representation of Christ, by abuse was made an idol; it may be thought in times past, and, peradventure, now at this time, in some places, the images not only of St. John, or St. Anne, but of our Lady and Christ be false images and idols, representing to foolish, blind, and ignorant men's hearts and thoughts, that which was not in them, and they ought not to be made for. The which were by you, my lord, to have been removed sooner, and before that the captain there should have need to have done it. But if your lordship be slack in such matters, he that removeth false images and idols abused, doth not a thing worthy of blame.

Christ called not the money, having Cæsar's image in it, an idol, when it was used to lawful uses, and to pay the due tribute withal. But, when a man doth not use those images graven in money to do his neighbour good, and the commonwealth service, St. Paul, Christ's disciple, called that covetousness, and the serving and bondage to idols. So that even in money may be idolatry, if we make too much of those images which Christ here doth not reprehend. There be some so ticklish, and so fearful one way, and so tender stomached, that they can abide no old abuses to be reformed, but think every reformation to be a capital enterprise against all religion and good order; as there be on the contrary side some too rash, who, having no consideration what is to be done, headlong will set upon every thing. The magistrate's duty is betwixt these, so in a mean to see and provide, that old doting should not take further or deeper rust in the commonwealth, neither ancient error overcome the seen and tried truth, nor long abuse, for the age and space of time only, still be suffered; and yet all these with quietness and gentleness, and without all contention, if it were possible, to be reformed. To the which your lordship, as a man to whom God hath given great qualities of wit, learning, and persuasion, could bring great help and furtherance, if it were your pleasure, with great thanks of men and reward of God. The which thing is our full desire and purpose, and our hearty and daily prayer to God, that in the king's majesty's time (whose majesty's reign God preserve!) all abuses with wisdom reformed, Christ's religion, with good and politic order of the commonwealth, without any contention and strife among the king's subjects, might flourish and daily increase. And this to your lordship's letter sent to Master Vaughan of Portsmouth.[1]

Another Letter of Winchester to the Lord Protector.

Winchester wrangleth against Bale's books.

After my humble commendations to your grace, it may like the same to understand, I have seen of late two books set forth in English by Bale, very pernicious, seditious, and slanderous. And albeit that your grace needeth not mine advertisement in that matter, yet I am so bold to trouble your grace with my letters for mine own commodity, wherewith to satisfy mine own conscience, to write and say as becometh me in such matters, which I desire your grace to take in good part. For it grieveth me not a little to see, so soon after my late sovereign lord and master's death, a book spread abroad more to his dishonour (if a prince's honour may be by vile inferior subjects impeached) than professed enemies have imagined, to note a woman to have suffered under him as a martyr; and the woman therewith to be, by Bale's own elucidation (as he calleth it) so set forth and painted as she appeareth to be, and is boasted to be a sacramentary, and by the laws worthy (as she suffered) the pains of death; such like things have, by stealth, in our late sovereign lord's days, gone abroad as they do now. And as I am wont in such cases to speak, I keep my wont to write to your grace now, in whose hands I know the state of the realm to be for the time in government, and to whom, for respects of old acquaintance, I wish all felicity. In these matters of religion I have been long exercised, and have (thanks be to God) lived so long as I have seen them thoroughly tried; and, besides that I have learned in written books of authority, I have perceived by books written without authority, as by Master Bale, Joy, and others, and especially as Bale useth now, that Scripture doth, by abuse, service to the right hand and the left at once, insomuch as at one time Bale praiseth Luther, and setteth his death forth in English, with commendation as of a saint; which Luther (whatsoever he was otherwise) stoutly affirmed the presence really of Christ's natural

(1) This letter should bear date May the 27th. Gardiner refers to it in his letter of the 6th of June, [1547] and mentions the date.—Ed.

body in the sacrament of the altar. And yet Bale, the noble clerk, would have Anne Askew,[1] blasphemously denying the presence of Christ's natural body, to be taken for a saint also. So as Bale's saints may vary in heaven, if they chance not by the way; which might suffice to disprove the man's credit, if thwarting talk were more desired of many, than the truth indeed; which truth was supposed to have been, both in writing and exercise, well established long before our late lord's death; and Bale and his adherents in their madness plainly reproved and condemned.

I cannot forget, your grace told me you would suffer no innovation; and indeed if you deliver this realm to the king at eighteen years of age, as the king his father, whose soul God assoil, left it, as I trust you shall, the act is so honourable and good, as it were pity to trouble it with any innovation, which were a charge to your grace more than needed, being already burdened heavily.[2] And albeit in the commonwealth every man hath his part, yet as God hath placed you, the matter is (under the king's majesty) chiefly yours, and as it were yours alone. Every man hath his eye directed unto you, both here and abroad; you shall shadow men's doings, if they be done, which is one incommodity of high rule. And, for my part, besides my duty to the king's majesty and the realm, I would that your grace (in whom since your government I have found much gentleness and humanity) had as much honour with good success as ever any had, and pray to God that men would let your grace alone, and suffer the realm in the time of your government in quiet among ourselves, whereby we may be the more able to resist foreign trouble, which your grace doth prudently foresee.

Printers, players, and preachers, trouble Winchester.

Certain printers, players, and preachers, make a wonderment, as though we knew not yet how to be justified, nor what sacraments we should have. And if the agreement in religion made in the time of our late sovereign lord be of no force in their judgment, what establishment could any new agreement have? and every uncertainty is noisome to any realm.[3] And where every man will be master, there must needs be uncertainty. And one thing is marvellous, that at the same time it is taught that all men be liars, at the selfsame time almost every man would be believed; and amongst them Bale, when his untruth appeareth evidently in setting forth the examination of Anne Askew, which is utterly misreported.

I beseech your grace to pardon my babbling with you; but I see my late sovereign lord and master slandered by such simple persons, religion assaulted, the realm troubled, and peaceable men disquieted, with occasion given to enemies to point and say, that after Wickliff's strange teaching in the sacraments of Christ's church hath vexed others, it is finally turned unto us to molest and scourge us,[4] for other fruit cannot Bale's teaching have, nor the teaching of such others as go about to trouble the agreement established here. In which matter I dare not desire your grace specially to look earnestly unto it, lest I should seem to note in you that, which becometh me not. And I know that your grace being otherwise occupied, these things may creep in, as it hath been heretofore. Sometimes it may be hard for your grace to find out or pull out the root of this naughtiness: but yet I am so bold to write of these, of mine own stomach, who have ever used, for discharge of myself, to say and write in time and place as I thought might do good for relief of the matter, remitting the rest to the disposition of God, who hath wrought wonders in these matters, since they were first moved, and given me such knowledge and experience in them, as I ought to take them (as they be) for corruption and untruth; I mean knowledge and experience of them that be chief stirrers, to infect with untruth, as they cannot speak or report truly in common matters.—The pretence is of the spirit, and all is for the flesh, women, and meat, with liberty of hand and tongue, a dissolution and dissipation of all estates, clean contrarious to the

So long as he proveth nothing, it mattereth not what he saith.

(1) Luther and Anne Askew, why not as well saints both in heaven, though they varied in one small point here, as you and Smith, both the pope's friends, though ye vary, as ye said yourself, in divers?

(2) If the Six Articles might have continued still, all were quiet with Winchester, howsoever it were else with the true church of Christ.

(3) Every uncertainty is noisome, I grant. But reformation of religion is not by and by the cause of uncertainty in a commonwealth, nor maketh every man to be a master. The realm is troubled by them, much like as the prophet Elijah was he that troubled the kingdom of Ahab.

(4) Salt laid on a sore, if it do vex it, the fault is not in the salt, but in the flesh, which cannot abide it.

Edward VI. A.D. 1547 to 1550.

place God hath called your grace unto. For it tendeth all to confusion and disorder, which is the effect of untruth.

Bale hath set forth a prayer for the duke John of Saxony, wherein the duke remitteth to God's judgment, to be showed here in this world, the justness of his cause concerning religion; and desireth God, if his cause be not good, to order him to be taken, and to be spoiled of his honour and possessions, with many such gay words whereby to tempt God; since which prayer the duke is indeed taken, as all the world saith; and, at the time of his taking, as the account is made, such strangeness in the sun, as we saw it here, as hath not been seen. They happened both together, this we know, and be both marvellous; but, whether the one were a token ordered to concur with the other, God knoweth, and man cannot define. Many commonwealths have continued without the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction; but without true religion, and with such opinions as Germany maintained,[1] no estate hath continued in the circuit of the world to us known since Christ came. For the Turks and Tartars' government is, as it were, a continual war, and they uphold their rule with subduing of nobility by fire and sword. Germany[2] with their new religion could never have stood, though the emperor had let them alone: for if it be persuaded the understanding of God's law to be at large in women[3] and children, whereby they may have the rule of that, and then God's law must be the rule of all, is not hereby the rule of all brought into their hands? These of some will be called witty reasons, but they be indeed truth's children; and so is all the eloquence, which some (to dispraise me) say I have, whatsoever they say of me. For truth is of itself, in a right meaning, man's mouth; more eloquent than forged matters can with study bring forth.

A strange sight in the sun, at the duke of Saxony's taking.

What rhymes be set forth to deprave the Lent, and how fond (saving your grace's honour) and foolish! and yet the people pay money for them, and they can serve for nothing, but to learn the people to rail, and to cause such as used to make provision for fish against Lent, fearing now in Lent to be so sick as the rhyme purporteth, and like to die indeed, to forbear to make their accustomed provision for the next year. And thereto shall it come, if the common diet be not certain: for the fishmonger will never hope to have good sale, when the butcher may with flesh outface him. And fish is the great treasure of this realm, and food inestimable. And these good words I give, although I love it not myself: for such as love not fish should nevertheless commend it to others, to the intent the flesh by them forborne, might be, to such as love it, only the more plenty.

Winchester a friend to Lent, though he loved no fish.

The public defamation and trifling with Lent is a marvellous matter to them that would say evil of this realm; for there is nothing more commended unto us christian men in both the churches of the Greeks and Latins, than Lent is, if all men be not liars. In the king our late sovereign lord's days this matter was not thus spoken of. And I think our enemies would wish we had no Lent. Every country hath its peculiar inclination to naughtiness: England and Germany unto the belly, the one in liquor, the other in meat; France a little beneath the belly; Italy to vanities and pleasures devised; and let an English belly have a further advancement, and nothing can stay it. When I was purveyor for the seas, what an exclamation was there (as your grace showed me) of the bishops' fasting-day, as they called Wednesday, and 'Winchester, Winchester, grand mercy for your wine; I beshrew your heart for your water!' Was not that song, although it was in sport, a signification how loth men be to have their license restrained, or their accustomed fare abated? unless it were in extreme necessity.

The actions of Christ have divers ends

I hear say that the Lent is thus spoken of by Joseph and Tonge, with other new (whom I know not), as being one of Christ's miracles, which God ordained not man to imitate and follow; at which teaching all the world will laugh. For christian men have Christ for an example in all things, both to use the world

(1) The true religion and opinion of these Germans will be found not to disagree, when the bishop of Winchester shall not be able to prove the contrary, as yet he hath not done it hitherto.

(2) Germany with their religion yet doth stand, notwithstanding Winchester and the emperor did withstand them, what they both could.

(3) His argument.—God's law hath rule of all. Men and women say, they understand God's law: ergo, men and women have rule of all. Nego argumentum quia constat quatuor terminis. His argument should thus proceed,—God's law hath rule of all. Men and women say, they are God's law: ergo, such men and women have rule of all. And thus is the form of the argument good, and the matter false.

as he did, only for necessity, and to contemn the world as he did; and in case to refuse it, and choose the vile death, as he did the death of the cross, which things he did like a master most perfect, for he was very God; and we must endeavour ourselves, in the use of his gifts, to follow that he did—not to fast forty days without meat as Christ did, for we be but prentices, and carry about a ruinous carcase, that must have some daily reparation with food—but yet was there never any that said, how therefore we should do nothing, because we cannot do all, and take Christ's fast for a miracle only. And yet all that follow Christ truly, they work daily miracles, in subduing and conforming, by God's grace, their sensual appetites, and humbly obeying to the will of God; which no man can of himself do. And Christ promised that his true servants should work the works that he did, and greater works also. Wherefore it is a slender matter to say, Lent was one of Christ's miracles, for so it was, to love his enemies, and specially those that scourged and bobbed him; which may not be (if that a legation hath place) taught christian men to follow, because it was a miracle, as they might say. It were more tolerable to forget Lent, as Poggius telleth of a priest in the mountains, that knew not how the year went about; and when the weather opened, and he went abroad, and perceived his neighbours were towards Palm-Sunday, he devised an excuse to his parish, and bade them prepare there-for, for indeed the year had somewhat slipped him, but he would fashion the matter so as they should be as soon at Easter as the rest; and thus did he pass over Lent with much less slander, than to teach it for a doctrine, that Lent was one of Christ's miracles, and therefore not to be imitated of us. For although it was indeed a great miracle (as all Christ's doings were), yet was it not a greater miracle, nor more against man's nature, than to love them that laboured and were busy to take away the natural life of his manhood. For as the nature of man desireth relief, so doth it abhor destruction or hurt. In will and desire men follow Christ in all things; in execution they cannot; for we have brittle vessels, and God giveth his gifts to men, as he seeth expedient for his church; so as men cannot heal the lame when they will, as Christ did when he would, but as God shall think profitable for the edification of the flock assembled.[1]

Edward VI.

A.D. 1547 to 1550.

peculiar to his own person, pertaining to public example.

A tale of Poggius.

Gregory Nazianzen speaketh of some that enterprised to imitate Christ's fast above their power, whose immoderate zeal he doth not disallow, not requiring of all men so to do, for that is an extremity, nor yet assoiling the matter, as our new schoolmen do, that christian men should let Christ's fast alone as a miracle; which manner of solution I heard a good fellow make, when it was told him he might not revenge himself, and when he was stricken on the one ear, he should put forth the other. 'I am,' quoth he, 'a man; I am not God. If Christ being God did so, he might,' quoth he, 'if it had pleased him, have done otherwise.' And so when it hath been alleged that Christ fasted forty days. 'He might,' quoth he, 'have eaten if he had list.' These triflings in sport might be drawn to grave speech, if christian men shall refuse to follow Christ in miracles. For all his life was miracles, and his love that is our badge, most miraculous of all, to die for his enemies. I beseech your grace to pardon me, for I am like one of the Commons' house, that, when I am in my tale, think I should have liberty to make an end; and specially writing to your grace, with whom I account I may be bold, assuring you it proceedeth of a zeal towards you to whom I wish well, whose intent although it be such as it ought to be, and as it pleased you to show me it was, yet are such things spread abroad whereof the evil willers of the realm will take courage, and make account (although it be wrong) that all goeth on wheels.

If any man had either fondly or indiscreetly spoken of Lent to engrieve it to be an importable burden, I would wish his reformation; for I have not learned that all men are bound to keep the Lent in the form received. But this I reckon, that no christian man may contemn the form received, being such a devout and profitable imitation of Christ to celebrate his fast; and in that time such as have been in the rest of the year worldly, to prepare themselves to come, as they should come, to the feast of Easter, whereof St. Chrysostome speaketh expressly. And for avoiding contempt, a license truly obtained of the superior serveth. And so I heard the king's majesty our sovereign lord

(1) This proveth not; for though a man of nature abhorreth his destruction, as he desireth relief; yet it followeth not that a man should desire so the destruction of another man's soul, as he desireth relief of his body

Edward VI. A. D. 1547 to 1550.

declare, when your grace was present: and therefore he himself was very scrupulous in granting of licenses. And to declare that himself contemned not the fast, he was at charge to have (as your grace knoweth) the Lent diet daily prepared, as if it had been for himself; and the like hereof I hear say your grace hath ordered for the king's majesty that now is; which agreeth not with certain preaching in this matter, nor the rhymes set abroad. Lent is, among christian men, a godly fast to exercise men to forbear, and in England both godly and politic, such as without confusion we cannot forbear, as the experience shall show, if it be ever attempted; which God forbid. And yet Lent is buried in rhyme, and Stephen Stockfish bequeathed not to me, though my name be noted; wherewith for mine own part I cannot be angry,[1] for that is mitigated by their fondness. But I would desire of God to have the strength of this realm increased with report of concord, which doth quench many vain devices and imaginations. And if all men be liars, as it is now to my understanding strangely published, methinketh Bale and such new men, as be new liars, should be most abhorred and detested, and so much the more dangerous as they be new. That which in Italy and France is a matter of combat, is now found to be impropriate to all men. God grant the truth to be desired of all men truly! But, as one asked, when he saw an old philosopher dispute with another, what they talked on; and it was answered how the old man was discussing what was virtue; it was replied, 'If the old man yet dispute of virtue, when will he use it?' so it may be said in our religion, 'If we be yet searching for it, when shall we begin to put it in execution?'

Stockfish bequeathed to Gardiner.

I would make an end of my letters, and cannot; wherein I account myself faulty. And though I may err, as every man may, yet I lie not, for I say as I think; forsomuch as I have said, and further think, [that] your grace hath no trouble troublesome, but this matter of religion unseasonably brought into the defamation of our late sovereign lord's acts, doings, and laws. I beseech your grace take my meaning and words in good part, and pardon my boldness, which groweth of the familiarity I have heretofore had with your grace, which I cannot forget. And thus enforcing myself to an end, I shall pray to Almighty God to preserve your grace in much felicity, with increase of honour and achieving of your heart's desire.

At Winchester the 21st of May.[2]

Your grace's humble bead-man,
S. W.

The Letter of the Lord Protector, answering to Winchester.

Your letters dated the 21st day of May, as concerning two books new set forth by one Bale, and certain sermons preached here, were with convenient speed delivered unto us. And like as in your letters to Edward Vaughan of Portsmouth, so in those to us, we perceive that you have a vigilant and diligent eye, and very fearful of innovation: which as it cannot be blamed, proceeding of one which is desirous of quiet, good order, and continuance of the godly state of this realm; so we do marvel that so soon, so far off, and so plainly, you can hear tell and say of so many things done here, which indeed we, being here, and attendant upon the same, cannot yet be advertised of. The world never was so quiet or so united, but that privily or openly those three which you write of, printers, players, and preachers, would set forth somewhat of their own heads, which the magistrates were unawares of. And they which already be banished and have forsaken the realm, as suffering the last punishment, be boldest to set forth their mind; and dare use their extreme license or liberty of speaking, as out of the hands or rule of correction, either because they be gone, or because they be hid.

There have foolish and naughty rhymes and books been made and set forth, of the which, as it appeareth, you have seen more than we; and yet, to our knowledge, too many be bought: but yet, after our mind, it is too sore and too cruelly done, to lay all those to our charge, and to ask as it were account of us of them all. In the most exact cruelty and tyranny of the bishop of Rome, yet

(1) How well you remembered this lesson of anger in queen Mary's time, let others judge.
(2) A.D. 1547. Gardiner refers to the lord protector's answer to this letter, in one dated June 16, 1547.—Ed.

Pasquill (as we hear say) writeth his mind, and many times against the bishop's tyranny, and sometimes toucheth other great princes; which thing, for the most part, he doth safely: not that the bishop alloweth Pasquill's rhymes and verses—especially against himself; but because he cannot punish the author, whom either he knoweth not, or hath not. In the late king's days of famous memory, who was both a learned, wise, and politic prince, and a diligent executer of his laws—and when your lordship was most diligent in the same—yet, as your lordship yourself writeth, and it is too manifest to be unknown, there were that wrote such lewd rhymes and plays as you speak of, and some against the king's proceedings, who were yet unpunished, because they were unknown or ungotten. And when we do weigh the matter, we do very much marvel, why that about Jack of Lent's lewd ballad, and certain, as it was reported unto us, godly sermons (which be evil in your letters joined together), you be so earnest, when against Dr. Smith's book, being a man learned in the doctors and Scripture, which made so plain against the king's highness's authority, and for the furtherance of the bishop of Rome's usurped power, your lordship neither wrote nor said any thing. And, as it appeared, you be so angry with his retractation (which frankly without fear, dread, compulsion, or imprisonment, only with learning and truth overcome, he came unto), that you cannot abide his beginning, although having the very words of Scripture: except, peradventure, you think that the saying of David, 'Omnis homo mendax,' cannot be interpreted, 'Every man is a liar;' which, howsoever your lordship taketh it at pleasure, it appeareth unto us then of him, taken but godly, to declare the infirmity of man, and the truth of God and his word. And we are not able to reason so clerkly with you, and yet we have heard of the subtle difference of lying, and telling of a lie, or, as it is in Latin called, 'mentiri' and 'mendacium dicere.' But if your lordship be loth to be counted 'mendax' (which belike Dr. Smith hath interpreted a liar, or a lying man, and you think it a matter of combat, or that he was deceived in the interpretation, and it is a matter for clerks to dispute of), we would have wished your lordship to have written against his book before, or now with it, if you think that to be defended which the author himself refuseth to aver. Your lordship writeth earnestly for Lent, which we go not about to put away; no more than, when Dr. Smith wrote so earnestly that every man should be obedient to the bishops, the magistrates by and by went not about to bring kings and princes, and others, under their subjection.

Edward VI. A. D. 1547 to 1550.

Writers write their fantasy, my lord, and preachers preach what either liketh them, or what God putteth in their heads. It is not by and by done, that is spoken. The people buy those foolish ballads of Jack-a-Lent. So bought they in times past pardons, and carols, and Robin Hood's tales. All be not wise men, and the foolisher a thing is, to some (although not to the more part) it is the more pleasant and meet. And peradventure of the sermons there is (and indeed there is, if it be true that we have heard) otherwise spoken and reported to you, than it was of the preachers there and then spoken or meant. Lent remaineth still, my lord, and shall, God willing, till the king's highness, with our advice and the residue of his grace's council, take another order, although some light and lewd men do bury it in writing; even as the king's majesty remaineth head of the church, although, through sinister ways, and by subtle means, some traitors have gone about, and daily do, to abuse the king's majesty's supremacy, and bring in the bishop of Rome's tyranny, with other superstition and idolatry.

On both sides great heed is to be taken, and as your lordship writeth, we are set in a painful room, to reform all lightness and lewdness, to the which we do endeavour ourself to the best of our power, although not so cruelly and fiercely as some peradventure would wish, yet not so loosely that there needeth such exclamations or great fear to be. We do study to do all things attemperately, and with quiet and good order; and we would wish nothing more than your lordship to be as ready to the reformation of the one as of the other, that neither superstition, idolatry, or papacy, should be brought in, nor lightness, nor contempt of good order to be maintained. They both take beginning at small things, and increase by little and little at unawares. And quiet may as well be broken with jealousy as negligence, with too much fear or too much patience: no ways worse, than when one is over light-eared the one way, and

Quiet may be as well broken by jealousy as by negligence.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1547 to 1550.

deaf on the other side. Rumours by space and times increase naturally; and by that time they come at you, as it appeareth, they be doubled and trebled. We do perceive your diligent eye towards us, and we will wish (and trust you have) your heart faithful to us. Our most hearty desire and continual prayer to God is, to leave this realm to the king's highness, at his grace's age by you written, rather more flourishing in men, possessions, wealth, learning, wisdom, and God's religion and doctrine, if it were possible, and God's will, than we found it. And that is our whole intent and esperance, to the which we refuse no man's help, as knoweth God; in whom we bid you heartily, farewell.

A Letter of Winchester to the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your good grace: upon the return of my servant Massie with your grace's letters, answering to such my letters wherein I signified the robbing of my secretary, I read the same gladly, as by the contents of the matter I had cause so to do; which was such a comfortative, as I digested easily the rest of the great packet, having been accustomed thereunto in the king my late sovereign lord's days;[1] which fashion of writing, his highness (God pardon his soul!) called 'whetting': which was not all the most pleasant unto me at all times; yet when I saw in my doings was no hurt, and sometimes by the occasion thereof the matter amended, I was not so coy as always to reverse my argument; nor, so that his affairs went well, did I ever trouble myself, whether he made me a wanton or not. And when such as were privy to his letters directed unto me, were afraid I had been in high displeasure (for the terms of the letters sounded so), yet I myself feared it nothing at all. I esteemed him, as he was, a wise prince; and whatsoever he wrote or said for the present, he would after consider the matter as wisely as any man, and neither hurt nor inwardly disfavour him that had been bold with him; whereof I serve for a proof, for no man could do me hurt during his life. And when he gave me the bishopric of Winchester, he said, he had often squared with me, but he loved me never the worse; and for a token thereof gave me the bishopric. And once, when he had been vehement with me in the presence of the earl of Wiltshire, and saw me dismayed with it, he took me apart into his bed-chamber, and comforted me, and said, that his displeasure was not so much to me as I did take it; but he misliked the matter, and he durst more boldly direct his speech to me, than to the earl of Wiltshire. And from that day forward he could not put me out of courage, but if any displeasant words passed from him, as they did sometimes, I folded them up in the matter; which hindered me a little. For I was reported unto him that I stooped not, and was stubborn; and he had commended unto me certain men's gentle nature (as he called it), that wept at every of his words; and methought that my nature was as gentle as theirs, for I was sorry when he was moved. But else I know when the displeasure was not justly grounded in me, I had no cause to take thought, nor was I at any time in all my life miscontent or grudging at any thing done by him, I thank God for it.

And therefore, being thus brought up, and having first read your grace's most gentle letters, signifying the device of a proclamation to stay these rumours, and reading the same proclamation, which my servant brought with him, I read with the more quiet your grace's great letters; and would have laid them up without further answer, were it not that, percase, my so doing might be mistaken. For glum silence may have another construction than frank speech, where a man may speak, as I reckon I may with your grace; upon confidence whereof I am bold to write thus much for my declaration touching your grace's letters of the 27th of May, that how earnest soever my letters be taken in fearing any innovation, I neither inwardly fear it, neither show any demonstration in mine outward deeds to the world here, or in communication, that I do fear it to be done by authority; but in myself resist the rumours and vain enterprises, with confidence in the truth and your grace's wisdom. For if I feared that indeed, with persuasion, it should come to pass, I should have small lust to write in it; but I fear more indeed the trouble that might arise by light boldness of others, and the encumbrance of such matters while other outward affairs occupy your grace's mind, than the effect by your direc-

(1) Rex te ergo semper in oculis.

tion that hath been talked of abroad. And yet, in the writing, I do speak as the matter leads, continuing mine old manner, to be earnest; which as some men have dispraised, so some have commended it. And therefore, in a good honest matter I follow rather mine own inclination, than to take the pains to speak as butter would not melt in my mouth; wherewith I perceive your grace is not miscontent, for the which I most humbly thank you.

And first, as concerning Portsmouth, I wrote to the captain and mayor in the thing as I had information, and by men of credence: and yet I suspended my credit till I had heard from thence, as by my letters appeareth; and as I was loth to have it so, so was I loth to believe it. And, to show that I feared no innovation by authority, nor regarded any such danger, I went thither myself; and in conclusion was in such familiarity with the captain, that after he had showed me all the gentle entertainment that he could, he desired me to make an exhortation to his men, as they stood handsomely with their weapons, wherewith they had showed warlike feats: which I did, and departed in amity with the captain and soldiers, and all the town; the captain telling me plainly, he was nothing offended with any thing I had said in my sermon: nor was there cause why he should. But the very act indeed in defacing the images, had no such ground as Master Captain pretended: for I asked specially for such as had abused those images, and no such could be showed, for that I inquired for openly. And the image of St. John the Evangelist, standing in the chancel by the high altar, was pulled down, and a table of alabaster broken; and in it an image of Christ-crucified so contemptuously handled, as was in my heart terrible—to have the one eye bored out, and the side pierced! wherewith men were wondrously offended: for it is a very persecution beyond the sea, used in that form where the person cannot be apprehended. And I take such an act to be very slanderous, and, esteeming the opinion of breaking images to be had as unlawful, very dangerous, void of all learning and truth, wrote after my fashion to the captain; which letters I perceive to have come to your grace's hands. I was not very curious in the writing of them, for with me truth goeth out plainly and roundly; and, speaking of the king's seal, I uttered the common language I was brought up in, after the old sort. When, as I conject of a good will, the people taking St. George for a patron of the realm under God, and having some confidence of succour by God's strength derived by him,[1] to increase the estimation of their prince and sovereign lord, I called their king on horseback, in the feat of arms, St. George on horseback; my knowledge was not corrupt. I know it representeth the king, and yet my speech came forth after the common language, wherein I trust is none offence. For besides learning, I by experience have known the pre-eminence of a king both in war and peace; and yet, if I had wist my letter should have come to your grace's hands to be answered, then I would have been more precise in my speech, than to give occasion of so long an argument therein. As for St. George himself, I have such opinion of him as becometh me. And have read also of Bellerophon in Homer, as they call him, the father of tales, but I will leave that matter. And as for books, let Latin and Greek continue as long as it shall please God, I am almost past the use of them—what service those letters have done, experience has showed; and religion hath continued in them fifteen hundred years. But as for the English tongue, itself hath not continued in one form of understanding two hundred years; and without God's work and special miracles it shall hardly contain religion long, when it cannot last itself. And whatsoever your grace's mind is now in the matter, I know well, that having the government of the realm, your grace will use the gift of policy, which is a gift of God.

And even as now, at this time, bishops be restrained by a special policy to preach only in their cathedral churches (the like whereof hath not been known in my time, so, upon another occasion, your grace may percase think expedient to restrain (further than the parliament hath already done) the common reading of the Scripture, as is now restrained the bishops' liberty of preaching. As for the brazen serpent, it did not in all men's language represent Christ; and if I had written to another than your grace, I might have had the like matter of argument that was taken against me, of St. George on horseback. For

(1) Amb. ad Ro. 1. 'Ad Deum promerendum quem nihil utique latet, suffragatore non est opus sed mente devota.'

Edward VI.

A. D. 1547 to 1550.

Gregory Nazianzen, chief divine in the Greek church, calleth the serpent's death the figure of the death of Christ; but not the serpent to be the figure of Christ. And yet, when I had done all my argument, I would resolve (as is resolved with me in the speech of St. George on horseback), that the common speech is otherwise (and so it is), in saying the serpent to be a true figure of Christ: and yet Gregory Nazianzen called the serpent itself Ἀντίτυπον of Christ, in these words, Ὀδέ, &c., in his sermon De Paschate; and yet in Almechorus Domini, we read Aries, Leo, Vermis, spoken of Christ; and some expound the Scripture 'sicut Moses,' &c. after that sort. And, as your grace said when I was last at your house with the French ambassador, ye wished him and me, together disputing, to see when we would make an end; even so it is in these matters, when they come in an argument. For a bye thing, as St. George on horseback, when it escaped me, or speaking of the brazen serpent following a speech not throughly discussed, shall be occasion of a digression all out of purpose. And therefore was it a great gift of God, that our late sovereign lord (God rest his soul!) set these matters in quiet; who had heard all these reasons touching images which be now rehearsed in your grace's letters; and, having once my lord of Canterbury and me present with him alone in his palace, that they call otherwise New-Hall, handled that matter at length, and discussed with my lord of Canterbury the understanding of God's commandment to the Jews, so as all the clerks in Christendom could not amend it. And whereas one had denied the image of the Trinity to be had, by reasons as be touched in your grace's letters, I heard his highness answer to them at another time. And when he had himself specially commanded divers images to be abolished, yet (as your grace knoweth)[1] he both ordered, and himself put in execution, the kneeling and creeping before the image of the cross, and established agreement in that truth through all this realm, whereby all arguments to the contrary be assoiled at once.

I would wish images used as the book, of his highness set forth, doth prescribe, and no otherwise. I know your grace only tempteth me with such reasons as others make unto you, and I am not fully at liberty, although I am bold enough (and some will think too bold) to answer some things as I would to another man mine equal, being so much inferior to your grace as I am: but methinketh St. Paul's solution, during the king's majesty's minority, should serve instead of all; 'Nos talem consuetudinem non habemus,' 'We have no such custom in the church.'

When our sovereign lord cometh to his perfect age (which God grant), I doubt not but God will reveal that[2] which shall be necessary for the governing of his people in religion. And if any thing shall be done in the mean time (as I think there shall not) by your grace's direction, he may, when he cometh to age, say in the rest, as I hear say he said now of late concerning procession, that in his father's time men were wont to follow procession; upon which the king's majesty's saying, the procession (as I heard) was well furnished afterwards by your grace's commandment: which speech hath put me in remembrance, that if the bishops and others of the clergy should agree to any alteration in religion, to the condemnation of any thing set forth by his father, whereby his father might be noted to have wanted knowledge or favour to the truth, what he would say I cannot tell, but he might use a marvellous speech (and, for the excellency of his spirit, it were like he would); and, having so just a cause against bishops as he might have, it were to be feared he would. And when he had spoken, then he might, by his laws, do more than any of our sort would gladly suffer at these days. For as the allegation of his authority represented by your grace shall be then answered (as your grace now writeth unto me, 'That your grace only desireth truth according to God's Scripture),' and it may be then said, 'We bishops, when we have our sovereign lord and head in minority, we fashion the matter as we lust.' And then some young man that would have a piece of the bishops' lands shall say, 'The beastly bishops have always done so; and when they can no longer maintain one of their pleasures, of rule and superiority, then they take another way, and let that go, and, for the time they be here, spend up what they have, which eat you and drink you

(1) If every thing were an oracle by and by, that king Henry did, then Winchester were a good logician.

(2) Wherefore then serve the Scriptures for realms to be ruled by, if God never reveal any thing in a realm, but by the king's own person in his man's age?

what they list, and we together, with 'Edamus et bibamus, cras moriemur.' And if we shall allege for our defence the strength of God's truth, and the plainness of Scripture, with the word of the Lord, and many gay terms, and say, 'We were convinced by Scriptures,' such an excellent judgment as the king's majesty is like to have, will never credit us in it, nor be abused by such a vain answer. And this is a worldly politic consideration, and at home: for the noise abroad in the world will be more slanderous, than this is dangerous. And touching the bishop of Rome, the doings in this realm hitherto have never done him so much displeasure, as the alteration in religion during the king's majesty's minority, should serve for his purpose. For he wanteth not wits to beat into other princes' ears, that where his authority is abolished, there shall, at every change of governors, be change in religion; and that which hath been amongst us by a whole consent established, shall, by the pretence of another understanding in Scripture, strait be brought in question; for they will give it no other name but a pretence, how stiffly soever we will affirm otherwise, and call it God's word.

Canterbury and Durham carped at of Winchester.

And here it should be much noted that my lord of Canterbury, being the high bishop of the realm, highly in favour with his late sovereign lord, and my lord of Durham, a man of renowned fame in learning and gravity (both put by him in trust for their counsel in the order of the realm), should so soon forget their old knowledge in Scripture set forth by the king's majesty's book, and advise to inveigh such matter of alteration. All which things be (I know well) by your grace and them considered. And therefore it is to me incredible, that ever any such thing should be indeed with effect, whatsoever the lightness of talk shall spread abroad, which your grace hath by proclamation well stayed. But if you had not, and the world talked so fast as ever they did, I assure your grace I would never fear it, as men fear things they like not, unless I saw it in execution: for of this sort I am, that in all things I think should not be done in reason, I fear them not, wherewith to trouble me, otherwise than to take heed, if I can; and to the head governors (as now to your grace) show my mind: and such experience hath every man of me, that hath communed with me in any such matters. And therefore, albeit your grace writeth wisely, that over much fear doth hurt, and accelerateth sometimes that which was not intended, yet it needs not to me; for I have learned that lesson already, and would a great many more had, which indeed should be great stay. And thus I talk with your grace homely, with multiplication of speech impertinent and not necessary, as though I meant to send you as great a packet as I received from you.

One thing necessary to answer your grace in, is touching your marvel, how I know sooner things from thence, than your grace doth there; which ariseth not upon any desire of knowledge on my behalf (for evil things be over soon known), nor upon any slackness of your grace's behalf there, who is and is noted very vigilant; as your grace's charge requireth. But thus it is, even as it was when I was in some little authority: they that were the evil doers in such matters, would hide them from me. So, now, they have handled it otherwise; for as for Jack of Lent's English Testament, it was openly sold in Winchester market before I wrote unto your grace of it. And as for Bale's books, called the Elucidation of Anne Askew's Martyrdom,[1] they were in these parts common, some with leaves unglued, where Master Paget was spoken of; and some with leaves glued. And I call them common, because I saw at the least four of them. As for Bale's book, touching the death of Luther, wherein was the duke of Saxony's prayer (whereof I wrote), it was brought down into this country by an honest gentleman, to whom it was (as I remember he told me) given at London for news; and he had it a great while ere I wrote to your grace. I had not then received the inhibition for preaching, whereof men spake otherwise than they knew.

And in the mean time Dr. Smith recanted, which a priest of this town (who

(1) Bale's book, called 'Elucidation, &c. touching Luther.'—'The true hystorie of the christen departynge of Martyne Luther, translated by Johan Bale, 8vo. 1546; and the examinacion of Anne Askew, latelye martyred in Smithfelde; imprented at Marpurg, 1546,' appear in 'Herbert's Account of Printing, vol. iii. pp. 1560, 1561.' Strype seems to have thought (Ecclesiastical Memorials, Edw. VI. b. i. c. 5.) that the 'Acts of Unchaste Votaries,' was one of the books here referred to, not perceiving that in a subsequent letter Gardiner had plainly indicated the books of Bale, to which he was alluding.—Ed.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1547 to 1550.

Dr. Smith reproved of Winchester.

to mine own mouth boasted himself to be your grace's chaplain, but I believed it not) brought down with speed, and made bye means to have it brought to my knowledge, which I knew besides, for they had by and by filled all the country hereabouts with tales of me. And when I saw Dr. Smith's recantation begin with 'omnis homo mendax,' so englished, and such a new humility, as he would make all the doctors of the church liars with himself; knowing what opinions were abroad, it enforced me to write unto your grace for the ease of my conscience; giving this judgment of Smith, that I neither liked his tractation of unwritten verities, nor yet his retractation; and was glad of my former judgment, that I never had familiarity with him. I saw him not, that I wot, these three years, nor talked with him these seven years, as curious as I am noted in the commonwealth. And whereas in his unwritten verities he was so mad to say, 'Bishops in this realm may make laws,' I have witness that I said at that word, we should be then 'daws:' and was by and by sorry that ever he had written of the sacrament of the altar, which was not, as it was noised, untouched with that word, 'All men are liars;' which is a marvellous word, as it soundeth in our tongue, when we say a man were better to have a thief in his house, than a liar. And the depraving of man's nature in that sort is not the setting out of the authority of the Scripture. For, albeit the authority of the Scripture dependeth not upon man, yet the ministration of the letter, which is writing and speaking, is exercised, and hath been from the beginning delivered, through man's hand, and taught by man's mouth; which men the Scripture calleth holy men; and that is, contrary to liars. And therefore St. Augustine, in his book 'De Mendacio,' saying, 'omnis homo mendax,' signifieth, 'omnis homo peccans.' If Smith had only written of bishops' laws, and then said loudly, he had (saving your honour) lied, or, to mitigate the matter, said he had erred by ignorance, that had been done truly and humbly: for he that seeketh for much company in lying, as he did, hath small humility; for he would hide himself by the number. And thus much as touching Smith, of whom, or his book, till he was in trouble, I never heard talking.

But to the matter I wrote of; I have told your grace how I came to knowledge of them, very scarcely in time, but in the thing over quickly: and never had any such thought in my life, as I denied to your grace, to be worthily charged with them (by them, I mean, that may hereafter charge); for I know no such yet in this world, and I never was in mine opinion so mad, as to write to your grace in that sort. When all things be well, I have many causes to rejoice; but where things were otherwise (as I trust they shall not), I have nothing to do to ask any account: I trust I shall never forget myself so much. I thank God, I am even as well learned to live in the place of obedience, as I was in the place of direction in our late sovereign lord's life. And for my quietness in this estate, I account myself to have a great treasure of your grace's rule and authority; and therefore will worship and honour it otherwise than to use such manner of presumption to ask any account. And I know your grace cannot stay these matters so suddenly; and I esteem it a great matter, that things be stayed hitherto thus: but, if things had increased as the rumours purported, your grace might have been incumbered more in the execution of your good determination. Now, thanks be to God, your grace goeth well about to stay it.

As for myself, I know mine inward determination to do, as I may, my duty to God and the world, and have no cause to complain of the universal disposition of them in my diocese. I know but one way of quiet: to keep and follow such laws and orders in religion as our late sovereign lord left with us; which, by his life, as the bishops and clergy said, was the very truth, so I never yet read or heard any thing why to swerve from it, or think it expedient to call any one thing in doubt, during the king's majesty's minority, whereby to impair the strength of the accord established. Which I write, not mistrusting your grace in the contrary, but declaring myself, and wishing the same mind to others about you, as I trust they have, for which I shall pray to God, who prospered our late sovereign lord in that rebellion, as we have seen experience, and, by your grace's foresight and politic government, shall send the like prosperity to our sovereign lord that now is; wherein I shall do my part, as a subject most bounden many ways thereunto.

I send unto your grace herewith, my discussion of my lord of St David's

purgation, wherein I walk somewhat more at liberty than writing to your grace; and yet I take myself liberty enough, with a reverend mind, nevertheless, to keep me within my bounds; which if I at any time exceed, I trust your grace will bear with me after your accustomed goodness, for whose prosperity I shall continually pray, with increase of honour.

At Winchester, the 6th of June [1547.]

Edward VI. A.D. 1547 to 1550.

*Stephen Winchester, to the Lord Protector.[1]

After most humble commendations to your grace: I have received this day letters from my lord of Canterbury, touching certain homilies, which the bishops, in the convocation holden A.D. 1542, agreed to make for stay of such errors as were then by ignorant preachers sparkled among the people; for other agreement there had not then passed among us. Since that time God gave our late sovereign lord the gift of pacification in those matters, which, established by his highness's authority in the convocation, extinguished our devices, and remaineth of force with your grace; wherein to avoid many encumbrous arguments which wit can devise against the truth, I send to your grace the copy of mine answer to my lord of Canterbury, to whom I write and offer myself more largely than I ever did in any matter of the realm, to any man besides my sovereign lord, or the chief governor as your grace. For I am not factious, and use only to say as I am bound to say, as occasion serveth; for that is my duty: having no other thing purposed but truth and honesty, whatsoever any man shall otherwise say of me. I am busier with your grace than needeth; but such commendations as it pleased your grace to send me by Master Coke (for the which I most humbly thank your grace), have engendered thus much more boldness than ever. Methinketh I should desire your grace, not to suffer the king's majesty our late sovereign lord's determination to slip the anchor-hold of authority, and come to a loose disputation; for decision whereof afterwards, the burden must rest on your grace, unto whom I desire all prosperous success, and the increase and continuance of such honour as God hath granted to your virtue, not to fall by encumbrance of any bye-matters that need not to be stirred.

If your grace think not yourself encumbered with my babbling, and inculcating that which needeth not unto you, I would answer your grace's letters of the sixteenth of April, so as your grace will, by other letters, withdraw your name; that I may be seen to dispute with one not so far above me in authority, as your grace is; which I have thought requisite to advertise, lest by my silence your grace should deem I thought myself overcome in those matters, where indeed I am of a contrary mind, and can show whereupon to ground me, why I should so think: and thus, desiring your grace to take in good part my doings, I shall continually pray for the preservation of your grace long in felicity.

At Winchester, the 10th of June, 1547.

Stephen Winchester.

To the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your grace: since my letters unto your grace, wherewith I sent unto you such letters as I had written to my lord of Canterbury, for answer to his letters touching homilies, I have eftsoons received other letters from my said lord of Canterbury, requiring the said homilies by virtue of a convocation holden five years past, wherein we communed of that which took none effect then, and much less needeth to be put in execution now, nor in my judgment cannot without a new authority from the king's majesty that now is, commanding such a matter to be enterprised. I wrote at length to my lord of Canterbury, and sent the copy of those letters to your grace; not to the intent your grace should lose so much time to read them, for they be tedious in length, but only for my discharge; who never meddled yet, by private letters, with any man in the realm, to persuade or dissuade matters of religion, but with the prince himself, or him that had the managing of the great matters under him. And following this determination, I am so bold to send your grace the copy of such letters as I write to my lord of Canterbury,

(1) The following nine letters, extending to page 54, are from the Editions of 1563, pp. 728, 729. —Ed.

Edward VI. A.D. 1547 to 1550.

whose letters to me, I could not of congruence forbear to answer, nor answering, forbear to speak freely as I think. And sorry I am to hear the matter of homilies spoken of in this time. Your grace hath done prudently to stop the vain rumours by proclamation, and it hath wrought good effect, and methinketh it is not best to enterprise any thing to tempt the people with occasion of tales, whereby to break the proclamation and offend: and to this effect I wrote to my lord of Canterbury. For like as in a natural body, rest without trouble doth confirm and strengthen it, so is it in a commonwealth: trouble travaileth, and bringeth the things to looseness. And my lord of Canterbury is not surer of his life, when the old order is broken, and a new brought in by homilies—that he shall continue to see his new device executed; for it is not done in a day. I would there were nothing else to do now. I have known business to occupy such as were put in trust, when religion hath been untouched. A new order engendereth a new cause of punishment against them that offend; and punishments be not pleasant to them that have the execution, and yet they must be: for nothing may be contemned. And thus I travail in the matter with my lord of Canterbury, because he would I should weigh things. And so do I as indifferently, as ever did man for the preservation of the ship, wherein I sail myself, and so many others, whose prosperity I am bound to wish. I can admit no innovations. [A.D. 1547.]

Stephen Winchester.

A Letter of Winchester, to the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your good grace, with thanks that it hath pleased you to be content to hear from me, wherein now I have from your grace liberty to write at large, I cannot find the like gentleness in my body to spend so much time as I would; and therefore shall now desire your grace to take in good part, though I gather my matter into brief sentences.

Winchester carpeth at the Paraphrase of Erasmus.

The injunctions in this visitation contain a commandment to be taught and learned: two books, one of the Homilies that must be taught others by priest; another of Erasmus's Paraphrase, that the priest must learn himself. These books strive one with another directly, &c. Thus I have signified to your grace some special faults that be Erasmus's own faults, and in my judgment great faults; but I have not written all. And your grace shall further understand, that he (who it is, I know not) who hath taken the labour to translate Erasmus into English, hath for his part offended sometimes, as appeareth plainly, by ignorance, and sometimes evidently of purpose, to put in, leave out, and change as he thought best, never to the better but to the worse; with the specialties whereof, I will not now encumber your grace, but assure you it is so. And here I will grant to your grace, that for every lie I make unto you, set one hundred pounds fine upon mine head; and let me live here like a beggar, whilst my revenues pay it. My words you have in writing, and be against me matter of record; and so I yield to have me charged, as the bishop of London was, with offering the farm of his bishopric; which matter came to my remembrance in the writing hereof. And now I have written unto your grace upon what foundation my conscience is grounded, I shall truly declare unto you the manner of my proceeding from the beginning. I never heard of the execution of the visitation, till your grace was departed from London northward; and as the books flowed abroad by liberty of the printers, they came to my hands. I never slept[1] while I had perused them. As soon as I had found certain faults I wrote to the council, trusting upon such earnest advertisement as I made, they would incontinently have sent for me; and, upon knowledge of so evident matter as methought I had to show, have stayed till your grace's return. I saw a determination to do all things suddenly at one time; whereunto although your grace agreed, yet of your wisdom I conjectured ye had rather have had it tarry whiles your return,[2] if you had not been pressed. And that word 'pressed' I noted in your grace's letters to me, wherein you wrote you were pressed on both sides. Methought if by bringing myself to most extreme danger in your absence, I could have stayed this matter, besides my duty to God, and to my sovereign lord, I had done also your grace's pleasure; of whom I have this firm

(1) If Winchester never slept till he had read the paraphrase, either he was a quick reader, or else he read faster than he well understood.

(2) Which return Winchester and his never looked for, if all crafty practices were known.

opinion, that willingly and wittingly your grace will neither break the act of parliament, nor command books to be bought with authority, that contain such doctrine as these books do. Thus I adventured in your grace's absence, wherein although I had remembrance of your grace, yet I made not your grace my foundation, but God chiefly (as God knoweth), with the preservation of our late sovereign lord's honour that dead is, and the security of our sovereign lord that now is.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1547 to 1550.

Let no man be offended with the vehemency of my writing, for I wrote with a whole heart; and if I could have written it with the blood of my heart, I would have done it, to have done good, in staying the thing till it had been more maturely digested, and till your grace's safe return. I touched the act of parliament lively, but as truly as ever was any thing spoken of. And I never wept more bitterly than I did for a conceit that troubled my head, which never passed my lips, nor shall ever come out of my pen: I will tell it your grace, and you require it. Now whether the king may command against an act of parliament,[1] and what danger they may fall in, that break a law with the king's consent, I dare say no man alive at this day hath had more experience, what the judges and lawyers have said, than I. First I had experience in mine old master the lord cardinal, who obtained his legacy by our late sovereign lord's request at Rome; and in his sight and knowledge occupied the same, with his two crosses and maces borne before him, many years. Yet, because it was against the laws of the realm, the judges concluded the offence of the præmunire: which conclusion I bear away, and take it for a law of the realm, because the lawyers so said, but my reason digested it not.

Crocodill lacrimæ!

Like master, like man.

The lawyers, for confirmation of their doings, brought in a case of the lord Tiptoft,[2] as I remember, a jolly civilian (he was chancellor to the king), who, because in execution of the king's commission he had offended the laws of the realm, suffered on Tower-hill. They brought in examples of many judges that had fines set on their heads in like case, for doing against the law of the realm by the king's commandment. And then was brought in the judges' oath, not to stay any process or judgment for any commandment from the king's majesty. And one article against my lord cardinal was, that he had granted injunctions to stay the common laws. And upon that occasion Magna Charta was spoken of, and it was made a great matter, the stay of the common law. And this I learned in that case (since that time being of the council), when many proclamations were devised against the carriers out of corn, at such time as the transgressors should be punished, the judges would answer, it might not be by the laws; whereupon ensued the act of proclamations, in the passing of which act many liberal words were spoken, and a plain promise, that by authority of the act for proclamations, nothing should be made contrary to an act of parliament, or common law. When the bishop of Exeter, and his chancellor, were by one body brought in a præmunire (which matter my lord privy seal cannot forget), I reasoned with the lord Audley, then chancellor, so far as he bade me hold my peace for fear of entering into a præmunire myself. Whereupon I stayed, but concluded, it seemed to me strange that a man, authorized by the king (as, since the king's majesty hath taken upon him the supremacy, every bishop is such a one), could fall in a Præmunire. After, I had reasoned the matter once in the parliament house, where was free speech without danger; and there the lord Audley, then chancellor, to satisfy me familiarly, because I was in some secret estimation, as he then knew—'Thou art a good fellow, bishop,' quoth he (which was the manner of his familiar speech): 'look at the Act of Supremacy, and there the king's doings be restrained to spiritual jurisdiction; and in another act it is provided, that no spiritual law shall have place contrary to a common law or act of parliament. And if this were not,' quoth he, 'you bishops would enter in with the king, and, by means of his supremacy, order the laity as ye listed. But we will provide,' quoth he, 'that the præmunire shall ever hang over your heads; and so we laymen shall be sure to enjoy our inheritance by the common laws, and acts of parliament.'

It is not yet full two years ago, since, in a case of jewels, I was fain with the emperor's ambassador, and after in the emperor's court, to defend and

(1) And why did you and yours break the act of parliament of king Edward, for the communion by a proclamation, or setting up the mass in queen Mary's days?

(2) Lord Tiptoft was executed in 1470.—Ed.

Edward VI. A. D. 1547 to 1550.

maintain by commandment, that the kings of this realm, were not above the order of their laws. And therefore the jeweller, although he had the king's bill signed, yet it would not be allowed in the king's court, because it was not obtained according to the laws; in which matter I was very much troubled, even this time twelvemonth, when I was in commission with my lord great master, and the earl of Southampton, for altering the court of augmentations. There was my lord Mountague, and other of the king's learned council, of whom, by occasion of that matter, I learned what the king might do contrary to an act of parliament, and what danger it was to them that meddled against the act. It is fresh in memory, and they can tell whether I said true or no. And therefore, being learned in so notable cases, I wrote in your grace's absence to the council therein, as I had learned, by hearing the commons speak (whose judgments rule those matters, howsoever my reason can digest them), and so wrote to the council; which my writings I fashioned so as I trusted my lord would have stayed till your grace's return. And thus I have declared to your grace the purpose of my writing to the council so vehement, while, nevertheless, I continued with all humility to abide the order of authority, and learn all other obedience: for thereunto I have ever had as great regard, as any man in this realm. And as my word is 'vana salus hominis,' so I assure your grace I practise it thoroughly in my deeds.

When my lords sent last for me,[1] I came to them with as much speed as I might, with my sleeves and bosom trussed full of books, to furnish my former allegations. I was heard very well and gently; and methought I showed matter that should have moved, for I showed the two books to be contrary, as I have written before; wherewith, they said, they were not moved; adding how their conscience agreed not with mine: using many good words to bring me to such conformity, as they would have had me at. Whereupon, knowing that I know, I could not relent. But after I had been a little beside from them, and was returned, they entered a precise order with me, either to receive precisely the injunctions, or to refuse; in which case they had further to say to me: adding, that your grace was privy to that was done there that day. My answer was, that I would receive the injunctions as far as God's law and the king's would bind me. And because I saw they grew to such preciseness, and remembering how, after a good sort, they had caused me to be accompanied before with Master Wingfield, making intimations, what would be the end if I would not yield—I would not therefore leave unspoken, that which I thought might avoid what followed. I told them there were three weeks of delay to the coming of the visitors to me. In the mean time I offered to go to Oxford, to abide the discussion there; which offer was not allowed. I desired then to go to my house at London, and to have learned men speak with me there; which was not accepted. I entered then the allegation of the gospel, of the servant, that said he would not do a thing, and yet did it: and so I said it might be, that although I then said nay, as my conscience served me, yet I might percase change, and was a man that might be tempted. But, as my conscience was then, methought God's law and the king's letted me. And upon knowledge of their pleasures, that I must to the Fleet, I told my lords I thought it hard, unless there were a greater matter than [that,] to send me to prison for; declaring beforehand what I minded to do, before any thing had been by me actually done to resist the visitation, who had all the mean time to think on the matter, and repent me. Whereunto the answer was such as displeased me not inwardly so much, but I have well digested it, and (so all may be well) care not what becometh of my body. I departed as quietly from them as ever man did, and have endured with as little grudge here; and have learned this lesson in the world, never to look backward, as St. Paul saith, nor remember that is past; I will never grudge or complain of any thing for myself.

As for the matter to have such books recommended to the realm in the king's name by your grace's direction, [it] me seemeth very weighty, and your grace not to have been well handled in it. All the world knoweth the king's highness himself knew not these books, and therefore nothing can be ascribed unto him. Your grace hath been to your increase of honour so occupied, as all men know, your grace had no leisure yourself to peruse these books; and yet be the books as

(1) By the articles objected against Gardiner in Dec. 1550, it appears that Gardiner had then been called to the council twice; in June, 1548, and on the 19th of July, 1550.—Ed.

I have written. I leave the rest to your grace. If I, that tell the council my mind of them, have done so far amiss, because, when I know so much, I will not yet allow them, I shall from henceforth the more regard the lesson of an old ambassador, that bade me let evil tidings go home to my master a-foot, and send only good tidings by post, ashift with the word which agreeth not with my nature, as Master Wallop saith.

Upon Friday last past, my lord of Canterbury sent for me to the dean of Paul's house, whither I went with some gazing of the world. There I found my lord of Canterbury, accompanied with the bishop of Rochester, Master Dr. Coxe, and Master Aire; and I was brought thither by the bishop of Lincoln. What report my lord of Canterbury hath made thereof I cannot tell. My lord of Canterbury was in hand with his Homily of Salvation, but nothing heard or saw I to save my conscience in agreeing to him; but that I should justly confirm me in mine own conscience. I made offer to yield to them in that homily, if they could show me any old writer that wrote how faith excluded charity in the office of justification. It is against Scripture's plain words, and to swerve from Scripture without any one doctor to lean to it, were sore. Where Scriptures and doctors want, my lord of Canterbury would fall to arguing, and overcome me that am called the sophister, by sophistry. When I heard my lord's argument, I denied it, and would enter none other declaration; for I keep that answer till some others than were there be present; my solution whereunto, when I declare it, shall make all the rest of the matter very weak, and my lord not to like his argument at all. One argument I could not assoil to come again to the Fleet. My lord of Canterbury charged me, that I like nothing, unless I do it myself; whereof I am not guilty. I was never author of any one thing, either spiritual or temporal; I thank God for it. I am also charged, that all the realm hath received these homilies without contradiction, save I: whereunto I answer, I think they have not read what I have read in these books. What hath been done I cannot tell, now I am kept as I cannot know, though I would. When I was abroad, I never sought to know more than was brought by common fame; for this shall be found true: I never advised any man to object any thing against these books, no one man, not my chaplains.

A kinsman of mine, beneficed in my diocese, and not unlearned, came to me, and told me how he heard a lewd fellow say, that I would not receive the injunctions. 'And sir,' quoth he, 'I rebuked him, and reviled him, and said you would as readily receive as any man.' I told him, that in so saying he did very well. Upon my coming up, a chaplain of mine, a doctor of divinity, told me, he would receive the injunctions quietly, and say nothing. I told him, it should be well done, if I had tarried in my diocese. If any man had spoken but myself, I would have lost my life for it; nor I think there hath not now. This matter was to try a bishop, whether he careth more for the truth, or his own rest.

What examples have I seen in this realm, how freely men have said their conscience against our late sovereign lord's determination, and against the act of parliament? Dr. Crome, a mean man, preached against our late sovereign lord's determinations; and how daintily he was handled to relieve his conscience! If your grace would have this for a precedent, that whatsoever the king's council for the time of a prince's minority shall send to be preached, must needs be received without allegation, of what strength is the act of parliament against the bishop of Rome? The king's majesty, when he cometh to his age, will look to be bold to do as much with his subjects, as his council did in his minority; whereof the counsellors may be then weary. Precedents be dangerous, for I have seen it almost for a rule, that whatsoever hath been once done, may then, without question, be done again. In our late sovereign lord's time, I have seen the council much astonied, when the king would have done somewhat against an act of parliament: it was made then a great matter. The lord Cromwell had once put in the king our late sovereign lord's head, to take upon him to have his will and pleasure regarded for a law; for that, he said, was to be a very king: and thereupon I was called for at Hampton-court. And as the lord Cromwell was very stout, 'Come on, my lord of Winchester,' quoth he (for that conceit he had, whatsoever he talked with me: he knew ever as much as I; Greek or Latin, and all). 'Answer the king here,' quoth he; 'but speak plainly and directly, and shrink not, man! Is not

Edward VI.

A.D. 1547 to 1550.

that,' quoth he, 'that pleaseth the king, a law? Have ye not there, in the civil laws,' quoth he, 'quod principi placuit, and so forth?' quoth he: 'I have somewhat forgotten it now.' I stood still, and wondered in my mind to what conclusion this should tend. The king saw me musing, and with earnest gentleness said, 'Answer him whether it be so or no. I would not answer my lord Cromwell, but delivered my speech to the king, and told him, I had read indeed of kings that had their will always received for a law; but, I told him, the form of his reign, to make the laws his will was more sure and quiet; 'and by this form of government ye be established,' quoth I, 'and it is agreeable with the nature of your people. If ye begin a new manner of policy, how it will frame no man can tell; and how this frameth ye can tell, and I would never advise your grace to leave a certain for an uncertain.' The king turned his back, and left the matter after till the lord Cromwell turned the cat in the pan afore company; when he was angry with me, and charged me as though I had played his part. This tale is true, and not without purpose to be remembered, how I have been tossed to and fro in this kind of matter. Thus I have showed your grace the whole matter with many more words than I intended in the entry of my letter, and make now an end; enforced by weariness of my body, fed with close air, rather than meat, which my stomach desireth not; yet I must say somewhat in the matter of only faith, wherein my lord of Canterbury so much travaileth.

First, it is sure, he shall never prove that he would say in that matter. But, to make an end of it, either I am a very fool in mine own conceit, which may easily be, or I see an occasion given to your grace to make such a true determination in it, as may be honourable to your grace, the contentation of all the world, the preservation of the king's honour that dead is—without prejudice of the act of parliament, without derogation to my lord of Canterbury's honour, without diminution of the reputation of the council, and without any glory to the bishop of Winchester; which is, in some men's conceit, the greatest matter of all that be yet rehearsed; and in good faith I would I were not, so all were well. Your grace's doing in Scotland is not, to my judgment, more to your grace's honour than this would be, which God grant, and your grace much honour and felicity.

At the Fleet, the 14th of October. [A.D. 1547.]

Your grace's humble bead-man,

S. W.[1]

A Letter of Winchester to the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your good grace: since the writing of my last long letters to your good grace, which as they wearied me in writing, so they have, I think, wearied your grace in reading, I have been in great expectation to hear somewhat from your grace; of whose gentle and favourable mind towards me I cannot doubt, howsoever the declaration thereof at this time be hindered by other bye-persuasions, wherewith although your grace may be somewhat moved, I marvel not; and therefore, whiles all things may be tried, do well satisfy myself, not minding by any suit I have or shall make, otherwise to press your grace than may be conveniently obtained of you in the state you now present. And yet sue I must of congruence, for declaration of my humility, and also importunely sue, lest I should be seen to contemn, and to be entered into a melancholy, proudly to disdain the world, which, I assure your grace, I do not, nor ever had any such fantasy; whereof they can be witness, that have continually seen my behaviour, since the death of our late sovereign lord, and since my coming to this prison. And yet my lord of Canterbury, when he sent for me last out of the Fleet, handled me with fair words, declaring me a man meet, in his opinion, to be called to the council again; adding how we (he said) did daily choose in others, that were not appointed by our late sovereign lord. They were worldly comfortable words, and as far contrarious on the one side, as the Fleet is on the other side. But

(1) Gardiner had been committed to the Fleet on the 25th of September, 1547, and was set at liberty before the close of that year. His confinement in the Tower lasted somewhat more than five years. He was sent there at the beginning of June, 1548, and liberated on the 3d of August, 1553, four weeks after Mary came to the throne.—Ed.

I have not, I thank God, that deceit which my lord of Canterbury thought to be in me, or would seem to think so, whereby to induce others to think the same: as though I were not moved to say as I do, for any zeal to the truth, but of perverse frowardness; as one that liked not his estate, and therefore cared not what became of him. The truth whereof to be otherwise God knoweth: and I am able to make to the world sufficient proof and testimony of the contrary, if it be required. First, as touching the book of Paraphrase, whereof I wrote to your grace special faults, and others I have to show as great as they, I trust: and doubt not, the matter itself shall sufficiently declare, that I have done well to speak against that book; assuring your grace, that since my coming to prison, many days together when I looked on it, I saw every day some new thing in such sort of fault, as ought worthily to condemn the work. I have favoured Erasmus's name as much as any other, but I never studied over this book till now, and now I agree with them that said, 'Erasmus laid the eggs,[1] and Luther hatched them:' adding further, that of all the monstrous opinions that have arisen, evil men had a wondrous occasion ministered to them of that book. And, therefore, I trust the matter of that book will purge the evil opinion as might be gathered of me, wherein I offer to prove that I said with any learned man, [under] pain of shame and rebuke, and to be taken for a melancholic beast.

As for the Book of Homilies, in that point where my lord of Canterbury would have taught how faith excluded charity in the office of justifying, besides that my conscience is otherwise persuaded, and truly persuaded, it doth so touch me outwardly in the world, as, if I would [agree], for any intercession or request upon offer to be a councillor, or have as much more land as all the bishops may spend, I were worthy (for so agreeing, for meed on the one side, or dread on the other side), first, to be whipped in every market town in the realm, and then hanged for example, as the veriest varlet that ever was bishop in any realm christened; unless my lord of Canterbury could show me either Scripture that so said, or some ancient writer:[2] wherein I desire only to see but one, where commonly two be required in every matter. But, because it is in the matter of only faith, I require but one ancient writer, whereby I cared not for my conscience, as some would have it; pleased if I might excuse myself, at least to the world, that I were not worthy to be whipped and hanged in all good men's judgments, and mine own also.

And this matter I write unto your grace, to declare unto you in what straits I am tied inwardly in my conscience by very truth, so I am tied outwardly in the world with shame: whereby appeareth that I resist not this matter of a wilful purpose, or that I like it not because I was not a councillor (which words my lord of Canterbury used to me); for I am even driven to do as I do of necessity on both sides, in my conscience before God and the world abroad, whereof if I show not your grace such a proof as cannot be denied, let me be out of all credit in every thing, and be accounted a liar; which I abhor above all faults. Whereupon me seemeth my case is miserable, to be so encumbered as I am, and yet to be used as I were without cause obstinate, notwithstanding all such circumstances as I have used to humble myself to learn and abide. I yielded myself to be opposed at Oxford, that I might say, if I yielded, learning had overcome me. When that was refused, I offered myself to go to school at home, with offer to yield to the truth. And although I have to maintain me, both the plain Scriptures, the doctors plain, and the plain act of parliament; yet, for conformity, offered to my lord of Canterbury, to yield, if he could show me one scripture[3] affirming faith to exclude charity in justification; or, Scrip-

(1) Erasmus if he had been alive, he could as well have answered to this matter, as he answered to Albertus Pius objecting against him the same.

(2) Because ye require an ancient author, what say you to Chrysostome in Epist. ad Tit. Hom. 3, 'Si fidei credis, cur alia infers, quasi fides justificare non sufficia sola.' The same Chrysostome, also, in Matt. viii. Hom. 27. 'Ut jam neminem fugere possit, his verbis declarari, non ex operibus, sed ex fide salutem hominibus æternam præstari.'

(3) If I might be so bold with this noble clerk, I would oppose him in his grammar, what part of speech were 'absque' in St. Paul, where he saith 'Fide justificamur, absque operibus?' 'We are justified by faith, without works.' If he say, it is a proposition exclusive, as he must needs do, then how can he deny here charity to be excluded with all the works of the law, in the action of justification? If this word 'excluding,' do displease you, then take away in St. Paul these words, 'Gratis, non ex operibus, operibus absque Domini est,' etc. That is, 'freely, not of works;' without works, it is God's gift, etc. Works of charity are excluded not to follow; but do not merit any part of justification.

Edward VI.

A.D. 1547 to 1550.

ture failing (as it doth indeed), to show me but one ancient writer that writeth so, with offer to yield and give place: which offer excludeth all stubbornness, and all evil opinion that might be conceived of wilfulness in me.

It is now twenty days ago since I spake with my lord of Canterbury, when the strongest arguments he made me, were, to agree, with hope to be a councillor again, or go to the Fleet from whence I came: for, when I made request to the contrary, he said he had no such commission from the council. And so here I remain without bail or mainprise; without comfort of any of my friends or servants; as one divided from the world; no chaplain to accompany me in prayer; no barber nor tailor for bodily necessaries, nor liberty to use physician for relief of disease, whereof I have need. And your grace, who I think would show me relief (for I will never think want of good will in you), is percase persuaded, by means, that I resist the truth wilfully, and that your grace may not in any wise show me the least comfort in the world: for then no man shall rule me. And then your grace, that showed so much favour to the earl of Southampton, late chancellor, wherein all the world commended your gentleness, if your grace should now any ways comfort me in prison with the least token of gentleness, ye might be noted to favour Winchester's faction, as some term it: whereas, I take God to record, I never joined myself with any man, nor have secretly encouraged any man to be of my opinion; and as yet I have none other opinion, but such as the parliament hath established.

The earl of Southampton did many things while he was chancellor, touching religion, which misliked me not, but I did never advise him so to do; nor made of him the more for it, when he had done. He was one of whom, by reason, I might have been bold; but I left him to his conscience. Therein I never said so much secretly to any nobleman of the realm, as I have to your grace; at which time I advised your grace to be noted neither on the one side nor on the other. And your grace hath for yourself as good a name as can be. And I shall say this without flattery, that like as chance very notably hath advanced your estate many degrees, since the time of my first acquaintance with you, so have you had occasion to show your virtue, whereby to be thought worthy your estate, by means whereof you cannot wish a more felicity than you have, to be the beginning of such an estate as ye shall leave, by God's grace, to your posterity.

This is not altogether out of my matter, for whatsoever become of me, I would your grace did well. Men be mortal, and deeds revive, and methinketh my lord of Canterbury doth well to entangle thus your grace with this matter of religion, and to borrow of your authority the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and the King's Bench, with prisonment in his house, wherewith to cause men to agree to that it pleaseth him to call truth in religion, leaving that he setteth forth, not stablished by any law in the realm, but contrary to a law in the realm. At the least a law it is not yet; and, before a law made, I have not seen such a kind of imprisonment as I sustain, humbly offering myself ready to learn. Our late sovereign lord, whose soul God pardon, suffered every man to say his mind without imprisonment, till the matter were established by law. If my lord of Canterbury hath the strength of God's Spirit, with such a learning in his laws as be able to overthrow with that breath all untruths, and establish truths—I would not desire the let of it by your grace, nor the work of God's truth any way hindered. In which case if all the realm be persuaded besides myself in this matter, it shall be easy for to reprove me in the face of all the world, and drive me to the ground with the sword of God's Scripture; which he should rather desire to do, than to borrow the sword your grace hath the rule of, wherewith to fear men; which is a mean to slander all that is done, or shall be done, if men be prisoned before a law made. And I cannot believe but there be more than I, or else I should not be kept so secret. For all my folks resorted to me, and told me there was no reason to stand alone against all men, to undo them, and myself, also, in this world. It were a greater temptation than my lord of Canterbury made, to put me in hope to be a councillor again.

Be your grace assured, the foundation of my ground is a zeal to the truth. Although I have many worldly considerations to allege for me, which serve to purge me of wilfulness, which I assure your grace is not my fault, I will not trouble your grace with all I could say of my knowledge: whatsoever my words be of my lord of Canterbury, which the matter enforceth me to speak, I am in

none enmity with his person, and that I am able to prove; but my lord hath, in the homily of Salvation, taken such a matter in hand, and so handled it as, if were his extreme enemy, I would have wished him to have taken that piece in hand, and so handled it as he hath done. For that asseveration, how faith excluded charity, can neither be proved by scripture, nor confirmed by any ancient writer, or persuaded by any effectual argument. And one argument my lord hath devised, which he frameth thus: 'We be justified by faith without all works of the law: charity is a work of the law: ergo we are justified without charity.' The answering of which argument (which I can do plainly by authority) shall declare, that either my lord is deceived himself, if he take it for a strong argument, when the opinion of his learning shall be hindered; or, if he use it willingly, knowing the fault in it, the lack is greater another way. But the answer to that argument dissolveth all the matter, whereunto I have an answer made one thousand two hundred years by-past; which I will of my peril show, if my lord will avow it for his argument. And if my lord will send me the argument of his hand, I will send him the answer of my hand, whereby shall shortly appear, whether I trifle or no.

Edward VI. A. D. 1547 to 1550.

In the latter end of my last letter to your grace, I spake of a determination, whereof I wished your grace were author. For weariness of writing I did not open what I meant in specialty, intending now to begin in the middle of this sorrow, with a merry tale; but a very true tale, and not unmeet to be rehearsed. Thus it happened: Certain doctors of divinity at Paris, minding with utterance of some learning, whereof they had store, to requite a gentleman that had bidden them to dinner, using a preface, that as he had fed them with bodily meat, they would feed him with spiritual food, proponed this question to be disputed amongst them: 'Whether the ass that carried our Lady and Christ, when Joseph fled with them into Egypt, when it carried our Lady only with Christ in her lap, carried then as perfect a burden as when it carried our Lady with Christ on her lap, and a flea sitting on her head?' Herein the doctors were in great earnest, and many hot arguments were between them in the matter, with much expense of language, 'whether our Lady alone, with Christ in her lap, were as perfect a burden, as our Lady and Christ, with a flea upon our Lady's head?' The audience, which was learned, was well cheered with laughing; but other edification the matter had not. And it may be laughed at, whensoever it is told, to see in what trifles many men spend their time. And now I shall say that which is strange at the first reading, but it is true.

The matter of justification—whether only faith justifieth, and whether faith excludeth charity in justification,—pertaineth no more to the use and practice of our church of England (although in knowledge it be a grave matter), than the trifling question I rehearsed, pertained to the hearers' edification in good living.[1] I beseech your grace to know how I put a difference between use and knowledge. The knowledge of justification (as I have said) is, in learning, of more weight, and such as for the entreating of it, many have wept even here at home, besides those that have wept in Germany. But the use and practice of it is no more necessary in the state of the church of England, than is the handling of the other question; and for any use in the church, the one may be forborne as well as the other, considering the baptism of infants is so duly observed; in which sacrament of baptism all we be justified before we can talk of this justification we strive for. And unless the church leave the use to christian infants (which shall not be), there cannot be a time, in which the knowledge of the justification we strive for, can be practised: but all men shall (as we already have) receive their justification in baptism in their infancy. So as the doctrine of 'only faith justifieth,' if it were true as the homily declareth, it is no more necessary for the present state of the church, than to know whether the burden of our Lady and Christ only, were as perfect, as the burden of our Lady and Christ, with a flea sitting upon our Lady's head, which the solemn doctors of Paris so earnestly entreated of.

Some will say I am waxed mad in prison to compare these two together: but as I compare them for use and practice, the one is as necessary as the other; and I was bold to use the merry example, to imprint the matter the better in your grace's memory. For it is as I say, when we have all talked;

(1) Hereby it is evident that this insensible ass had no feeling of God's spirit in the matter of justification.

Edward VI. A. D. 1547. to 1550.

for we all are justified in baptism while younglings; and, falling after baptism, we must arise by the sacrament of penance, which must be confessed of all men, unless they be such as deny all sacraments, as some have done indeed; wading so far in the sifting of only faith, that they have left nothing but faith alone; and yet spent a great deal of their faith in the handling of it, or rather all. And that is a general fault I find, that such as write in that matter, do not handle it faithfully, in alleging the doctors and Scriptures right as they be. Now if this be true that I have written (which is true indeed), were it not an honourable part of you to say, 'Why trouble ye the world for a thing not necessary;' and so put it from the country, and make it as it were a Chequer-Chamber case? And so to be sent to the universities, for whom it is meet soberly to talk, and not for homilies, wherein the people shall hear that they shall never practise, because they learn it too late; being justified before in their infancy in baptism.

My lord of Canterbury told me, his intent is only to set out the freedom of God's mercy; which may be done much more plainly, with putting the people in remembrance of the constantly received faith of the church in the baptism of infants; whereby such as be justified and saved in the virtue of Christ's passion, who, after baptism, by malice fall not to sin, those must return to Christ by penance; but such as die before that actual sin hath defiled their soul again, if they die in the innocency received in baptism, be saved. And yet those children, when they were christened, did nothing but cry for cold, or, when they were over-hard griped, for fear of falling. And when this is believed, is not God's mercy believed to be ministered after a most free liberal sort, if my lord of Canterbury mind only that the matter shall appear without argument, as we practise justification in receiving the sacrament of baptism? And as for justification by only faith, it is all out of use, howsoever we expound it, as the state of the church is now.

And it is a terrible matter to think on, to see such a contention to rise upon a matter not necessary to be spoken of; wherein if my lord of Canterbury will needs travail, my judgment is, that he shall never persuade that faith excludeth charity in justification, unless he borrow, of your grace's authority, prisons; and then he shall percase have some agree unto it, as poor men kneel at Rome, when the bishop there goeth by; that is to say, are knocked on the head with a halbert, if they kneel not; for that is one piece of the office of the bishop of Rome's guard.

Finally, there hath been nothing done, but your grace may use it to the augmentation of your honour. I have things more to say, but this matter is over long already, and me thinks I have been over long here; and, showing myself so humble a scholar as I have done, it is much to be beaten because I do not learn where no man teacheth me, and so willing to learn as I ask but one Scripture, or, Scripture failing (as it doth for my lord of Canterbury's purpose), I ask but one ancient doctor. This is my case; for as touching any act of disobedience, my lords of the council did foresee, that I should not fall in that danger, and therefore would not trust my frailty to be in the country, when the visitors should be there; but made me sure here, lest I might have offended. If I had been there, though I had but a few words to speak (that is to say, 'saving God's laws and the king's'), yet they might have been misreported, and so engendered me more trouble. And this good I have of my being here, which I suffer patiently, and make it to serve for my purpose in my conceit; as, I thank God, I have no displeasure of mind, and only feel such as the body engendereth for want of some necessaries, whereof if I may have relief at your grace's hand, I will accept it as thankfully as any man hath any benefit at your hand, and as instantly require it of you. And yet, if I have no other comfort from your grace than I have hitherto had, I will think nevertheless as well of your grace as ever I did, and be only sorry, that in the state you be in, the liberty of doing that your heart would persuade you, should be as straitly enclosed with respects, as my body is with aches. Thus, desiring your grace to take in good part my bold writing to you, I shall make an end, and pray Almighty God for the preservation of your person, with increase of honour and felicity.

At the Fleet, or rather in the Fleet.

Your grace's humble bead-man,

S. W.

A Letter of Winchester to the Lord Protector.

Edward VI

A. D. 1547 to 1550.

After my most humble commendations to your good grace: upon trust that your grace would take my letters in good part, and not otherwise than I wrote them, I wrote to your grace out of this prison, as I was wont to write to our late sovereign lord (whose soul God pardon!) when I was ambassador, refreshing myself sometimes with a merry tale in a sad matter; which his highness ever passed over without displeasure, as I trust your grace will do the semblable. For though some account me a papist, yet I cannot play the pope-holy, as the old term was: I dare not use that severity in writing, which my cause requireth, to speak of God, and his truth in every second sentence, and become suddenly a prophet to your grace, with a new phrase of speech, with whom I have been heretofore so familiarly conversant. As I think honour hath not altered your grace's nature, even so adversity hath not changed mine.

Of your high place in the commonwealth, no man is more glad than I, nor no man shall do his duty further than I, to acknowledge you, as your grace is now, protector and governor of the realm. But I have been so traded to speak boldly, that I cannot change my manner now, when percase it doth me no good. And although there be an Italian in prison with me, in whom I see a like folly, who, living with a little miserably, will not for his honour take alms, fancying to be still in the state he was some time, which manner I condemn in him, yet I follow him thus far, rather to write after my old manner, which cometh plainly to mind, than to take alms and aid of eloquence, whereof I have, in this, state-need. For your grace's letters return every word of my letters in my neck, and take my fly as it were a bee, which, I thought, should have stung no man: which matter, in mirth, declareth the necessity of the other matter, as aptly as may be, neither to be necessary. And when I wrote, I forgat, as my fellow-prisoner the Italian doth, the state I am in now; and wrote as I had written from Antwerp in the state of ambassador. The Italian my companion hath his folly of nature; I have it, of custom in bringing up, which hath the effect of nature, and is called of learned men, another nature. And then the proverb of gentleness hath place, when men say to him that is offended, 'You must bear with the man's nature;' and so I trust you will do with me.

Two things there be in your grace's letter, which I trust I may touch without contention: one is, that if your grace will, in a plain similitude, see the issue of faith only, and whether faith may exclude charity in the office of justifying, or not, it may be well resembled in the making of laws in this parliament, where the acts be passed by three estates, which be all three present, and do somewhat together, and concur to the perfecting of the law; wherein we may not say, that any one estate only made the law, or that any one estate excludeth the other in the office of making the law. This may be said: that these three estates only, in respect of the rest of the realm, make the law; and there need no more of the realm be present but they. But if we speak of these three estates within themselves, there is none estate only, that maketh the law.

But whereas the law hath as it were a body and a soul, the high house and the low house of the parliament make as it were the body of the law; which lieth as it were a dead matter, such as is not apt to take life, till the king's majesty hath, by the breath of his mouth (saying, *le roi le veult*), breathed a full life into it, in the conclusion; besides the life, the assembly of the other estates had, by his authority, to assemble; which had else been a dead assembly, even as faith and hope be dead without charity. And as the king's majesty, in this similitude of making laws, excludeth not in office of the whole the other two estates, no more do the estates, because they devise and frame laws, exclude the king's majesty in the office of making laws; for without his authority they be nothing, as faith and hope be without charity not effectual. And look, what absurdity and untruth this saying hath in this realm, to say, 'The higher house and the lower house exclude the king in the office of making of laws,' the same absurdity is yet in religion, to say, that faith excludeth charity in the office of justification: and therefore it was never written of ancient writers. And therefore I desired my lord of Canterbury to show me but one, and yet he cannot. In our time this dream hath been dreamed without Scripture, without authority, against Scripture, and against authority, as I can show. And further I can show, how this imagination extendeth so far by them that open their mind in it thoroughly, as your grace

Edward VI. A. D. 1547 to 1550.

would not at the first believe, if I did express it. But I can show, that I fain not evidently, as clearly for my discharge as I could wish. Another matter of your grace's letter is, where your grace reasoneth with me that I am over precise in finding of faults in the Paraphrase, seeing every book hath some faults. And then your grace taketh not Erasmus for a gospel, but as one in whom somewhat may be reprehended or amended. After which manner of sort, if your grace take the Homilies (as, for like reason, in my judgment they must; for they be men's compositions, as the Paraphrase is, and not the very gospel itself), why should I be kept in prison, who offered to receive the Homilies and Erasmus both, so far as they were without fault, either of God's law or of the king's.

Because I saw the errors before, and spake of them, I have made more speed to prison than others have done, who, percase, for troubling of their conscience, have received the books close, with such reverence as becometh men to receive that are sent from their prince; wherein I would have done as they did, if I had not seen the books before. But I did, as I have seen divers noblemen do (and among them, as I remember, your grace), when they have been sent in service, to have used such diligence, as to see their commission and instructions made; or they went, and finding something doubtful or amiss (after the commission was sealed, and instructions signed), worthy to be mended, have, upon declaration of their mind therein, obtained amendment with commendation.

Now I have a charge in the bishopric of Winchester, to see the people fed with wholesome doctrine; wherein if I be so diligent as to look upon the commission, and considering what I shall be charged with to do, take this or that for a fault in my judgment, and labour to have it amended, wherein differ I, from other men's diligence? and how can it be taken for a fault, to say reverently to the council, 'My lords! me seemeth, this and this cannot stand together: either instruct me in them, or amend them.' In what nature of crime should this humility be? Am I worthy, for so saying, to be condemned to a perpetual prison? and to be a close prisoner, to speak with no man, to hear from no man, to talk with no man? for my household, which is a great number, [to be] wandering and lamenting for me? My case should be in the nature of praise, in the nature of commendation, in the nature of thanks, if none other have said that I can say. If one only man in a realm saith, He knoweth treason to subvert the whole realm; and can show evident proof of his so saying, shall he be prisoned, because of good-will he offereth to say and prove that, no man else uttereth but he, and therewith offereth to prove that he saith to be true? It is incredible that a king should set forth a book tending to the subversion of his own estate; and therefore that I shall say, cannot touch his majesty, who knoweth not what is done (as reason judgeth) in his tender age. It is also incredible that your grace, being uncle to him, should be content that any book should be set forth, that might tend to the subversion of his estate. And I dare say for your grace, you would not—if the book be like the horse that the Trojans received into their city, wherein the Trojans knew not what was in it. Let me be heard, that know what is in the book, and so know it, as I can show it as evidently as I can the sun and the moon in bright days and bright nights, when both shine. I do not trifle with my wit to undo myself, but travail with my honesty to preserve my country, to preserve my prince, to preserve religion: and this your grace shall find to be true, which, knowing my letters to be construed to the extremity, I would not write, unless I were furnished with matter to discharge my writing. Your grace, I doubt not, remembereth Singleton's conspiracy: and Erasmus hath framed his doctrine, as though Singleton had required him thereunto.

Winchester resembleth the homilies to the horse of Troy.

I have such matter to show, as though I had myself devised it for my justification; and yet I am reasoned with, as though one given to let good doctrine, to find a knot in a rush, to trouble good enterprises; after which sort your grace is moved to write unto me; and thereupon I remain here still without hearing, having such matter to utter as shall confound them all; which I would not write if I were not assured. For it were a small pleasure to me, writing thus extremely, to be confounded when I had been heard, and then worthily sent hither again for lying so manifestly; which I would think a worthy punishment, as this is unworthy—to be handled as I am for virtue, that I dare say the truth can declare the abomination of this Paraphrase, and of the Homilies also—

in both which matters I have showed all I can show. I shall declare I am not worthy to be kept here, and yet here I have remained these seven weeks, without speaking with any man saving my physician, who, I thank your grace, hath done me good. And yet, when men see I am thus banished from the world, so as no man may speak with me, it is not pleasant for any man to resort unto me. And this I perceive: If my lord of Canterbury think I will wax mad, he is deceived; for I wax every day better learned than other, and find every day somewhat to impugn the Paraphrase and Homilies,[1] not by wit or device, or other subtlety, but plain sensible matter, if I may be heard. And if I be not heard, my conscience telleth me I have done my duty, and therewith from travail shall apply myself to prayer, wherein I shall remember the properous estate of your grace,—whom God preserve!

In the Fleet. S. W.

To the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your good grace: whatsoever your grace's considerations be not to hear me yet, nor answer me, and howsoever I determine and do bear patiently the state I am now in, reason, nevertheless, bindeth me to continue my suit, that if your grace seeth at any time occasion to change your determination, there shall nothing want on my behalf to provoke your grace so to do. He that is refused at one time may be heard at another, and importunity speedeth, when none other mean can prevail: being also a fault in the inferior, to despair of the superior in so reasonable a request as mine is; which I cannot do of your grace for other respects: I have remained here long unheard of your grace, enclosed up more closely, now close religions be begun, than ever were any whilst they were here. No stranger may speak with me. I cannot have the company of my chaplain, which is necessary for me after so long time. And if your grace hath no leisure to hear me shortly, I trust you will, without delay, suffer my chaplain to resort unto me; as well as of your gentleness ye have suffered the physician for my body to come to me, for the which I most humbly thank your grace. Herein I desire your grace to answer me by this bearer, that I may have some comfort from you, for whose preservation I shall pray to Almighty God.

Your grace's humble bead-man,

S. W.

To the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your good grace: I am very loth, knowing your grace's business, to trouble you with many letters; and yet, not hearing from your grace any thing for answer to mine other letters before written, I am so bold to write these, wherewith to put your grace in remembrance of mine estate in prison, as one dissevered from the use of his servants and friends, and as it were buried quick, without knowledge of any just cause wherefore; and with knowledge, by course of time, that now the parliament is begun, whereof I am a member, unless my fault had cut me off; and whereunto I was called by writ, which I received before my coming hither; where I would also gladly do my duty, as I am bounden, if I were not detained and bounden in prison from my liberty that I might so do; which allegation I make the rather to your grace, to the intent, with the opening of a necessary suit worthy to be regarded, I might minister occasion to your grace, whereupon to show such gentleness to me, as of your own gentle heart, I am persuaded, your grace gladly would; for whose preservation, with increase of honour, I shall pray to Almighty God; who have your grace in his tuition!

Your grace's humble bead-man,

S. W.

To the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your good grace: I cannot discuss by conjecture, why evidence is thus put off in my case. that hath been wont

(1) Concerning his abominable railing against the Paraphrase and Homilies, defer thy judgment, good reader, till we come to his objections and to our answers to the same.

Edward VI. A. D. 1547 to 1550.

commonly to be granted to all men. If it should be of any man, through policy, to keep me from the parliament, it were good to be remembered, whether mine absence from the upper house, with the absence of those I have used to name in the nether house, will not engender more cause of objection, if opportunity serve hereafter, than my presence with such as I should appoint were there, the signification whereof is the chief cause of these letters; for as I am now encumbered with being here, so might some be encumbered therewith hereafter; which should do me pleasure. My matter that I have to say, toucheth the highest, and is worthy to be heard: whereunto my lord of Canterbury can only answer, that he would never have thought it, or that he hath been otherwise informed of them he put in trust. For it would touch him overmuch, to grant he had so much knowledge in the Paraphrase, as I now have; and, knowing the same, to have advised your grace to set it forth to the people. I can say much which is expedient for your grace to hear and consider; desiring only this credit of your grace, to think me worthy to be heard, and thereupon give me audience. I cannot enchant men, nor look to be believed in the matter, unless it be so plain as no man can gainsay it, and therein the book to be judge. The nature of my cause should move your grace—my long imprisonment should move your grace—the present assembly of learned men should move your grace; to celebrate mine audience; and if your grace knew what I could say of the long letters your grace sent, good faith! your grace would make so much the more speed. For whereas the purpose of your grace, in these letters, is to alter my judgment, the handling of the matters is such, as I am able to show good cause why they should, as they do, work a contrary effect; as I am able to declare, if ever I come to your presence.

My lord of Canterbury will needs maintain, that our late sovereign lord was seduced; and then it is possible that your grace may be seduced also: and therefore it is good for your grace to hear, and to hear in time. Whatsoever I have written to your grace, is true; and I have not written all the specialties I know in the greatest matters, which your grace shall perceive to be true. I see evidently, that unless my matter be very notable, and also plain, it shall not boot me to allege it. Thus much I am learned by your grace's letters, and therefore, if I had any cause to mistrust it, I would use another mean, whereof in your grace's letters I see some comfort: but my matter is so plain and so expedient to be understood, that I must needs desire of your grace to be heard in it, wherein it may like you to send me knowledge of your pleasure, and that my suit to your grace may stand in some stead, for whose preservation in honour I shall daily pray to Almighty God—who preserve your grace!

In the Fleet.

Your grace's humble bead-man,

S. W.*

To the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your good grace: in my third letter I signified unto your grace my need of the counsel of a physician, as the state of my body then required: whereunto because I had no answer, I have used all other means of relief that I could, to avoid that need; as one loth to trouble your grace with requests not necessary. Master Warden of the Fleet, and my servants, know that I fain not; and I have cause to fear, the effect will show I fain not indeed. In this case I may not desperately forbear to write to your grace, and think that because I have had no answer to all mine other letters, among which I made mention of this necessity, that I should likewise have none answer to this. As I have determined myself to a truth in the chief matters, so I eschew to use simulation in bye-matters. My mind, I thank God, was never so quiet, as it hath been since my coming hither, which hath relieved my body much; but the body hath need of other relief, which cannot be had as I am kept by commandment.

These seven weeks, saving one day,[1] I have been here under such strait keeping,[2] as I have spoken with no man. And thus me seemeth I see my matter

(1) This letter must have been written on the 12th of November, 1547.—Ed.
(2) Your strait keeping is to be doubted, considering the warden of the Fleet was your special friend.

perplexed: Your grace will meddle with nothing done before your coming home; and those of the council that sent me hither, can by themselves do nothing, now your grace is coming home; upon which consideration I sue to none of them, and perceive that your grace, to whom I sue, for some respect forbeareth to make me answer: for such a paraphrase I make of your grace's silence, wherein I go as near as I think the truth, as Erasmus in his Paraphrase some times, wherein he taketh upon him to guess the cause of Christ's doings. I thank God my mind can take no hurt, how vehement soever these temptations be. But when a certain sect of philosophers, called Stoics, contemned in their learning stoutly the grief and disease of the body, they were fain a little to shrink, when the gout or any disease nipped them: and now my stomach nippeth me, which I have favoured as much as any man in England, and have laden it as light either with meat or drink of many years, and specially since my coming, as any other. And after I saw I could get no answer from your grace for a physician, I have left off such study as I used, and given myself to continual walking for exercise; and, with hope of relief, have delayed any further suit in that matter till now. And now I sue enforced, which I do most humbly, with request that imprisonment—being to me that was never in prison before, of itself tedious — be not with special commandment made more grievous, unless I were charged with other offence than I am yet charged with, or in my conscience can be. For me seemeth I have deserved thanks of your grace and the realm, for the disclosing of the faults of the Paraphrase, wherein I have written some specialties, but not all; and have such to show, as I may term that book at one word, 'abomination,' both for the malice and untruth of much matter out of Erasmus's pen, and also the arrogant ignorance of the translator into English, considering the book should be authorized by a king, and, by the injunctions, charge the realm for buying rather above twenty thousand pound than under; whereof I have made account by estimate of the number of buyers, and the price of the whole books. The translator showeth himself ignorant, both in Latin and English; a man far unmeet to meddle with such a matter, and not without malice on his part; whereby your grace may take an argument, what moved them that counselled your grace to authorize such a book in the realm. As for my lord of Canterbury's Homily of Salvation, [it] hath as many faults, as I have been weeks in prison, which be seven, besides the general, that the matter maketh a trouble without necessity, and is handled contrary to the teaching of the parliament.

Finally, In the two books the matter I have to show is some part so dangerous, as (after I knew it as I know it) the concealment thereof were a great fault, if I did not utter it. As for the manner of mine enterprise to utter it, I know not how to have fashioned it better, than to write to the council in your absence, and on my knees to declare some part of it, when I came to them receiving their determination of imprisonment. I humbly departed from them hither without grudge, and remain here without grudge to any one of them, for they showed no fashion of any evil mind towards me. And I have learned in the civil law, that the deed of a number, is no one man's act; with this also, the authority is to be honoured: which rule I observe in thought, word, and deed. After which sort I remain, with such suits as I have made to your grace hitherto, and with this also that I add, enforced for the relief of my body (how little soever I do, and have cause to set by it); which I most humbly desire your grace to consider, and to send me some answer by this bearer. And I shall pray Almighty God for the preservation of your grace's felicity.

Your grace's humble bead-man,

S. W.

CERTAIN ADDITIONS AFTER THESE LETTERS ABOVE SPECIFIED, WITH NOTES AND SOLUTIONS ANSWERING TO THE SAME.

Thus have we set out to thee, gentle and studious reader, an extract of certain letters of bishop Gardiner: not of all that he wrote, but of such as could come to our hands. Neither of these also that we have, for any good stuff, or any great profit therein contained, or that they did clear him or his cause any thing, for the which he was

Edward VI. A. D. 1547 to 1550.

most worthily condemned. For if there did or might appear any such thing in all his writings, that might clear the ill-favoured doings of that man, be thou sure, such as were then secret about him, and yet his well-willers (their names I leave untouched), having his writings, and being able to show them, as I am privy they are, would not so conceal them in covert as they do, being thereto both provoked and occasioned by us, if they had seen any thing in them meet to relieve the person, or to remedy his matter. Wherefore think not for any such effect these his vain-glorious letters to be brought in here of us; but only that thou mightest hereby collect and understand by those his aforesaid epistles and articles following, not only the whole course and story almost of all his proceedings from time to time, but also mightest see the nature and inward condition of the man, how vain-glorious, full-stuft and puft up with arrogancy, and drowned in his own conceit he was; much like to the person, or rather he himself, described in the Latin comedy, Miles Thraso Gloriosus; having nothing in his mouth but emperors, kings, councillors, protectors, advisements, direction: as though all direction of realms and princes did flow out of his brain, like as it is in the poet's fables, that Minerva did spring out of the head of Jupiter. And yet, if this vain-glorious conceit had been alone in him, less matter had been against him.

Now his subtle practices, and pretensed purposes, and dissimuling conveyance, did not only augment, but also exceed all his other evils, as in the letters above specified is notorious and evident to be seen; wherein though he durst not apertly gainsay that which he inwardly misliked, yet how covertly doth he insinuate himself to the lord protector, under pretence of giving counsel, to bring that to pass which was for his purpose! that is, that no innovation or alteration might be made of religion during all the king's minority, but that all things might stand as king Henry left them, and that is the chiefest butt, in all letters, whereto he driveth, using commonly this argument, which, as it is easy to recite, so neither is it hard to answer to; although in the notes before we have answered already sufficiently.

THE SUM AND CONCLUSION OF ALL WINCHESTER'S DRIFT IN HIS EPISTLES BEFORE.

Argument.

"That is chiefly to be feared and avoided of the lord protector, and now specially in the king's minority, that may both bring danger to him, and trouble to the realm:—

"Innovation of religion from that state, in which king Henry left it, may be and is like to be dangerous to himself, and cause trouble to the realm.

"Ergo, Innovation of religion, from the state that the king left it in, is in no wise to be attempted."

THE ANSWER.

Answer.

To answer first to the vocable Innovation, which he stumbleth so greatly upon—this I say, that innovation is properly used, where a thing is brought in anew, which was not before. Forsomuch there-

fore as in this alteration there is no new religion brought in, but only the old religion of the primitive church revived; therefore here is to be thought not so much an innovation, as a renovation or reformation rather of religion, which reformation is ofttimes so necessary in commonweals, that, without the same, all runneth to confusion.

Edward VI. A. D. 1547 to 1550.

Secondly, I answer to the argument, which I do deny as a "fallax," for there is "fallacia accidentis;" where it is said, that reformation of religion gendereth danger to the protector, and trouble to the realm. First, what will come, that is uncertain: and, God be hallowed! yet no danger hath come to England for the reformation of religion. And though there did, yet the cause thereof is not to be imputed to religion reformed: for sincere and true doctrine of its own nature worketh quiet, peace, and tranquillity, with all good order. And if the contrary happen, that is incident by other causes, as by the malice of Satan, and wicked adversaries; not by reason of the doctrine of true religion. So, after the preaching of Christ and his apostles, dissension followed in commonweals betwixt father and son, brother and brother, etc.; but that is not to be ascribed to them, but to others.

As concerning the faults found in the Paraphrase of Erasmus,[1] this I answer and say, that this bishop belike had overwatched himself in this matter. For if it be true, which he himself affirmeth, that he never read that book before, and now he never slept till he himself read it; it happened, peradventure, that in the overmuch watching of himself, and swift reading of the book, his judgment was asleep, whilst his eyes were open in reading the same.

Paraphrase of Erasmus.

Likewise touching the Book of Homilies, especially the Homily of Salvation, wherewith he findeth himself so much grieved with the archbishop; seeing he bringeth forth no proofs, I have nothing to answer. In the mean season, this I have to think, that if he had been so cunning in the knowledge of his own salvation, as he was in the destruction and vexation of Christ's members, he would never so rage against that homily.

Book of Homilies.

Touching the examination of Anne Askew, if it be misreported by Master Bale, why doth not he note the places, which they be, and wherein? And if he had, or were able so to do, yet, seeing the examination was of her own penning, which Master Bale did follow, let every christian reader judge, whether is more to be credited of these two—she that was persecuted, or he that was the persecutor.

Examination of Anne Askew set forth by J. Bale.

And where he speaketh so much of quiet and tranquillity; this I answer, that quiet and tranquillity in weals public, so long as they are joined with right reformed religion, be much to be embraced. But, when it is otherwise; that is, where true religion lacketh his right, there let the second table give place to the first.

Quiet of realms not to stop reformation of religion.

He thwarteth, also, and wrangleth much against players, printers, preachers. And no marvel why: for he seeth these three things, to be set up of God, as a triple bulwark against the triple crown of the pope, to bring him down; as, God be praised, they have done meetly well already.

Preachers, printers, players.

As touching the article of free justification by faith, which he can-

Of justification.

(1) The first and second tomes of Erasmus's Paraphrase upon the New Testament were printed, by Edward Whitchurch, in 1548-9.—Ed.

Edward VI. A.D. 1547 to 1550.

not abide, forasmuch as we have sufficiently declared it in the notes before, we shall refer the reader now also unto the same.

And moreover, because in one of his letters[1] mention is made of a certain letter sent unto Master Ridley, because we will defraud thee, gentle reader, of nothing that cometh to our hands, here hast thou the copy thereof, in effect as followeth:

The Copy of the Letter of Stephen Gardiner sent to Master Ridley, in the Letters above mentioned; containing Matter and Objections against a certain Sermon of the said Master Ridley, made at the Court.

Master Ridley, after right hearty commendations: It chanced me, upon Wednesday last past, to be present at your sermon in the court, wherein I heard you confirm the doctrine in religion, set forth by our late sovereign lord and master, whose soul God pardon! admonishing your audience that ye would specially travail in the confutation of the bishop of Rome's pretended authority in government and usurped power, and in pardons, whereby he hath abused himself in heaven and earth. Which two matters I note to be plain, and here without controversy.[2] In the other two ye spake of, touching images and ceremonies, and as ye touched it, specially for holy water to drive away devils; for that you declared yourself always desirous to set forth the mere truth, with great desire of unity, as ye professed; not extending any your asseveration beyond your knowledge, but always adding such like words, 'as far as ye had read,' and, 'if any man could show you further, ye would hear him,' (wherein you were much to be commended)—upon these considerations, and for the desire I have to unity, I have thought myself bound to communicate to you that which I have read in the matter of images and holy water; to the intent you may by yourself consider it, and so weigh, before that ye will speak in those two points, as ye may (retaining your own principles) affirm still that ye would affirm, and may indeed be affirmed and maintained; wherein I have seen others forget themselves. First, I send unto you herewith (which I am sure ye have read), what Eusebius[3] writeth of images:[4] whereby appeareth that images have been of great antiquity in Christ's church. And to say we may have images, or to call on them when they represent Christ or his saints, be over gross opinions to enter into your learned head, whatsoever the unlearned would tattle: for you know the text of the old law, 'Non facies tibi sculptile,'[5] forbiddeth no more images now, than another text forbiddeth to us puddings. And if 'omnia' be 'munda mundis' to the belly, there can be no cause why they should be of themselves 'impura' to the eye, wherein ye can say much more. And then, when we have images, to call them idols, is a like fault, in fond folly, as if a man would call 'regem' a tyrant, and then bring in old writers to prove that 'tyrannus' signified once a king, like as 'idolum' signified once an image: but like as 'tyrannus' was by consent of men appropriated to

(1) The reference is to a letter addressed to the lord protector, and dated 'the last of February.' [1547.] See p. 24.—Ed.

(2) If this doctrine were plain in king Edward's time, how chanced it that it was not so plain with you in queen Mary's time?

(3) Eusebius of Cæsarea saith, that he saw the pictures of Paul and Peter kept with a certain christian man; but yet he saith not, that those pictures were set up in any church.

(4) ['Eusebius writeth of images.' Hist. Eccles. vii. 18. But he does not state that he *saw* the pictures of Paul, &c.: ἱστορήσαμεν is the word used.—Ed.] What antiquity images had in the church is declared by the doing and writing of Epiphanius, in his epistle to the bishop of Jerusalem, translated by Jerome. Item, In the council called 'Eliberitanum,' [Elvira in Granada, A.D. 277.—Ed.] article 36, it is to be seen how pictures were forbidden in church walls. [The canon from the council of Eliberitanum appears in the 'Concil. general. studeo Labbei,' tom. i. col. 974.—Ed.] Item, In the council of Constantinople sub Leone Imp. images were condemned. Item, Charlemagne, with the whole council of Francfort, decreed against images, abrogating the vain and frivolous acts of Irene, in his council a little before. Briefly, concerning the antiquity of images, when bishops began to cease from preaching in churches, then images began to be set up. [The first edition of the Caroline Books was printed, as is supposed, at Paris in 1549. The last bears this title: Augusta Conc. Niceni II. censura, hoc est Carolini de impio imaginum cultu libri iv.: Curavit C. Aug. Heumannus; Hanoveræ, 1731. We may quote one forcible description of the character of the Nicene council from this volume: 'Hujus vanissimæ Synodi textus nil aliud, quam materia est, ubi stultitiæ magnitudinem suam exercuit.' Lib. i. cap. 23. The council under Leo IV. is included in 'Goldasti Imperialia decreta de cultu Imag.' Francorf. 1608; for the contents of which see 'Saggitarii Introduct. in Hist. Eccles.' tom. i. p. 1025.—Ed.]

(5) It is not like for 'Non facies sculptile,' that is, moral; 'De immundis,' is but ceremonial.

signify a usurper of that dignity, and an untrue king, so hath 'idolum' been likewise appropriate to signify a false representation, and a false image: insomuch as there was a solemn anathematization of all those that would call an image an idol; as he were worthy to be hanged that would call the king our master (God save him!)—our true just king, a tyrant; and yet in talk he might show, that a tyrant signified sometimes a king: but speech is regarded in its present signification, which I doubt not ye can consider right well.

I verily think, that for the having of images ye will say enough, and that also, when we have them, we should not despise them in speech, to call them idols,[1] nor despise them with deeds, to mangle them or cut them; but at the least suffer them to stand untorn. Wherein Luther (that pulled away all other regard to them) strove stoutly, and obtained, as I have seen in divers of the churches in Germany of his reformation, that they should (as they do) still stand.

All the matter to be feared is excess in worshipping, wherein the church of Rome hath been very precise; and especially Gregory, writing to the bishop of Marseilles: which is contained in the chapter 'De Consecratione,' dist. 3, as followeth:[2]

'Perlatum ad nos fuerat, quod inconsiderato zelo succensus, sanctorum imagines sub hac quasi excusatione, ne adorari debuissent, confregeris. Et quidem eas adorari te vetuisse, omnino laudamus: fregisse vero reprehendimus. Dic frater, a quo factum esse sacerdote aliquando auditum est, quod fecisti? * * * * * Aliud est enim picturam adorare: aliud per picturam historiam, quid sit adorandum, addiscere. Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis præstat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsâ etiam ignorantes vident, quid sequi debeant: in ipsâ legunt, qui literas nesciunt. Unde et præcipuè gentibus pro lectione pictura est.'[3]

Herein is forbidden adoration, and then, in the Sixth Synod, was declared what manner of adoration is forbidden; that is to say, godly adoration to it being a creature, as is contained in the chapter 'Venerabiles imagines,' in the same distinction, in this wise.

'Venerabiles imagines Christiani non Deos appellant, neque serviunt eis ut Diis, neque spem salutis ponunt in eis, neque ab eis expectant futurum judicium: sed ad memoriam et recordationem primitivorum venerantur eas, et adorant; sed non serviunt eis cultu Divino, nec alicui creaturæ.'[4]

By which doctrine all idolatry is plainly excluded in evident words;[5] so as we cannot say, that the worshipping of images had its beginning by popery; for Gregory forbade it, unless we shall call that synod popery, because there were so many bishops. And yet there is forbidden 'cultus divinus;' and agreeth with our aforesaid doctrine, by which we may creep before the cross on Good Friday; wherein we have the image of the crucifix in honour, and use it in a worshipful place, and so earnestly look on it, and conceive that it signifieth, as we kneel[6] and creep before it, whilst it lieth there, and whilst that remembrance is in exercise: with which cross nevertheless the sexton, when he goeth for a cross, will not be afraid to be homely, and hold it under his gown whilst he drinketh a pot of ale; a point of homeliness that might be left, but yet it declareth that he esteemed no divinity in the image. But ever since I was born, a poor parishioner, a layman, durst be so bold, at a shift (if he were also churchwarden), to sell to the use of the church at length, and his own in the

(1) Betwixt images and idols there is but little difference, but betwixt images set up in churches, and idols, there is none at all. Cic. lib. i. De Finibus 'Imagines quas idola nominant.'

(2) Duo hic videnda sunt; primum, tempore Gregorii imagines nondum colebantur, ut hodie apud nos, sed tantum ad historiam adhibebantur. Cujusmodi videtur pictura illa Christi et mulieris fimbriam tangentis, cujus meminit Eusebius in hist. Verum si viveret hodie Gregorius, videretque tantam in statuis profanationem, quid tum sensisset ille haud obscurum est. Præterea excusatio illa et defensio picturarum quam affert, præterquam quod justa ratione caret, pugnat etiam manifeste cum Synodo Eliberitan. artic. 36. ubi prohibentur in templis picturæ, ne in cultu sit error. Pugnat etiam cum exemplo Epiphan. et Ezech. &c.

(3) See Corpus Juris Canonici a Pithæo. Paris, 1695, vol. i. p. 467.—Ed.

(4) Ibid.—Ed.

(5) Idolatry is not excluded, so long as any virtue is sought at their hands. Virtue is and hath been sought at their hands. Ergo, Idolatry is not excluded, as he saith.

(6) What work Winchester maketh to creep to dead crosses, and to worship blockish images! But the lively images of Christ, them he brought to the cross, and burned cruelly. Therefore it is worthily said by Clement, lib. v. 'Quis est iste honor Dei, per lapideas et ligneas formas discurrere, atque exanimes figuras venerari, et hominem, in quo vera Dei imago est, spernere?'—But Winchester was so busied in his laymen's books, that he had no leisure to understand learned books.

Edward VI. A. D. 1547 to 1550.

mean time, the silver cross on Easter Monday, that was creeped unto on Good Friday.

In specialties there have been special abuses; but, generally, images have been taken for images, with an office to signify a holy remembrance of Christ and his saints.[1] And as the sound of speech uttered by a lively image, and representing to the understanding, by the sense of hearing, godly matter, doth stir up the mind, and therewith the body, to consent in outward gesture of worshipful regard to that sound:[2] so doth the object of the image, by the sight, work like effect in man, within and without; wherein is verily worshipped that we understand, and yet reverence and worship also showed to that whereby we attain that understanding; and is to us in the place of an instrument; so as it hath no worship of itself, but remaineth in its nature of stone or timber, silver, copper, or gold. But when it is in office, and worketh a godly remembrance in us, by representation of the thing signified unto us, then we use it worshipfully and honourably, as many do the priest at mass,[3] whom they little regard all the day after.

And me thinketh ever, that like as it is an over gross error to take an image for God, or to worship it with godly honour,[4] so, to grant that we may not have images of Christ, and that we may do no worship before them, or not use them worshipfully, it is inexplicable. For it is one kind of worship, to place them worshipfully: so as if a man place an image in the church, or hang it about his neck (as all[5] use to do the image of the cross, and the knights of the order of St. George),[6] this is some piece of worship. And if we may not contemn the images of Christ and his saints, when we have them (for that were villany), nor neglect them (for that were to have them without use, which were inconvenient, 'quia nec natura nec arte quicquam fit frustra,') we must have them in estimation and reputation; which is not without some honour and worship; and at the least in the place where we conveniently use them (as in the church), as where they serve us, rather than we them. And because their service is worshipful,[7] they be so regarded accordingly for that time of service, and therefore they be called 'venerabiles imagines,' and be worshipfully ordered; before whom we kneel, and bow, and cense, not at that the images be, but at that the images signify, which, in our kneeling, bowing, and censing we knowledge to understand and read in that fashion of contract writing, wherein is wrapped up a great many of sentences, suddenly opened with one sudden sight, to him that hath been exercised in reading of them.

And me seemeth, after the faith of Christ received and known, and thoroughly purged from heresies, if by chance there were offered a choice, either to retain painting and graving and forbear writing, or, choosing writing, to forbear both

(1) If things having the office to signify and work in us the understanding of Christ and holy things, are therefore to be worshipped, censed, and crept unto, why then do ye not worship the preacher, the Bible book, the Epistler and Gospeller? which give a much more lively understanding to our minds, of holy and heavenly things, than images do.

(2) The argument of Winchester reverteth against himself: for if God's word, and such other sounds, giving a lively understanding to us, yet be not had in such a worshipful regard, that any doth cense them, or creep and offer to them: ergo, much less should you do the same to these your dead and insensible images.

(3) One idol well compared with another.

(4) Because you say that godly honour, or 'cultus divinus,' is taken away by you from images, I pray you what could ye do to God, if he were here materially himself, more than ye do to them? To cense them, to candle them, to tabernacle them, to set them up in churches, to adore and invocate them, to kneel and knock to them, to creep and offer to them, to seek virtue, and to require health at them, to make them your patrons, and to make your vows unto them, &c.—if this be not 'divinus cultus,' tell me what give you to God more than this?

(5) All papists perchance.

(6) Yea, but what knight of that order kneeleth or prayeth to that George that hangeth about his neck?

(7) A worshipful service, to dis-worship God, and worship creatures. You said before they were laymen's books. Now ye make them learned men's books also wherein you read (ye say) many things at one opening. And what read you or see you in those books, I pray you? 'Nimirum id quod pueri vident in nubibus.' And where be you bid to look upon these fantastical books? 'Scrutamini Scripturas,' saith the Lord: 'Contemplamini picturas,' writeth Winchester. But rather Winchester should have read the book of Epiphanius contra Encratitas, where these words be opened to him, 'Non decet Christianum per oculos suspensum teneri, sed per occupationem mentis,' &c. [This passage, not very accurately rendered in the latter clause, is to be found in the 'Conc. Nicæn.' 2 actio 6, p. 473, tom. vii. edit. Labbei. The original Greek is given by Archb. Usher, 'Reply to a Jesuit,' p. 440, Cambridge, 1835. Foxe seems to have been led to suppose it occurred in the portion of Epiphanius, 'contra Encratitas,' apparently by Flacius Illyricus, 'Cat. Test. veritat.' col. 170, edit. 1608. See also the Vulgate Edition of the Nicene council in the same volume of Labbe, col. 849.—Ed.]

the other gifts; it would be a problem, seeing if graving were taken away we could have no printing. And therefore they that press so much the words of 'Non facies tibi sculptile,' ever, me thinketh, they condemn printed books; the original whereof is of graving to make[1] 'matrices literarum.' 'Sed hoc est furiosum, et sunt tamen qui putant palmarium.' And therefore now it is Englished, 'Thou shalt make no graven images, lest thou worship them:' which, I hear, is newly written in the new church, I know not the name, but not far from the Old Jewry.

But to the matter of images, wherein I have discoursed at large, I think, if ye consider (as I doubt not but that ye will) the doctrine set forth by our late sovereign lord, ye shall in the matter see the truth set forth by such as had that committed unto them under his highness, amongst whom I was not, nor was I privy unto it till it was done. And yet the clause in the book, for discussion of 'the Lord,' and 'our Lord,' hath made many think otherwise. But I take our Lord to witness, I was not; and that declaration of 'our Lord' was his highness's own device, *ex se*. For he saw the fond Englishing of 'the Lord,' dissevered in speech, whom our Lord had congregated. And this I add, lest, giving authority to that book, I should seem to vaunt myself.

Now will I speak somewhat of holy water,[2] wherein I send unto you the four and thirtieth chapter in the ninth book of the History Tripartite, where Marcellus the bishop bade Equitius his deacon to cast abroad water, by him first hallowed, wherewith to drive away the devil. And it is noted how the devil could not abide the virtue of the water, but vanished away. And for my part, it seemeth the history may be true; for we be assured by Scripture, that in the name of God the church is able and strong to cast out devils, according to the gospel, 'In nomine meo dæmonia ejicient,' &c.: so as if the water were away, by only calling on the name of God, that mastery may be wrought. And the virtue of the effect being only attributed to the name of God, the question should be only, whether the creature of water may have the office to convey the effect of the holiness of the invocation of God's name. And first in Christ, the skirt of his garment had such an office to minister health to the woman, and spittle and clay to the blind; and St. Peter's shadow, and St. Paul's handkerchiefs.

And, leaving old stories, here at home the special gift of curation, ministered by the kings of this realm (not of their own strength, but by invocation of the name of God), hath been used to be distributed in rings of gold and silver. And I think effectually therein the metal hath only an office, and the strength is in the name of God, wherein all is wrought. And Eliseus put his staff in like office. And why the whole church might not put water in like office, to convey abroad the invocation of God's name, there is no Scripture to the contrary: but there is Scripture how other inferior creatures have been promoted to like dignity; and much Scripture, how water hath been used in like and greater service. And the story I send unto you showeth how water hath been used in the same service, to drive away devils. In which matter if any shall say, he believeth not the story, and he is not bound to believe it, being no Scripture; that man is not to be reasoned with, for the effect of the king's cramp rings. And yet, for such effect as they have wrought, when I was in France, I have been myself much honoured; and of all sorts entreated to have them, with offer of as much for them, as they were double worth.

Some will say, 'What are rings to holy water?' Marry thus I say, If the metal of gold and silver may do service to carry abroad the invocation of the name of God effectually for one purpose, water may also serve to carry abroad the invocation of the name of God, wherewith to drive away devils.[3] Hereto will be said,

(1) If ye did see any printer yet to do worship to his graven letters, then might ye well seek thus, as ye do, a knot in a rush.

(2) 'Holy water.' Consecration of water and salt to sanctify the people, is attributed to Alexander I. but for what credit is to be given to those decrees, falsely fathered upon those ancient bishops, read Sleidan, lib. ii. de Monach. 'In nomine meo,' &c. If the name of Christ only do and can serve to cast out devils, what should water do, where Christ only may and should serve to work that mastery?

(3) The king's ring giveth sanation: ergo, holy water may have also its effect and operation.—Resp Non valet consequentia; for the matching of corporal things with spiritual joineth in no comparison together, but the very plain answer is this: Both be abuses, and against the word of God.

Edward VI.

A.D. 1547 to 1550.

Winchester's argument.

'Non valet argumentum a posse ad esse:' but the story saith, 'The water did that service;' and other strangers say and affirm by experience, 'The king's majesty's rings have done the service.' And our late master continued all his life the exercise of that gift of God, and used silver and gold to do that service, to carry abroad the strength of the invocation of the name of God by him; and he used it amongst us that served him in it, when he had thoroughly heard and seen what might be said in the matter: and yet he had no Scripture especially for it, that spake of rings of silver or gold, no more than is for the ashes ministered a little before ye last preached. And as our young sovereign lord hath received them reverently, so I trust he shall be advertised, 'ne negligat gratiam Dei in dono curationum,' but follow his father therein; also not doubting but God will hear him, as he hath heard his father and other his progenitors kings of this realm; to whose dignity God addeth this prerogative, as he doth also to inferior ministers of his church, in the effect of their prayer, when it pleaseth him. A man might find some youngling, percase, that would say, how worldly, wily, witty bishops, have inveigled simple kings heretofore, and, to confirm their blessings, have also devised how kings should bless also, and so have authority to maintain where truth failed; and I have had it objected to me, that I used to prove one piece of mine argument ever by a king, as when I reasoned thus: If ye allow nothing but Scripture, what say you to the king's rings? but they be allowed; ergo, somewhat is to be allowed besides Scripture. And another: If images be forbidden, why doth the king wear St. George on his breast?[1] But he weareth St. George on his breast: ergo, images be not forbidden. If saints be not to be worshipped, why keep we St. George's feast?[2] But we keep St. George's feast: ergo, &c. And in this matter of holy water, if the strength of the invocation of the name of God, to drive away the devils, cannot be distributed by water, why can it be distributed in silver to drive away diseases, and the dangerous disease of the falling evil? But the rings hallowed by the holy church may do so: ergo, the water hallowed by the church may do like service.

These were sore arguments in his time, and I trust be also yet; and may be conveniently used, to such as would never make an end of talk, but rake up every thing that their dull sight cannot penetrate, wherein me thought ye spake effectually, when ye said, 'Men must receive the determination of the particular church, and obey where God's law repugneth not expressly.' And in this effect to drive away devils, that prayer and invocation of the church may do it, Scripture maintaineth evidently; and the same Scripture doth authorize us so to pray, and encourageth us to it—so as if, in discussion of holy water, we attribute all the effect of the holiness which proceedeth from God by invocation of the church, and take water only for a servant to carry abroad holiness; there can be no superstition, where men regard only prayer, which Scripture authorizeth. And if we shall say that the water cannot do such service, we shall be convinced, in that it doth a greater service in our baptism by God's special ordinance[3]—so as we cannot say, that water cannot, or is not apt to do this service; only the stay is, to have a precise place in the New Testament, to say, 'Use water thus in this service, as we do in holy water;' which me thinketh needeth not, where all is ordered to be well used by us: and when the whole church agreed upon such a use, or any particular church, or the common minister of it, and by the exorcism ordered for it, the thing to be used, purged, there can be but slender matter to improve that custom, wherein God is only honoured, and the power of his name set forth; whereunto all things bow and give place, all natural operation set apart and secluded. And when any man hath denied that water may do service, because Scripture appointeth it not, that 'because' driveth away much of the rest which the church useth, and especially

(1) The king would not wear St. George upon his breast, if images were forbidden. The king weareth St. George upon his breast: ergo, images are not forbidden.—Resp. This argument, besides that it standeth 'ex puris particularibus,' whereby it may be denied; in the major also there is a double understanding in this word 'images,' whether it be taken indefinitely, or particularly. If the latter part of the major be taken universally, for all images, both in churches and in private houses, used or worn in garments,—then, the first part is false. If particularly, for such only as be set up in churches, then the conclusion, whether it be universal, maketh a false argument, ex quatuor terminis: or, if it be particular, it may be granted, and hurteth nothing our doctrine; for we speak only against the images set up in churches, not against the others.

(2) St. George's feast is kept, ergo, saints are to be worshipped.—Resp. A like argument: Lammas Fair is kept, ergo, lambs are to be worshipped.

(3) The water of baptism hath an express ordinance, whereas holy water hath none.'

our cramp-rings. For if water may not serve to carry abroad the effects of God's grace,[1] obtained by invocation from God, by the common prayer of the church, how can the metal of silver or gold carry abroad the effect of the king's invocation in the cramp-rings? which manner of reasoning 'ad hominem,' Christ used with the Jews, when he said, 'Si ego in Beelzebub ejicio dæmonia, filii vestri, in quo ejiciunt?' And that by our own principles we should be enforced to say, that our cramp-rings[2] be superstitious (where truth enforceth us not so to do), it were a marvellous punishment. 'Si cæci essemus,' as Christ saith, 'peccatum non haberemus, sed videmus;' and this realm hath learning in it, and you a good portion thereof; according whereunto I doubt not but you will weigh this matter, 'non ad popularem trutinam, sed artificis stateram:' I mean, that artificer which teacheth the church our mother (as ye fully declared it), and ordered our mother to give nourishment unto us. In which point, speaking of the church, although ye touched an unknown church to us, and known to God only, yet you declared the union of that church in the permixt church, which God ordereth men to complain unto, and to hear again; wherein the absurdity is taken away of them that would have no church known, but every man believe as he were inwardly taught himself; whereupon followeth the old proverb, Σοὶ μὲν ταῦτα δοκοῦντ' ἐστὶ, ἐμοὶ δὲ τάδε; which is far from the unity ye so earnestly wished for, whereof (as me thought) ye said, 'Pride is the let;' as it is undoubtedly. Which fault God amend, and give you grace so to fashion your words, as ye may agree with them in speech, with whom ye be inclined to agree in opinion! For that is the way to relieve the world.

And albeit there hath been between you and me no familiarity, but, contrariwise, a little disagreement (which I did not hide from you), yet, considering the fervent zeal ye professed to teach Peter's true doctrine,[3] that is to say, Christ's true doctrine, whereunto ye thought the doctrine of images, and holy water to put away devils, agreed not, I have willingly spent this time to communicate unto you my folly (if it be folly) plainly as it is;[4] whereupon ye may have occasion the more substantially, fully, and plainly, to open these matters for the relief of such as be fallen from the truth, and confirmation of those that receive and follow it; wherein it hath been ever much commended, to have such regard to histories of credit, and the continual use of the church[5] rather, to show how a thing continued from the beginning, as holy water and images have done, may be well used, than to follow the light rash eloquence, which is ever 'ad manum,' to mock and improve that which is established. And yet again, I come to Marcellus, that made a cross in the water, and bade his deacon cast it abroad 'cum fide et zelo;'[6] after which sort if our holy water were used, I doubt not but there be many Marcellus's, and many Elizeus's, and many at whose prayer God forgiveth sin, if such as will enjoy that prayer, have faith and zeal, as Equitius, and were as desirous to drive the devil out of the temple of their body and soul, as Equitius out of the temple of Jupiter. So as if holy use were coupled with holy water, there should be more plenty of holiness than there is; but, as men be profane in their living, so they cannot abide to have any thing effectually holy, not so much as bread and water; fearing lest they should take away sin from us, which we love so dearly well. 'Solus Christus peccata diluit,' who sprinkleth his blood by his ministers, as he hath taught his spouse the church, in which those ministers be ordered, wherein 'Many ways maketh not many saviours,' as ignorants do jest; whereof I need not speak further unto you, no more I needed not in the rest in respect of you; but, me thought, ye conjured all men in your sermon to say what they thought to you, Id quod hanc mihi expressit epistolam, quam boni consules; Et vale.

Your loving friend,

Stephen Winchester.

(1) Christ useth not now in his church dumb creatures of gold and silver, etc., but ministers, by the lively ministering of his word, to carry abroad his grace.

(2) Cramp-rings and holy water, both together, in like case of abuse and superstition.

(3) After Peter's doctrine, the blood of Christ only purgeth us from all sin: ergo, what should holy water do?

(4) 'Plainly as it is,' his pen will not let him lie.

(5) The beginning of holy water came first from the Gentiles, who used to sprinkle 'aqua lustrati,' standing at the door, upon such as went into the temple.

(6) 'Cum fide et zelo:' Sorcerers and conjurors, with such a wrong faith joined to dumb creatures, may and do, with like reason, call up devils, as holy water may drive them away.

Edward VI. A.D. 1550.

As I have set forth here, gentle reader, the cavilling letter of Winchester against Master Ridley's sermon, so am I right sorry, that I have not likewise the answer of the said Ridley again to join withal. For I understand, that not only Master Ridley, but also Master Barlow, bishop of St. David's (for Winchester wrote against them both), had written and sent immediately their answers to the same, refuting the frivolous and unsavoury reasons of this popish prelate, as may well appear by a parcel additional of a letter sent by the lord protector to the said bishop in these words:

'And because we have begun to write to you, we are put in remembrance of a certain letter or book which you wrote unto us against the bishop of St. David's sermon, and Dr. Ridley's, to the which answer being immediately made, it was by negligence of us forgotten to be sent Now we both send you that, and also the answer which the bishop of St. David's wrote to the same book of yours.'

Nineteen Articles and Positions ministered and objected, each of them jointly and severally, to the Bishop of Winchester; as followeth.[1]

The First Article.

In primis, 'That the king's majesty justly and rightfully is, and by the laws of God ought to be, supreme head in earth of the church of England, and also of Ireland; and so is by the clergy of this realm in their convocation, and by act of parliament, justly, and according to the laws of God recognised.'

This first article the bishop of Winchester granteth.

The Second Article.

Item, 'That his majesty, as supreme head of the said churches, hath full power and authority to make and set forth laws, injunctions, and ordinances, for and concerning religion, and orders of the said churches; for the increase of virtue, and repressing of all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses.'

To this second article he answereth affirmatively.

The Third Article.

Item, 'That all and every his grace's subjects are bound, by the law of God, to obey all his majesty's said laws, injunctions, and proceedings concerning religion, and orders in the said church.'

To the third article, the said bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The Fourth Article.

Item, 'That you Stephen bishop of Winchester have sworn obedience unto his majesty, as supreme head of this church of England, and also of Ireland.'

To the fourth article, the said bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The Fifth Article.

Item, 'That all and every his grace's subjects, that disobey any his majesty's said laws, injunctions, ordinances, and proceedings already set forth and published, or hereafter to be set forth and published, ought worthily to be punished, according to his ecclesiastical law used within this his realm.'

To this fifth article, the said bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

(1) These articles were presented on the 15th of Dec. 1550.—Ed.

The Sixth Article.

Winchester complained of.

Item, 'That you the said bishop, as well in the king's majesty's late visitation within your diocese, as at sundry times, have been complained upon, and sundry informations made against you for your doings, sayings, and preachings, against sundry injunctions, orders, and other proceedings of his majesty, set forth for reformation of errors, superstitions, and other abuses in religion.'

Released out of the Fleet by the king's pardon.

Winchester:—'This article toucheth other men's acts; who, or how they have complained and informed, I cannot thoroughly tell; for, at the time of the king's majesty's visitation, I was in the Fleet, and the morrow after Twelfth-day I was delivered at Hampton-court, my lord of Somerset, and my lord of Canterbury then being in council, with many other councillors; and was delivered by these words: The king's majesty hath granted a general pardon,—and by the benefit thereof I was discharged. Whereunto I answered, that I was learned never to refuse the king's majesty's pardon, and in strength as that was; and I would and did humbly thank his majesty therefore.

The article of justification put to him.

'And then they began with me in an article of learning, touching justification, whereunto they willed me to say my mind; adding therewith, that because other learned men had agreed to a form delivered unto me, I should not think I could alter it: which I received of them, and promised the Thursday after to repair to my lord of Somerset's house at Sheen, with my mind written: which I did, and, at that day seven night following, appearing before him and others of the council, was committed to my house for prisoner, because I refused to subscribe to the form of words and sentences that others had agreed unto, as they said. In which time of imprisonment in my house, the bishop of Rochester, then being, was sent to me, and after Master Smith, and then Master Cecil; to which Master Cecil, when I had by learning resolved my mind in the matter, I delivered it; and he, delivering it to my lord's grace, wrote me, in his name, thanks for it. And then it was within the time of Lent, ere I was discharged of that trouble; and so went down to Winchester, as a man clearly out of all travail of business.

Prisoner in his own house, for denying to subscribe to the articles of justification.

'And within fourteen days after that, or thereabouts, began other travail with me, upon a request made by my lord of Somerset to surrender a college in Cambridge: and divers letters were written between his grace and me in it; wherein I might perceive the secretary, with his pen, took occasion to prick me more than, I trusted, my lord's grace himself would have done. And by this trouble was I deduced to an end. Then, shortly after, I received letters to come to the council, and by reason I alleged my disease, I was respited by other letters; and three days before Whitsuntide received yet other letters to come: by which it might seem unto me, that it was not of all believed that I was diseased. And therefore with all expedition, when I could not ride, I came in a horse-litter; and, according to my duty, presented myself to my lords of the council, who all then entertained me secretly among them before the matters were objected unto me, as if I had been in the same place with them, that I was in our late sovereign lord's days. Afterwards my lord of Somerset's grace charged me with these matters following, and in this form, having the articles written in a paper:

Winchester sent for and is sick.

Cometh at last in a horse-litter.

Charged with disobedience.

'First, with disobedience; that I came not at his sending for. Whereunto I answered, that I had his letters of license to stay till I might come conveniently. And upon these last letters I came incontinently in a horse-litter.

'Then it was objected, that I bare palms, and crept to the cross. Whereunto I answered, that they were misinformed; and I trusted they would not think I durst deny it, if I had done it, because ceremonies had such circumstances, as I might easily be reproved if it were otherwise.

'Then it was objected, that at Easter I had a solemn sepulchre in the church, and such other ceremonies. I answered, that I had even as many as the king's majesty's proclamations commanded me: declaring plainly, that I thought it not expedient to make any alteration, wherein to offend the king's majesty's proclamation; adding, how he that followeth as he is commanded, is very obedient.

'It was then objected unto me, that I went about to defame two of the king's majesty's chaplains, sent down to be canons of the church of Winchester.

Edward VI. A.D. 1550.

Whereunto I answered, declaring the fact truly as it was, which I am yet able to justify.—After this matter thus oft objected and answered, I was commanded to go apart, and being called in again, my lord of Somerset's grace, looking upon a bill of articles, said, I had preached how the apostles went from the presence of the council, of the council, of the council; which matter I denied, adding, that it was not my fashion of preaching, so to play in iteration of words.

Charged with defaming certain of the king's chaplains.

'After that, it was objected unto me for preaching of the sacrament, to say, The body of Christ was really present; being a fault to use the word really, not comprised in the Scripture. Whereunto I answered, that I did not use the word really, which needeth not. For, as I once heard my lord of Canterbury reason against one Lambert, in the presence of the king's majesty that dead is; the words of the Scripture, This is my body that shall be betrayed for you, do plainly and lively express the very presence; and so did I set it forth to the people in my diocese.

Real presence.

'And this is the effect of all that was said against me at my being at the council, as I can remember. To whom I declared how much I esteemed obedience, and told them, I had taught in my diocese how the whole life of a christian man consisteth in suffering properly; and therefore we may not do our own will, but the will of God: and among men, we must either suffer the rulers' will, or their power; their will to order us, and their power to punish us. After declaration whereof, my lord of Somerset said, Ye must tarry in the town. Whereunto I answered, I would be contented at their commandment or pleasure to tarry; but, seeing I was no offender, I desired them I might not tarry as an offender; and for declaration thereof, that I might have some house in the country about London, to remove unto for a shift; in devising whereof, I stuck much to borrow Esher. My lord of Somerset said, If he had any, in faith he would lend me one. And in the end, my lord of Somerset desired me to write what my mind was in ceremonies, and to send it unto him; and with that departed.

Winchester commanded to tarry in London.

Also to write his mind of ceremonies.

'Thus I have truly opened after what sort I have been complained on, that hath certainly come to my knowledge: truth it is, that one Philpot in Westminster, whom I accounted altered in his wits (as I have heard), devised tales of me, the specialties whereof I never was called to answer unto. Players and minstrels also railed on me, and others made ballads and rhymes of me; but never man had just cause to complain of any my sayings, doings, or preachings, or to my knowledge did, otherwise than afore. And if any man shall put me in remembrance of any other complaint that might in my absence be made of me, if I have heard it, I will grant so. But well assured I am, I was never complained on, and called to make answer to the complaint, but this one time in all my whole life, by any man of any degree. Once the lord Cromwell (God pardon his soul and forgive him!) caused one day and a half to be spent in a matter between sir Francis Bryan and me; which was ended, and I, declared an honest man; which the king's majesty that dead is (God pardon his soul!) set forth with his familiarity to me incontinently. And this is all the trouble that I have had in my life, saving the sending to the Fleet, being occasioned by my own letter to the council, upon a zeal that I had, which they allowed not; and finally, this sending of me to the Tower, which was without calling me before the council, to hear what I could say. I am loth to be forsworn, and therefore I recount all the complaints in my whole life made against me, whereunto I have been made privy.'

Master Philpot complained of by Winchester.

How oft Winchester hath been called to 'coram.'

The Seventh Article.

Winchester admonished to conform.

Item, 'That after and upon occasion of those and many other complaints and informations, you have been sundry times admonished, commanded, and enjoined to conform yourself, as to your duty appertaineth.'

Winchester:—'To this seventh article I answer, I was never called afore the council by way of outward complaint and information, but only once in all my whole life; which was at my last coming to London. Whereunto I answered as afore, and have told the form and process of speech to serve for furniture of answer to this and that article: for other than I have before written, I remember not to have done or suffered by the higher powers in all my whole life, till my coming into the Tower (without that I have had any bye admonitions, as a man faulty or negligent at any time, that I remember not), for the observation of any

thing already made or set forth by the king's majesty that now is; but have kept, and caused to be kept to my power, the king's majesty's acts, statutes, injunctions, and proclamations, inviolably; having for that purpose such a chancellor, as in orders and ordinances hath been always himself diligent and precise for the time I might have knowledge of his doings.'

Edward VI. A. D. 1550.

The Eighth Article.

Item, 'That after the premises, and for that, those former admonitions and commandments notwithstanding, you did still show yourself not conformable; and for that also others, by your example, were much animated, and thereby occasion of much unquietness ministered among the people. You were called before the king's majesty's council in the month of June, in the second year of his majesty's reign,[1] and by them, on his majesty's behalf, commanded to preach a sermon before his majesty; and therein to declare the justness and godliness of his majesty's father, in his proceedings upon certain matters partly mentioned in certain articles to you delivered in writing, and partly otherwise declared unto you. The effect whereof was touching the usurped power and authority of the bishop of Rome, that the same was justly and godly taken away in this realm, and other the king's majesty's dominions; touching the just suppressing and taking away of monasteries, religious houses, pilgrimages, relics, shrines, and images. The superstitious going about of St. Nicholas, bishop of St. Edmund, St. Katharine, St. Clement, and such like; and just taking away of chantries, abbeys, and colleges, hallowing of candles, water, ashes, palms, holy bread, beads, creeping to the cross, and such like. Also, touching the setting-forth of the king's majesty's authority in his young years, to be as great as if his highness were of many more years. That auricular confession is indifferent, and of no necessity by the law of God: and touching the procession, and Common Prayer in English.'

Enjoined to preach, and on what points.

Winchester:—'This article, being of so many parts as it is, some true, some otherwise, must be answered by division of it into divers members, to divide the one from the other, granting that which is true, denying that which is otherwise, and opening that which is ambiguous, avoiding that which is captious; so as, according to my oath, I may open directly and plainly the truth, with sincerity of conscience. The motion of preaching was made unto me in mine own house by Master Cecil, upon the duke of Somerset's behalf, after I had been before the council, as I have before said; from which council I departed (as before is rehearsed) as no offender; and therefore when Master Cecil spake to me of preaching before the king's majesty, with request to write my sermon before, I denied that manner of preaching, because I said it was to preach like an offender, and I was none, but departed from the council otherwise, as I have before showed. And the said Master Cecil did not say to me that I was moved to preach, because I was not conformable; for I had at that time no manner of variance with the council, but was in all conformity with them, for any thing that I know, as I will answer afore God.

Master Cecil.

'As for evil example to any man, I could none give, for I never offended law, statute, or proclamation in this realm, nor did ever any act to the impairing of due obedience to the king's majesty in all my whole life; but by observation of them, and, letting innovations, have done as much as in me lay to maintain obedience.

'After Master Cecil had spoken to me of preaching, and delivered two papers containing the matters whereupon I should entreat, because I refused to give my sermon in writing (which was to me, like an offender), or to read those papers of another man's device,[2] as the conception and sincere manner of uttering of mine own conscience: which me thought then and since, and yet, a marvellous unreasonable matter, touching both my conscience and honesty.

'I was then fetched to the duke of Somerset's grace's chamber, and came in at a back door to himself alone, saving he took to him as witness (he said), the lord now of Wiltshire, then great master; and after many words, he showed me certain articles subscribed by lawyers, what a bishop might command, and what

(1) A.D. 1548.—Ed.

(2) Winchester refuseth to preach by other men's papers and prescriptions; and yet he afterwards would prescribe other men, by papers, what they should preach, against all conscience and honesty.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1550.

the king might command, and what pain to the disobeyer. To whom I said plainly and truly, how those lawyers' subscription could not serve, in this case, to command me to utter to the people for mine own device in words, that which is not indeed so; and if I might speak with these lawyers (I said), his grace should soon perceive them to agree with me. My lord said, I should speak with no man, and I should do as I was bidden, or do worse; and bade me advise me till dinner was done. And then was I conveyed by the lord great master to his chamber, and there left alone to dine, as was indeed honourably prepared. But I took myself to be in the nature of a prisoner, and a restrained man.

Winchester's answer to the duke of Somerset.

Sir Thomas Smith, secretary.

'And about two of the clock at afternoon, came unto me Master Thomas Smith, then secretary, unto whom I complained of the unreasonableness of the matter, and showed him certain particularities; who said it was not meant so precisely, but to speak of the matters. To whom I said, I was content to speak of the matters, and then if I spake not according to the truth of them, there should be enough to bear witness to my condemnation; and if I spake the truth, then they had their desire. And I said further, I thought I might with my conscience say, so as men ought and should be content and satisfied. And further, if I thought that in my manner of the uttering of those matters I should offend the council, I had rather deny to speak of the thing, and begin the contention secretly with them, than to begin with the pulpit, and so bring myself in further trouble than needed; and therefore, if they would have me preach, I would preach as of myself, and of these matters, so as I thought they should be content.

'Whereupon I was brought up to my lord of Somerset's chamber, and there the matter ended thus: that my lord of Somerset said, he would require no writing of me, but remit it to me, so I spake of the matters in the papers delivered me by Master Cecil. I told him I would speak of them, saving for children's toys, of going about of St. Nicholas, and St. Clement. If that be now gone, quoth I, and forgotten, if I be too busy in rehearsal of them, they will say I cumber their heads with ceremonies, and thus they will defame me. When ceremonies were plenty, they will say, I did nothing but preach on them; and now they be gone, I babble of them still. I said, I would touch the chief points, adding, that I would speak of other matters also; and with that, being put to my liberty to choose the day, departed: and otherwise I was not spoken with concerning preaching, saving after Master Cecil came unto me, whereof I shall speak anon.

Winchester walketh here subtilely.

'And concerning the matters to be spoken of, all such things as be here rehearsed, be named in the papers delivered unto me, although not altogether after this sort; saving the setting forth of the king's majesty's authority in his minority, whereof there is no word in those papers, nor was there ever any promise made of me to speak of it. Truth it is, that after I had signified the day when I would preach, Master Cecil came unto me, making the chief message to know the day when I would preach: to whom I had sent word before, that it should be St. Peter's day, because methought the gospel served well for that purpose. And in process of communication, he told me, that he liked gaily well a word that I had said in another communication: how a king was as much a king at one year of age, as at a hundred years of age; and if I touched it, he thought it would be well taken. I told him again, every man knew that; and then opened of myself the matter further. And at his next repair unto me, which was the Monday before I preached, the said Master Cecil brought me papers of the king's majesty's hand, showing me how the king's highness used to note every notable sentence, and specially if it touched a king; and therefore (quoth he) if ye speak of a king, ye must join counsel withal. Whereunto I made no answer, but shifted to other matter, without making him any promise or denial, because I would neither bind myself, nor trouble myself to discuss that matter: for albeit it is godly and wisely done of every prince to use counsel, yet, speaking of a king's power by Scripture, I cannot by express Scripture limit the king's power by counsel. And hearing blindly by report some secret matter, that I will not speak of here, I thought not to meddle with it at all in the pulpit; and yet, to the effect to have our sovereign lord now obeyed, of which mind I was ever, I pointed to our sovereign lord there in presence, and said, He was only to be obeyed; and, I

Winchester's opinion of the king's minority.

Master Cecil repairs again to him.

Winchester maketh dangerous speaking of the king, to join counsel withal.

would have but one king; and other words to that purpose. But, for any promise to be made by me, I utterly deny it, and tell plainly the cause why I spake not otherwise of it. There was also, in the papers delivered unto me, occasion given me to speak of the mass, because of masses satisfactory, as some understand them. And also there was occasion to speak of the sacrament of the altar, because of the proclamation passed of the same; which to be true, I shall justify by the said papers.'

The Ninth Article.

Item, 'That you, receiving the same, and promising to declare the same in a sermon by you made before his majesty for that purpose, on the Feast of St. Peter, in the said second year of his reign,[1] did then and there contemptuously and disobediently omit to declare and set forth many of the said matters; and of divers other of the said articles you spake and uttered your mind in such doubtful sort, as the justness and godliness of his majesty's father's, and his proceedings, was not set forth according to the commandment given unto you, and your own promise, to the great offence of the hearers, and manifest contempt of his majesty, and dangerous example of others.'

Winchester:—'Touching that promise, I answer as afore; and as touching omission of that I should have spoken of, by contempt or disobedience, I answer by mine oath, I did not omit any thing (if I did omit it) by contempt or disobedience; for I ever minded to satisfy the promise, to speak of all matters in those papers according to my former declaration. And if I did percase omit any thing (whereof I can make now no assurance, it being two years and a half past since I preached), but if I did omit any thing, he who knew my travail in the matter, would not marvel, being troubled with a letter sent from the duke of Somerset, whereof I shall speak after; so as from four of the clock on Thursday, till I had done my sermon on the Friday, I did neither drink, eat, nor sleep: so careful was I to pass over the travail of preaching without all slander of the truth, and with satisfaction of my promise, and discharge of my duty to God, and the king's most excellent majesty. Wherein, whether any thing were omitted or not, I could have answered more precisely than I can now, if, according to my most instant suit, and the suit of my servants, the matter had been heard while it was in fresh memory. But, because omission may be by infirmity of nature, in which oblivion is a pain of our original sin, in which case it is no mortal offence, if a man being put in remembrance will purge it; I therefore, according to the true testimony of mine own conscience, dare the more boldly deny all contempt and disobedience, having for my declaration a general sentence spoken in my sermon, that I agreed with the upper part in their laws, orders, and commandments, or such like words, and found fault only in the lower part. By which sentence it appeared, how I allowed in the whole that was past hitherto, and only dissented from the doings of them that attempt innovations, of their own presumption. And furthermore I say, that that saying 'omission' here objected unto me, if it were true, as I know it not to be, may happen two ways, one way by infirmity of nature, another way of purpose. Charity of a christian man permitteth not to determine the worst of that which is doubtful and ambiguous to both parties: as touching doubtfulness objected, I take God to record, I minded to speak simply, and to be on the king's majesty's side only, and not to go invisible in the world with ambiguities, esteeming him, etc. The worst man of all, is he that will make himself a lock of words[2] and speech, which is known not to be my fashion, nor do I think this life worth that dissimulation; and how can that be a doubtful speech in him, that professeth to agree with the king's laws, injunctions, and statutes, which I did expressly?

Omission by contempt.

Distinction between the upper and lower part of the laws.

Omission excused.

'There be that call in doubt whatsoever serveth not their appetite. It is not in the speaker to satisfy the hearer that will doubt, where doubt is not. The sum of my teaching was, that all visible things be ordered to serve us, which we may in convenient service use. And when we serve them, that is an abuse, and may then, at the rulers' pleasure, unless Scripture appointeth a special use of them, be corrected in that use, or taken away for reformation. And this is

(1) June 29, 1548.—Ed.
(2) A lock of words, that is, to open and shut again as they list.

Edward VI.

A.D. 1550.

Answer by words, to omission in deeds.

a plain teaching that hath no doubt in it, but a yea and a nay on both sides, without a mean to make a doubt. And if any that doubteth cometh unto me, I will resolve him the doubt as I can. And if I promised to speak plainly, or am commanded to speak plainly, and cannot, then is my fault to promise only in the nature of folly and ignorance, whereunto I resort not for a shift, whereof indeed I profess the knowledge but to show how sometimes, to my hinderance, I am noted learned, that can speak plainly, and yet speak doubtfully; otherwhiles am rejected, as one that understandeth not the matter at all. As touching contempt, there can be none manifest that proceedeth of a privy promise: if I had broken it, I intended not, but intended to take it, as appeareth by my general sentence, to agree with the superiors, and only find fault in the inferior subjects, who daily transgress the king's majesty's proclamations, and others, whereof I spake then.'

The Tenth Article.

Item, 'That you, being also commanded on his majesty's behalf, for the avoiding of tumult, and, for other great considerations, inhibited to treat of any matter in controversy concerning the mass, and of the communion (then commonly called 'The Sacrament of the Altar,' did, contrary to the said commandment and inhibition, declare divers your judgments and opinions in the same, in the manifest contempt of his highness's said inhibition, to the great offence of the hearers, and disturbance of the common quiet and unity of the realm.'

To the tenth article Winchester answered thus:—'The Wednesday at afternoon next before the Friday when I preached, Master Cecil came to me, and having in all his other accesses spoken no word thereof, did then utter and advise me from the duke of Somerset, that I should not speak of the sacrament, or of the mass, whereby, he said, I should avoid trouble. And when he saw me not to take it well, I mean, quoth he, doubtful matters. I asked him what? he said, transubstantiation. I told him, he wist not what transubstantiation meant. I will preach, quoth I, the very presence of Christ's most precious body and blood in the sacrament, which is the catholic faith, and no doubtful matter, nor yet in controversy, saving that certain unlearned speak of it they wot not what. And among the matters, quoth I, whereof I have promised to speak, I must by special words speak of the sacrament, and of the mass also. And when I shall so speak of them, I will not forbear to utter my faith and true belief therein, which I think necessary for the king's majesty to know; and therefore, if I wist to be hanged when I came down, I would speak it. Which plain zeal of my conscience, grounded upon God's commandment to do his message truly, I would not hide, but utter so as my lord should, if he would not have it spoken of, not let me to come there as he might have done: whereas else, if I had had a deceitful purpose, I might have accepted the advice, and without any colour of trouble, have refused to follow it, as a thing grounded upon wealth only, as it was then uttered.

Winchester's catholic faith in the sacrament.

The sacrament and the mass.

'With this my answer, Master Cecil departed, and upon the Thursday, which was the next day following, and the evening before I preached, between three and four at afternoon, I received a letter signed with the hand of the duke of Somerset, the copy whereof I am ready to exhibit; and took it then, and esteemed it so now, to contain no effectual inhibition, whereunto I might by God's law, or the king's majesty's laws, with discharge of my conscience and duty obey, although the said letters had been (as they were not) in such terms framed, as had precisely forbidden me (as they did not) but only to speak of matters in controversy of the sacrament; which indeed I did not, but only uttered a truth to my conscience, most certainly persuaded of the most holy sacrament, necessary to be known to the king's majesty, and to be uttered by me admitted to that place of preaching, from whence God commandeth his truth to be uttered; which (in this nature of truth, the undue estimation and use whereof, St. Paul threateneth with temporal death), may in no wise be omitted.[1] So as I was and am persuaded, the right estimation of the sacrament

(1) St. Paul threateneth death to the misusers of the sacrament: ergo, the real presence of Christ is in the sacrament.—'Nego argumentum.' And why would not Winchester allow this reason in others, in queen Mary's time, speaking the word of truth after their conscience, contrary to his inhibition.

to be, to acknowledge the very presence of the same most precious body and blood present in the sacrament to feed us, that was given to redeem us. If I showed not my sovereign lord the truth thereof, I for my part suffer him wittingly to fall into that extreme danger of body, which St. Paul threateneth, whose person I am bound by nature, by special oaths, and by God's laws, to preserve to my power; as I will do, and must do, by all ways and means. And if the king's majesty doth vouchsafe to teach his people not to obey his commandment, where God commandeth the contrary, I might not take my lord of Somerset's letter for an inhibition to hold my peace, when God biddeth me to speak, as he doth when the wolf cometh, and not to hide myself in silence, which is the most shameful running away of all. I have much matter to allege against the letter, why I should not credit it, written in his name alone, against a common letter (as I took it) written by him and the council, and published in print the first day of the said month, which maintaineth my preaching of the sacrament and mass, according to the proclamation and injunctions, the violation of which public letters, had been a disorder and contempt; whereas I neither offended in the one nor the other.

Winchester against players and ballad-makers.

'And as for tumult, none could reasonably be feared of any thing spoken agreeable to the king's majesty's laws, as there did follow none; nor the people, nor any man did offer my person any wrong, or make tumult against me, notwithstanding players, jesters, rhymers, ballad-makers, did signify me to be of the *true* catholic faith, which I, according to my duty, declared to the king's majesty, from whom I may hide no truth that I think expedient for him to know. And as the name of God cannot be used of any creature against God, no more can the king's name be used of any subject against his highness. Wherefore, seeing the abuse of this holy sacrament hath in it a danger assured by Scripture, of body and soul; whosoever is persuaded in the catholic faith, as I am, findeth himself so burdened to utter that unto his majesty, as no worldly loss can let him to do his duty in that behalf, and much less my lord's private letters written without other of the council's hands.'

The Eleventh Article.

Item, 'That after the premises, viz. in the month of May or June, or one of them, in the third year of his highness's reign,[1] his majesty sent eftsoons unto you, to know your conformity towards his said reformations, and specially touching the book of Common Prayer then lately set forth by his majesty; whereunto you at the same time refused to show yourself conformable.'

Sir A. Wingfield and sir R. Sadler sent to Winchester.

To the eleventh article, for answer and declaration thereof, Winchester said, 'The next day at afternoon after I had preached, when I looked for no such matter, came to my house the right worshipful sir Anthony Wingfield, and sir Ralph Sadler, knights, accompanied with a great number of the guard, and used themselves, for their part, according to their worships, and, I doubt not, as they were appointed. And sir Ralph Sadler began thus with me: My lord, said he, ye preached yesterday obedience, but ye did not obey yourself; and went forth with his message very soberly, as he can, and discreetly. I asked him, wherein I obeyed not. He said, touching my lord of Somerset's letter. Master Sadler, quoth I, I pray you say unto my lord's grace, I would he never made mention of that letter, for the love I bare him. And yet, quoth I, I have not broken that letter; and I was minded, quoth I, to have written to my lord upon the receipt of it, and lo, quoth I, ye may see how I began:—and showed him (because we were then in my study) the beginning of my letter, and reasoned with him for the declaration of myself, and told him therewith, I will not spend, quoth I, many words with you, for I cannot alter this determination. And yet in good faith, quoth I, my manner to you, and this declaration, may have this effect, that I be gently handled in the prison; and for that purpose, I pray you, make suit on my behalf.

Winchester committed to the Tower.

'Master Wingfield laid his hand on my shoulder, and arrested me in the king's name for disobedience. I asked him, whither I should? They said, to the Tower. Finally, I desired them, that I might be spoken with shortly, and heard what I could say for myself; and prayed them to be suitors in it:

(1) A. D. 1549.—Ed.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1550.

and so they said they would. After that I was once in the Tower, until it was within six days of one whole year, I could hear no manner of word, message, comfort, or relief; saving once when I was sick, and methought some extremity towards me, my chaplain had leave to come to me once: and then denied again, being answered, that my fever was but a tertian; which my said chaplain told me when he came to me at the Easter following; and there being with me from the morning until night on Easter-day, departed, and for no suit could I ever have him since. To Master Lieutenant I made divers suits to provoke the duke of Somerset's grace to hear me, and, if I might have the liberty of an Englishman, I would plainly declare I had neither offended law, statute, act, proclamation, nor his own letter neither: but all would not help. And I shall report me to Master Lieutenant, whether in all this time I maligned, grudged, or used any unseemly words; ever demanding justice, and to be heard according to justice.

The lord chancellor and secretary Peter come to him.

'When I had been thus in the Tower one whole year within six days or seven, as I remember, came to the Tower the lord chancellor of England, now being the lord treasurer, and Master secretary Peter, who, calling me unto them, as I remember entered thus: They said, they had brought with them a book passed by the parliament, which they would I should look on, and say my mind to it; and upon my conformity in it, my lord of Somerset would be suitor to the king's majesty for mercy to be ministered to me. Whereunto I answered that I trusted, if I might be heard, the king's majesty's justice would relieve me, which I had long sued for, and could not be heard. And to sue for mercy, quoth I, when I have not in my conscience offended, and also to sue out of this place, where asking of mercy implieth a further suspicion than I would be for all the world touched in, were not expedient; and therefore, quoth I, 'Not guilty,' is and hath been continually allowed a good plea for a prisoner.

Winchester denieth to sue for mercy.

'Then my lord said, Why, quoth he, were ye not commanded to preach of the king's authority in his young age, and did not? I told him I was not commanded. Is not, quoth he, that article in the papers ye had delivered you? I assured him no.

Talk between them.

'And after communication of the king's majesty's authority, wherein was no disagreement; then my lord chancellor said, I had disobeyed my lord's grace's letter.—I told him. I thought not, and if the matter came to judgment, it should appear. And then I said to him, My lord, how many open injunctions under seal and in open court have been broken in this realm, the punishment whereof hath not been handled after this sort? and yet I would stand in defence, that I have not broken his letter: weighing the words of his letter, wherein I reasoned with Master secretary Peter what a controversy was, and, some part, what I could say further. But whatsoever I can say, quoth I, you must judge it, and, for the passion of God, do it; and then let me sue for mercy, when the nature of the offence is known, if I will have it. But when I am, quoth I, declared an offender, I will with humility of suffering make amends to the king's majesty, so far as I am able; for I should never offend him, and much less in his young age.

Winchester will acknowledge no offence.

'My lord chancellor then showed me the beginning of the act for Common Prayer, how dangerous it was to break the order of it. I told him that it was true; and therefore, if I came abroad, I would beware of it. But it is, quoth I, after in the act, how no man should be troubled for this act, unless he were first indicted: and therefore, quoth I, I may not be kept in prison for this act. Ah, quoth he, I perceive ye know the law well enough. I told him my chaplain had brought it unto me the afternoon before. Then they required me to look on the book, and to say my mind in it. I answered, that I thought not meet to yield myself a scholar to go to school in prison, and then slander myself, as though I redeemed my faults with my conscience. As touching the law which I know, I will honour it like a subject; and if I keep it not, I will willingly suffer the pain of it. And what more conformity I should show, I cannot tell, for mine offences be past, if there be any. If I have not suffered enough, I will suffer more—if upon examination I be found faulty; and as for this new law, if I keep it not, punish me likewise.

Will not go to school in prison.

Desireth the king to be his good lord.

'Then my lord chancellor asked me, whether I would not desire the king's majesty to be my good lord. At which words I said, Alas, my lord! quoth I, do ye think that I have so forgotten myself? My duty, quoth I, requireth so; and I will on my knees desire him to be my good lord. and my lord protector

also, quoth I. That is well said, quoth my lord chancellor. And what will ye say further, quoth my lord chancellor? In good faith, quoth I, this: that I thought when I had preached, that I had not offended at all, and think so still; and had it not been for the article of the supremacy, I would have rather feigned myself sick, than be occasion of this that hath followed: but, going to the pulpit, I must needs say as I said. Well, quoth my lord chancellor, let us go to our purpose again. Ye will, quoth he, desire the king's majesty to be your good lord, and the lord protector also; and ye say, ye thought not to have offended. All this I will say, quoth I. And ye will, quoth my lord chancellor, submit yourself to be ordered by the lord protector. Nay, quoth I, by the law; for my lord protector, quoth I, hath scourged me over sore this year, to put my matter in his hands now. And in the latter point I varied with my lord chancellor, when I would not refer my order to my lord protector, but to the law; and staying at this point they were content to grant me of their gentleness, to make their suit to procure me to be heard, and to obtain me liberty to go in the gallery, and that I should hear of one of them within two days following. I desired them to remember that I refused not the book by way of contempt, nor in any evil manner, but that I was loth to yield myself a scholar in the Tower, and to be seen to redeem my faults, if I had any, with my conscience. My body, I said, should serve my conscience, but not contrariwise. And this is the truth upon my conscience and oath, that was done and said at their coming. There was more said to the purposes aforesaid. And I bind not myself to the precise form of words, but to the substance of the matter and fashion of the entreating. So near as I can remember, I have truly discharged mine oath. But I heard no more of my matter in one whole year after almost, within fourteen days, notwithstanding two letters written by me to the council, of most humble request to be heard according to justice. And then, at the end of two years almost, came unto me the duke of Somerset, with others of the council; which matter, because it is left out here, I shall not touch, but prepare it in a matter apart, for declaration of my behaviour at all times.'

Will not confess himself to be an offender, or submit himself to the lord protector, but to the law.

The Twelfth Article.

Item, 'That after that, viz. the 9th day of July, in the fourth year of his majesty's reign,[1] his highness sent unto you his grace's letters, with a certain submission and articles, whereunto his grace willed and commanded you to subscribe. To the which submission you contemptuously refused to subscribe.'

To the twelfth article, for answer thereunto, Winchester granted, that about the time mentioned in this article, the lord treasurer, the earl of Warwick, lord great master, sir William Harbert, and Master secretary Peter, came to the Tower, and called him before them, and delivered unto him the king's majesty's letters —'which I have to show,' said he, 'and received them at the hands of the lord treasurer upon my knees, kissed them as my duty was, and still upon my knees read them, whereas they gently required me to take more ease, and go apart with them, and consider them. Which after that I had thoroughly read, I much lamented that I should be commanded to say of myself as was there written, and to say otherwise of myself than my conscience will suffer me, and, where I trust my deeds will not condemn me, there to condemn myself with my tongue. I should sooner, quoth I to them, by commandment, I think, if ye would bid me, tumble myself desperately into the Thames.

The king's letter to Winchester in the Tower.

'My lord of Warwick, seeing me in that agony, said, What say ye, my lord, quoth he, to the other articles? I answered, that I was loth to disobey where I might obey, and not wrest my conscience, destroying the comfort of it, as to say untruly of myself. Well, quoth my lord of Warwick, will ye subscribe to the other articles? I told him I would: but then, quoth I, the article that toucheth me must be put out.[2] I was answered, that needeth not, for I might write on the outside what I would say unto it. And then my lord of Warwick entertained me very gently, and would needs, whiles I should write, have me sit down by him; and when he saw me make somewhat strange so to do, he pulled me nearer him, and said, we had ere this sat together, and trusted we

Other articles put to Winchester.

(1) A.D. 1550.—Ed.

(2) The article which touched him, was the first article, prescribing him to subscribe, which article he wisheth here to be put out.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1550.

should do so again. And then having pen and ink given me, I wrote, as I remember, on the article that touched me these words,—I cannot with my conscience say this of myself,—or such like words. And there followed an article of the king's majesty's primacy, and I began to write on the side of that, and had made an *I*, onward, as may appear by the articles; and they would not have me do so, but write only my name after their articles; which I did. Whereat, because they showed themselves pleased and content, I was bold to tell them merrily, that by this means I had placed my subscription above them all; and thereupon it pleased them to entertain me much to my comfort.

Winchester subscribeth to the king's articles.

'And I was bold to recount unto them merry tales of my misery in prison, which they seemed content to hear. And then I told them also (desiring them not to be miscontent with that I should say), when I remembered each of them alone, I could not think otherwise but they were my good lords; and yet when they met together, I felt no remedy at their hands. I looked, quoth I, when my lord of Somerset was here, to go out within two days; and made my farewell feast in the Tower and all; since which time there is a month past, or thereabout; and I agreed with them, and now agree with you, and I may fortune to be forgotten. My lord treasurer said, Nay, I should hear from them the next day. And so by their special commandment I came out of the chamber after them, that they might be seen to depart as my good lords; and so was done. By which process appeareth, how there was in me no contempt, as is said, in this article; but such a subscription made as they were content to suffer me to make; which I took in my conscience for a whole satisfaction of the king's majesty's letters, which I desire [it] may be deemed accordingly. And one thing was said unto me further: that others would have put in many more articles; but they would have no more but those.'

His farewell feast lost in the Tower.

The Thirteenth Article.

Item, 'That you, having eftsoons certain of the king's majesty's honourable council sent unto you the 12th of July, in the said fourth year, with the said submission, and being on his majesty's behalf required and commanded to consider again, and better, [of] the said submission, and to subscribe the same, stood in justification of yourself, and would in no wise subscribe thereunto.'

Winchester still standeth upon reputation of his innocency.

To the thirteenth article Winchester said, 'The next day after the being in the Tower of the said lord treasurer, the earl of Warwick, and others, came unto me sir William Harbert and Master secretary Peter, to devise with me how to make some acknowledging of my fault, as they said, because the other form liked me not. Whereunto I said, I knew myself innocent, and to enter with you to entreat of a device to impair my innocency in any the least point, either by words or writings, it can have no policy in it. For although I did more esteem liberty of body, than the defamation of myself, yet, quoth I, when I had so done with you, I were not so assured by you to come out. For when I were by [my] own pen[1] once made a naughty man, then were I not the more sure to come out, but had locked myself the more surer in; and a small pleasure were it to me to have my body at liberty by your procurement, and to have my conscience in perpetual prison by mine own act. Many more words there were, and persuasions on their parts; which caused me to require of them, for the passion of God, that my matter might take an end by justice. And so they departed, there being no contempt or faction of disobedience showed on my behalf, but only allegation for my defence of mine own innocency in the best manner I could devise, as I trust they will testify.'

The Fourteenth Article.

Item, 'That after all this, viz. the 14th day of July, in the said fourth year, the king's majesty sent yet again unto you certain of his majesty's honourable council, with another submission, and divers other articles, willing and commanding you to subscribe your name thereunto: which to do, you utterly refused.'

(1) Your putting-to your pen in this matter, would not have made you naught, but your naughtiness would not put to your pen.

Edward VI. A. D. 1550.

To the fourteenth article Winchester said, 'On the Monday in the morning following came the bishop of London, sir William Harbert, master secretary Peter, and another whom I know not, who brought with them a paper, with certain articles written in it, which they required me to subscribe. Whereupon I most instantly required, that my matter might be tried by justice, which although it were more grievous, yet it hath a commodity with it, that it endeth certainly the matter. And I could never yet come to my assured stay, and therefore refused to meddle with any more articles, or to trouble myself with the reading of them; and yet they desired me instantly to read them, that I was content, and did read, and, to show my perfect obedient mind, offered incontinently upon my delivery out of prison to make answer to them all; such as I would abide by, and suffer pain for, if I have deserved it. I would indeed gladly have been in hand with my lord of London; but he said he came not to dispute, and said, It was the hand of God that I was thus in prison, because I had so troubled other men in my time. Finally, my request was, that they should in this form make my answer to my lords of the council, as followeth: That I most humbly thank them for their good will to deliver me by the way of mercy; but, because in respect of mine own innocent conscience I had rather have justice, I desired them, seeing both was in the king's majesty's hands, that I might have it; which if it happened to me more grievous, I will impute it to myself, and evermore thank them for their good will. And so departed I with them, as I trust they will testify, and no misbehaviour or misdemeanour to have been used on my behalf.'

Other articles offered to Winchester.

The bishop of London's words to him.

He refuseth to be delivered by way of mercy.

The Fifteenth Article.

Item, 'That after all this, viz. the 19th day of July, in the said fourth year, you, being personally called before the king's majesty's privy council, and having the said submission and articles openly and distinctly read unto you, and required to subscribe the same, refused, for unjust considerations by you alleged, to subscribe the same.'

Winchester:—'To the fifteenth article I grant, that upon a Saturday at afternoon, even at such time of the day as they were at even-song in the chapel of the court, I was brought thither; and at my coming the lords of the council said, they were all my judges by special commission, and intended to proceed thus with me: that I should subscribe certain articles which were then read; and I must directly make answer, whether I would subscribe them or no. I answered on my knees in this wise: For the passion of God, my lords, be my good lords, and let me be tried by justice, whether I be faulty or no: and as for these articles, as soon as ye deliver me to my liberty, I would make answer to them, whether I would subscribe them or no. Then they having [no] further to say, I answered, These articles are of divers sorts; some be laws, which I may not qualify; some be no laws, but learning and fact, which may have divers understandings; and a subscription to them without telling what I mean, were over dangerous. And therefore I offered, for the more declaration of mine obedience to all their requests, that if they would deliver me the articles into the prison with me, I would shortly make them particular answer; and suffer the pains of the law, that by my answer I might incur into. Whereupon I was commanded to go apart, and they sent unto me the lord treasurer, and master secretary Peter, who communed with me of a mean way, and that liked not the lords. And then I was called forth again, and my absolute subscription required again: and I again made offer to answer particularly; for I could not with my conscience subscribe them as they were, absolutely. And these my considerations I trust to be just, seeing no man for any commandments ought to offend his conscience, as I must have done in that case.'

Winchester required again to subscribe refuseth.

His shifts.

The Sixteenth Article.

Item, 'That for your sundry and manifold contempts and disobediences in this behalf used, the fruits of your bishopric were then, by special commission of his majesty, justly and lawfully sequestered.'

Winchester:—'To the sixteenth article I answer, I deny contempts and disobedience of parts, and say, that my doings cannot so be termed, because it

Edward VI. A.D. 1550.

is taught in this realm for a doctrine of obedience, that if a king command that which is contrary to the commandment of God, the subject may not do as he is commanded, but humbly stand to his conscience; which is my case, who could not with my conscience do as I was required.[1] And as touching the fact of decree, there was indeed a decree read, having words so placed and framed as though I were such an offender; which matter I deny. And in that decree was mention made of sequestration of fruits; but whether the former words were of the present tense, or else to be sequestered, I cannot precisely tell, but do refer that to the tenor of the decree.'

The Seventeenth Article.

Item, 'That after this, you had intimation and peremptory monition, with communication, that you should, within three months next following the said intimation, reconcile and submit yourself, under pain of deprivation.'

Winchester:—'To the seventeenth article I answer, that in the same decree of sequestration at the same time read, I kneeling from the beginning of the decree to the latter end, I remember there was an intimation, and three months spoken of, and expressed also, how at every month's end I should have pen and ink offered to write, if I would yet subscribe; and, as I understand, it was upon the pain of proceeding further. And I do not remember that I heard the word 'deprivation,' but therein I refer me to the acts of the sentence; which when it was read, I desired it might be testified what mine offer was, to answer all those articles particularly, even remaining in prison. And this done, I made suit for some of my servants abroad to resort to me to the Tower, partly for my comfort, partly for my necessary business; which could not be obtained. And yet to provoke it, I said to my lord of Warwick, how for agreeing with my lord of Somerset, I had some commodity; and for agreeing with him, had nothing; and therefore would needs by intercession press him, that I might by this means have some of my servants resorting unto me. He answered very gently. And then one said, I should within two or three days have somebody come to me. And then I was dismissed, with commandment to the lieutenant, to let me have the same liberty I had, but no more.'

The Eighteenth Article.

Item, 'That the said three months are now fully expired and run.'

Winchester:—'To the eighteenth article I say, there is almost six months passed in time and number of days, but not one month past to the effect of the law, nor ten days neither, because I have been so kept in prison, that I could not seek for remedy in form abovesaid; nor was there at every month, after the form of the sentence, offered me pen and ink, and liberty given me to consult and deliberate with other learned men and friends, what were best to do, or to send unto them. And furthermore, the very eighth day after the decree given, I protested before my servants, whom I had only commodity to use as witnesses of the nullity of the decree, for the evident and apparent matter in it; but if it were in law, I appealed to the king's majesty, because my request was not admitted, to have the copy of the articles to answer them particularly, and because it is excessive correction, to sequester my fruits and keep me in prison: with other cases to be deduced where I might have opportunity. Which appellation I protested to intimate as soon as I could come to any presence meet there-for, as I did in this assembly at my last repair; desiring therewith the benefit 'restitutionis in integrum,' because of mine imprisonment; and therefore do answer this matter with protestation of that appeal, and utterly deny all manner of contempt.'

Winchester's appeal to the king.

The Nineteenth Article.

Item, 'That you have not hitherto, according to the said intimation and monition, submitted, reconciled, nor reformed yourself, but contemptuously yet still remain in your first disobedience.'

(1) But this answer could not stand in queen Mary's days.

Winchester:—'To the nineteenth article I say, that I have been all this while in prison so kept, as no man could have access to counsel with me, nor any means to write or send to any man, having made continual suit to master lieutenant and master marshal, under whose custody I am here, and to make suit in my name to the lords of the council, that I might come to hearing, or else be bailed upon surety; which I could not obtain, and so have remained, under the benefit of my said appeal to the king's majesty made, as I might for the time; which I eftsoons desire I may have liberty to prosecute.

The words of Winchester 'I protest' expounded.

'And whereas, answering to these articles for declaration of the integrity of my conscience, I use in the same places general words, I protest I mean not by those words to set forth myself otherwise more arrogantly than as my direct intent (which excludeth malice) and purpose move me to say, and as my conscience beareth witness unto me at this time; and therefore will say therein with St. Paul, Nihili mihi conscius sum, sed non in hoc justificatus sum. Wherefore if any especially be objected unto me, wherein, by ignorance or oversight and negligence, any offence of mine may appear against the king's majesty's laws, statutes, and injunctions, I shall desire and protest that it be not prejudicial to mine answer for this present 'Credo' (as lawyers in civil matters use that term) to be true; that is to say, such as, without any alteration in my conscience, presently I may of myself say in affirmation or denial, as afore is answered. And whereas I spake of commandment to be made to me against God's law, I protest not to touch my sovereign lord's honour therein, which my duty is by all means to preserve, but that the commandment given resolveth to be against God's law on my part, in the obedience to be given; because I may not answer or say otherwise but 'est, est;' 'non, non.' So as my words and heart may agree together, or else I should offend God's law; which my sovereign, if he knew my conscience, would not command me.'

Winchester's 'Credos.'

Now[1] that we have set forth and declared the matters and articles propounded and objected against the bishop, with his answer and purgations unto the same, wherein, though he utter many words to the most advantage of his excuse, yet he could not so excuse himself, but that much fault, and matter of great complaint, and most worthy of accusation, did remain in him: it remaineth, consequently, to set forth the process of his doings, and such complaints and accusations, wherewith he was worthily charged withal, as in the copy here following doth appear.

The Copy of a Writ or Evidence touching the order and manner of the Misdemeanour of Winchester, with declaration of the Faults wherewith he was justly charged; copied out of the Public Records.[2]

Whereas the king's majesty, by the advice of the lord protector and the rest of his highness's privy council, thinking requisite, for sundry urgent considerations, to have a general visitation throughout the whole realm, did, about ten months past, address forth commissions; and, by the advice of sundry bishops, and other the best learned men of the realm, appointed certain orders or injunctions to be generally observed; which, being such as in some part touched the reformation of many abuses, and in other parts concerned the good governance and quiet of the realm, were (as reason would) of all men of all sorts obediently received, and reverently observed and executed, saving only of the bishop of Winchester, who, as well by conference with others as by open protestations and letters also, showed such a wilful disobedience therein, as, if it had not been quickly espied, might have bred much unquietness and trouble:—upon the knowledge thereof he, being sent for, and his lewd proceedings laid to his charge, in the presence of the whole council so used himself (as well in denying to receive the said orders and injunctions, as otherwise), as he was thought worthy most sharp punishment; and yet, considering the place he had

Winchester, misusing himself before the council, is committed to the Fleet, but, after a time, is set at liberty.

(1) See Edition 1563, page 765.—Ed. (2) See Edition 1583, page 1339.—Ed.

Edward VI.

A.D. 1550.

He forgetteth himself again.

been in, he was only sequestered to the Fleet, where, after he had remained a certain time, as much at his ease as if he had been at his own house, upon his promise of conformity, he was both set at liberty again, and also licensed to repair to and remain in his diocese at his pleasure. Where when he was, forgetting his duty, and what promise he had made, he began forthwith to set forth such matters as bred again more strife, variance, and contention, in that one small city and shire, than was almost in the whole realm after. Besides that, the lord protector's grace and the council were informed, that to withstand such as he thought to have been sent from his grace and their lordships into those parts, he had caused all his servants to be secretly armed and harnessed; and moreover, when such preachers as, being men of godly life and learning, were sent into that diocese by his grace and their lordships to preach the word of God, and appointed to preach, the bishop, to disappoint and disgrace them, and to hinder his majesty's proceedings, did occupy the pulpit himself, not fearing in his sermon to warn the people to beware of such new preachers, and to embrace none other doctrine but that which he had taught them (than the which words none could have been spoken more perilous and seditious). Whereupon, being eftsoons sent for, and their grace and lordships objecting to him many particular matters wherewith they had just cause to charge him, they did in the end, upon his second promise, leave him at liberty, only willing him to remain at his house at London, because they thought it most meet to sequester him from his diocese for a time. And, being come to his house, he began afresh to ruffle and meddle in matters wherein he had neither commission nor authority; part whereof touched the king's majesty. Whereof being yet once again admonished by his grace and their lordships, he did not only promise to conform himself in all things like a good subject, but also, because he understood that he was diversely reported of, and many were also offended with him, he offered to declare to the world his conformity; and promised, in an open sermon so to open his mind in sundry articles agreed upon, that such as had been offended should have no more cause to be offended, but well satisfied in all things. Declaring further, that as his own conscience was well satisfied, and liked well the king's proceedings within this realm, so would he utter his conscience abroad, to the satisfaction and good quiet of others. And yet, all this notwithstanding, at the day appointed, he did not only most arrogantly and disobediently, and that in the presence of his majesty, his grace, and their lordships, and of such an audience as the like whereof hath not lightly been seen, speak of certain matters contrary to an express commandment given to him on his majesty's behalf both by mouth and by letters, but also, in the rest of the articles whereunto he had agreed before, used such a manner of utterance as was very like, even there presently, to have stirred a great tumult; and, in certain great matters touching the policy of the realm, handled himself so colourably, as therein he showed himself an open great offender, and a very seditious man. Forsomuch as these his proceedings were of such sort, as, being suffered to escape unpunished, might breed innumerable inconveniences, and that the clemencies showed to him afore, by his grace and their lordships, did work in him no good effect, but rather a pride and boldness to demean himself more and more disobediently against his majesty's and his grace's proceedings; it was determined by his grace and their lordships, that he should be committed to the Tower, and be conveyed thither by sir Anthony Wingfield; and that at the time of his committing, sir Ralph Sadler, and William Hunnings, clerk of the council, should seal up the doors of such places in his house as they should think meet: all which was done accordingly.

Sent for again, and commanded to keep his house; but again breaketh promise.

Winchester promiseth to show his conformity openly in preaching.

Swerveth from his own promise and the king's commandments.

For his seditious disobedience, he is had to the Tower.

By this evidence above mentioned, first here is of the reader to be noted, how lewdly and disobediently the said Stephen Gardiner misused himself in the king's general visitation, in denying to receive such orders and injunctions, as for the which he justly deserved much more severe punishment, albeit the king, with his uncle the lord protector, more gently proceeding with him, were contented only to make him taste the Fleet; in the which house, as his durance was not long, so his entreating and ordering was very easy. Out of the which Fleet,

divers and sundry letters he wrote to the lord protector and others of the council; certain also to the archbishop of Canterbury, and some to Master Ridley bishop of London, as is above specified.

Edward VI. A. D. 1550.

Here follow the circumstances of the council's proceedings with the bishop of Winchester, taken out of the Register.

'Greenwich,[1] June 8, 1550.

'Considering the long imprisonment that the bishop of Winchester hath sustained, it was now thought time he should be spoken withal; and agreed by the council, that if he repented his former obstinacy, and would henceforth apply himself to advance the king's majesty's proceedings, his highness, in this case, would be his good lord to remit all his errors passed. Otherwise his majesty was resolved to proceed against him as his obstinacy and contempt required. For the declaration whereof the duke of Somerset, the lord treasurer, the lord privy seal, the lord great chamberlain, and master secretary Peter, were appointed the next day to repair unto him.'

After these things thus passed, certain of the council, by the king's appointment, had sundry days and times access to him in the Tower, to persuade with him; which were these, the duke of Somerset, the lord treasurer, the lord privy seal, the lord great chamberlain, and master secretary Peter, who repaired to him the tenth day of June.

'Greenwich, June 10, 1550.

'Report was made by the duke of Somerset and the rest, sent to the bishop of Winchester, that he desired of them to see the king's book of proceedings; upon the sight whereof he would make a full answer, seeming to be willing in all things to conform himself thereunto, and promising, that in case any thing offended his conscience, he would open it to none but to the council. Whereupon it was agreed, the book should be sent him to see his answer, that his case might be resolved upon; and that, for the mean time, he should have the liberty of the gallery and garden in the Tower, when the duke of Norfolk were absent.'

Winchester requireth the sight of the king's book of proceedings.

The king was lying at Greenwich at this time.

'Greenwich, June 13, 1550.

'This day the lieutenant of the Tower, who before was appointed to deliver the king's book unto the bishop of Winchester, declared unto the council, that the bishop, having perused it, said unto him, he could make no direct answer unless he were at liberty; and so being, he would say his conscience. Whereupon the lords and others that had been with him the other day, were appointed to go to him again to receive a direct answer, that the council thereupon might determine further order for him.'

Denieth to make any direct answer unless he were at liberty.

At Westminster, July 8, 1550.

'This day the bishop of Winchester's case was renewed upon the report of the lords that had been with him, that his answers were ever doubtful, refusing while he were in prison to make any direct answer. Wherefore it was determined, that he should be directly examined, whether he would sincerely conform himself unto the king's majesty's proceedings, or not. For which purpose it was agreed, that particular articles should be drawn, to see whether he would subscribe them or not; and a letter also directed unto him from the king's highness, with which the lord treasurer, the lord great master, the master of the horse, and master secretary Peter, should repair unto him; the tenor of which letter hereafter ensueth.'

Winchester's answers ever doubtful.

Articles and letters sent to Winchester.

(1) This part of the history is arranged according to the First Edition, p. 766.—Ed.

Edward VI. A.D. 1550.

A Letter sent to the Bishop of Winchester, signed by the King, and subscribed by the Council.

It is not, we think, unknown unto you, with what clemency and favour we, by the advice of our council, caused you to be heard and used, upon the sundry complaints and informations that were made to us and our said council of your disordered doings and words, both at the time of our late visitation, and otherwise. Which notwithstanding, considering that the favour, both then and many other times ministered unto you, wrought rather an insolent wilfulness in yourself, than any obedient conformity, such as would have beseemed a man of your vocation, we would not but use some demonstration of justice towards you, as well for such notorious and apparent contempts, and other inobediences as, after and contrary to our commandment, were openly known in you, as also for some example and terror of such others as by your example seemed to take courage to mutter and grudge against our most godly proceedings, whereof great discord and inconvenience at that time might have ensued. For the avoiding whereof, and for your just deservings, you were by our said council committed to ward: where albeit we have suffered you to remain a long space, sending unto you in the mean time, at sundry times, divers of the noblemen, and others of our privy council, and travailing by them with clemency and favour to have reduced you to the knowledge of your duty; yet in all this time have you neither acknowledged your faults, nor made any such submission as might have beseemed you, nor yet showed any appearance either of repentance, or of any good conformity to our godly proceedings. Wherewith albeit we both have good cause to be offended, and might also justly, by the order of our laws, cause your former doings to be reformed and punished to the example of others; yet, for that we would both the world and yourself also should know that we delight more in clemency, than in the straight administration of justice, we have vouchsafed, not only to address unto you these our letters, but also to send eftsoons unto you four of our privy council with certain articles, which being by us, with the advice of our said council considered, we think requisite, for sundry considerations, to be subscribed by you; and therefore will and command you to subscribe the said articles, upon pain of incurring such punishment and penalties as by our laws may be put upon you for not doing the same.

Notorious contempts in Winchester noted.

Given at our palace of Westminster, the eighth day of July, the fourth year of our reign.

*This[1] letter, signed by the king's majesty, was also subscribed by the whole council.

'At Westminster, July 10.

'The lord treasurer, lord great master, the master of the horse, and master secretary Peter, made report unto the council, that they had not only delivered to the bishop of Winchester the king's majesty's letter, but also the articles appointed unto all; which articles he subscribed with his own hand, saving to the first, whereunto he wrote his answer in the margin, as hereafter appeareth.'*

With the beforementioned letter, addressed from the king and his council, these articles, also, were delivered to the bishop of Winchester, here following:

The Copy of the Articles, six in number.

The king's supremacy.

I. That by the law of God, and the authority of Scriptures, the king's majesty and his successors are the supreme heads of the churches of England, and also of Ireland.

The Bishop of Winchester's Answer to this Article, in the Margin.—Whereas I, Stephen bishop of Winchester, have been suspected as one too much favouring the bishop of Rome's authority, decrees, and ordinances, and, as one that did not approve or allow the king's majesty's proceedings in alteration of certain rites in religion, was convented before the king's

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 767.—Ed

highness's council, and admonished thereof; and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my declaration, have not done that as I ought to do, although I promised to do the same; whereby I have not only incurred the king's majesty's indignation, but also divers of his highness's subjects have, by my example, taken encouragement (as his grace's council is certainly informed) to repine at his majesty's most godly proceedings: I am right sorry there-for, and acknowledge myself condignly to have been punished; and do most heartily thank his majesty, that of his great clemency it hath pleased his highness to deal with me, not according to rigour, but mercy. And to the intent it may appear to the world, how little I do repine at his highness's doings, which be in religion most godly, and to the commonwealth most profitable, I do affirm and say freely of mine own will, without any compulsion, as ensueth.

The king's authority in dispensing with, or appointing, holy-days and fasting-days.

II. Item, That the appointing of holy-days and fasting-days, as Lent, Ember-days, or any such like, or to dispense therewith, is in the king's majesty's authority and power: and his highness, as supreme head of the said churches of England and Ireland, and governor thereof, may appoint the manner and time of the holy-days and fasting-days, or dispense therewith, as to his wisdom shall seem most convenient for the honour of God, and the wealth of this realm.

His book of proceedings.

III. Item, That the king's majesty hath most christianly and godly set forth, by and with the consent of the whole parliament, a devout and christian book of service of the church, to be frequented by the church, which book is to be accepted and allowed of all bishops, pastors, curates, and all ministers ecclesiastical of the realm of England, and so of him to be declared and commended in all places where he shall fortune to preach or speak to the people of it, that it is a godly and christian book and order, and to be allowed, accepted, and observed of all the king's majesty's true subjects.

His full authority in his tender age.

IV. I do acknowledge the king's majesty that now is, (whose life God long preserve!) to be my sovereign lord, and supreme head under Christ to me as a bishop of this realm, and natural subject to his majesty, and now in this his young and tender age to be my full and entire king; and that I, and all other his highness's subjects, are bound to obey all his majesty's proclamations, statutes, laws, and commandments, made, promulgated, and set forth in his highness's young age, as well as though his highness were at this present thirty or forty years old.

Abrogation, etc.

V. Item, I confess and acknowledge, that the statute commonly called The Statute of the Six Articles, for just causes and grounds, is by authority of parliament repealed and disannulled.

His jurisdiction to correct abuses ecclesiastical.

VI. Item, That his majesty and his successors have authority in the said churches of England, and also of Ireland, to alter, reform, correct, and amend all errors and abuses, and all rites and ceremonies ecclesiastical, as shall seem from time to time to his highness and his successors most convenient for the edification of his people; so that the same alteration be not contrary or repugnant to the Scripture and law of God.

Subscribed by Stephen Winchester, with the testimonial hands of the council to the same.[1]

To these articles afore specified, although Winchester with his own hand did subscribe, granting and consenting to the supremacy of the king as well then being, as of his successors to come; yet because he stuck so much in the first point touching his submission, and would in no case subscribe to the same, but only made his answer in the margin (as is above noted), it was therefore thought good to the king, that the master of the horse and master secretary Peter should repair unto him again with the same request of submission, exhorting him to look better upon it; and in case the words seemed too sore, then to refer it unto himself, in what sort and with what

(1) July the 9th, 1550, according to Foxe's History; but it must rather have been in the preceding November. See Burnet's Reform. vol. ii. p. 278.—Ed.

Edward VI. A.D. 1550.

words he should devise to submit him, that, upon the acknowledgment of his fault, the king's highness might extend his mercy and liberality towards him as it was determined: which was the eleventh day of July, the year above said.

When the master of the horse and secretary Peter had been with him in the Tower according to their commission, returning from him again, they declared unto the king and his council how precisely the said bishop stood in justification of himself, that he had never offended the king's majesty: wherefore he utterly refused to make any submission at all. For the more surety of which denial, it was agreed, that a new book of articles should be devised, wherewith the said master of the horse, and master secretary Peter, should repair unto him again; and for the more authentic proceeding with him, they should have with them a divine, and a temporal lawyer, which were the bishop of London, and master Goodrick.

The Copy of the last Articles sent to the Bishop of Winchester.

Winchester again required to submit himself.

Whereas I, Stephen bishop of Winchester, have been suspected as one that did not approve or allow the king's majesty's proceedings in alteration of certain rites in religion, and was convented before the king's highness's council, and admonished thereof, and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my declaration, have not done therein as I ought to do, whereby I have deserved his majesty's displeasure, I am right sorry therefore. And to the intent it may appear to the world how little I do repine at his highness's doings, which be in religion most godly, and to the commonwealth most profitable, I do affirm as followeth:

Good reasons for suppressing houses of religion.

I. That the late king, of most famous memory, king Henry the Eighth, our late sovereign lord, justly, and of good reason and ground, hath taken away, and caused to be suppressed and defaced, all monasteries and religious houses, and all conventicles and convents of monks, friars, nuns, canons, bon-hommes, and other persons called religious; and that the same being so dissolved, the persons therein bound and professed to obedience to a person, place, habit, and other superstitious rites and ceremonies, upon that dissolution and order appointed by the king's majesty's authority as supreme head of the church, are clearly released and acquitted of those vows and professions, and at their full liberty, as though those unwitty and superstitious vows had never been made.

Marriage.

II. Item, That any person may lawfully marry, without any dispensation from the bishop of Rome, or any other man, with any person whom it is not prohibited to contract matrimony with, by the law Levitical.

Vows and going on pilgrimage.

III. Item, That the vowing and going on pilgrimage to images, or the bones or relics of any saints, hath been superstitiously used, and cause of much wickedness and idolatry, and therefore justly abolished by the late said king, of famous memory; and the images and relics so abused, have been, for great and godly considerations, defaced and destroyed.

Gadding about with St. Nicholas.

IV. Item, That the counterfeiting of St. Nicholas, St. Clement, St. Katharine, and St. Edmund, by children heretofore brought into the church, was a mere mockery and foolishness, and therefore justly abolished and taken away.

Scripture in the vulgar tongue.

V. Item, It is convenient and godly, that the Scripture of the Old Testament and New, that is, The Whole Bible, be had in English and published, to be read of every man, and that whosoever doth repel and dehort men from reading thereof, doth evil and damnably.

VI. Item, That the said late king, of just ground and reason, did receive into his hands the authority and disposition of chantries and such livings as were given for the maintenance of private masses, and did well change divers of them to other uses.

Chantries and masses well put down.

VII. Also, the king's majesty that now is, by the advice and consent of the parliament, did, upon just ground and reason, suppress, abolish, and take away the said chantries, and such other livings as were used and occupied for maintenance of private masses, and masses satisfactory for the souls of them that are

dead, or finding of obits, lights, or other like things. The mass that was wont to be said of priests was full of abuses, and had very few things of Christ's institution, besides the Epistle, Gospel, the Lord's Prayer, and the words of the Lord's Supper; the rest, for the more part, were invented and devised by bishops of Rome, and by other men of the same sort, and therefore justly taken away by the statutes and laws of this realm; and the communion which is placed instead thereof, is very godly, and agreeable to the Scriptures.

VIII. Item, That it is most convenient and fit, and according to the first institution, that all christian men should receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ in both the kinds, that is, in bread and wine. Sacrament in both kinds.

IX. And the mass, wherein only the priest receiveth, and the others do but look on, is but the invention of man, and the ordinance of the bishop of Rome's church, not agreeable to Scripture. Mass the pope's ordinance.

X. Item, That upon good and godly considerations it is ordered in the said book and order, that the sacrament should not be lifted up, and showed to the people to be adored; but to be with godly devotion received, as it was first instituted. The sacrament not to be adored.

XI. Item, That it is well, politically, and godly done, that the king's majesty, by act of parliament, hath commanded all images which have stood in churches and chapels, to be clearly abolished and defaced; lest hereafter, at any time, they should give occasion of idolatry, or be abused, as many of them heretofore have been, with pilgrimages, and such idolatrous worshipping. All images abolished.

XII. And also that, for like godly and good considerations, by the same authority of parliament, all mass-books, cowchers, grails, and other books of the service in Latin, heretofore used, should be abolished and defaced, as well for certain superstitions in them contained, as also to avoid dissension; and that the said service in the church should be, through the whole realm, in one uniform conformity, and no occasion through those old books to the contrary. Mass-books, etc. defaced.

XIII. That bishops, priests, and deacons, have no commandment of the law of God, either to vow chastity, or to abstain continually from marriage. Vowed chastity of priests.

XIV. Item, That all canons, constitutions, laws positive, and ordinances of man, which do prohibit or forbid marriage to any bishop, priest, or deacon, be justly, and upon godly grounds and considerations, taken away and abolished by authority of parliament.

XV. The Homilies lately commanded and set forth by the king's majesty, to be read in the congregations of England, are godly and wholesome, and do teach such doctrine as ought to be embraced of all men. Homilies to be read.

XVI. The Book set forth by the king's majesty, by authority of parliament, containing the form and manner of making and consecrating of archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, is godly, and in no point contrary to the wholesome doctrine of the gospel; and therefore ought to be received and approved of all the faithful members of the church of England, and, namely, the ministers of God's word, and by them commended to the people. The king's book of orders.

XVII. That the orders of sub-deacon, Benet and Colet, and such others as were commonly called 'minores ordines,' be not necessary by the word of God to be reckoned in the church, and be justly left out in the said Book of Orders. Some orders needless.

XVIII. That the holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ; and that nothing is to be taught as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which may be concluded and proved by the holy Scriptures. Doctrine of our salvation.

XIX. That upon good and godly considerations it was and is commanded by the king's majesty's injunctions, that the Paraphrase of Erasmus in English, should be set up in some convenient place in every parish church of this realm, where the parishioners may most commodiously resort to read the same. Paraphrase of Erasmus.

XX. And because these articles aforesaid, do contain only such matters as be already published and openly set forth by the king's majesty's authority, by the advice of his highness's council, for many great and godly considerations; and amongst others, for the common tranquillity and unity of the realm; his majesty's pleasure, by the advice aforesaid, is, that you, the bishop of Winchester, shall not only affirm these articles with subscription of your hand, but also declare and profess yourself well contented, willing and ready to publish and Winchester required to subscribe to these articles.

Edward VI. A.D. 1550.

preach the same at such times and places, and before such audience, as to his majesty from time to time shall seem convenient and requisite; upon pain of incurring such penalties and punishments as, for not doing the same, may, by his majesty's laws, be inflicted upon you.

These articles were sent the fifteenth of July.[1]

*Report[2] was made by the Master of the Horse and Master Secretary Peter as followeth:

'That they, with the bishop of London and Master Goodrick, had been with the bishop of Winchester, and offered him the foresaid articles according to the council's order: whereupon the said bishop of Winchester made answer, that first to the article of submission, he would in no wise consent; affirming, as he had done before, that he had never offended the king's majesty in any such sort as should give him cause thus to submit himself; praying earnestly to be brought to his trial, wherein he refused the king's mercy, and desired nothing but justice.[3] And for the rest of the articles, he answered, that after he were past his trial in this first point, and were at liberty, then it should appear what he would do in them: not being (as he said) reasonable, that he should subscribe them in prison.'

Whereupon it was agreed that he should be sent for before the whole council and peremptorily examined once again, whether he would stand at this point or no. Which if he did, then to denounce unto him the sequestration of his benefice and consequently the Intimation, in case he were not reformed within three months; as in the day of his appearance shall appear.

'At Westminster, the 19th July, 1550.

'This day the council had access unto the king's majesty for divers causes, but specially for the bishop of Winchester's matter; who, this day, was therefore appointed to be before the council: and then, having declared to his highness the circumstances of their proceedings with the bishop, his majesty commanded that if he would this day also stand to his wonted obstinacy, the council should then proceed to the immediate sequestration of his bishopric and consequently to the intimation. Upon this the bishop of Winchester was brought before the council, and there the articles before mentioned read unto him distinctly, and with good deliberation: whereunto he refused to subscribe or consent, and thereupon were both the Sequestration, and Intimation read unto him, in the form following:'—

'Whereas the king's majesty, our most gracious sovereign lord, hath at divers times set sundry of us to travail with you, to the intent you, acknowledging your bounden duty, should, as a good and obedient subject, have conformed yourself to that uniformity in matters of religion, which is already openly set forth, both by acts of parliament, and otherwise by his majesty's authority; and hath also of late, by certain of his majesty's council, sent unto you certain articles, with express commandment that you should affirm them with subscription of your hand, and also declare and profess yourself well contented, willing, and ready, to publish and preach the same to others, at such times and places, and before such audience as to his majesty should, from time to time, be seen requisite: because you did at that time expressly refuse to do as you were commanded, to the great contempt of his highness's most dread commandment, and dangerous example of others; we, having special commission from his majesty to hear and determine your manifold contempts and disobediences, do eftsoons ask and demand of you, whether you will obey and do his majesty's said commandment or not.'—

'Whereunto he answered that in all things that his majesty would command him, he was willing and most ready to obey; but forasmuch as there were

(1) July 14, 1550, according to article XIV. p. 74.—Ed. (2) See Edition 1563, p. 769.—Ed.
(3) So ye might fortune to have turned your altar into a halter.

divers things required of him that his conscience would not bear, therefore he prayed them to have him excused.—And thereupon master secretary Peter by the council's order proceeded with these words.'—*

Edward VI.

A. D. 1550.

The Words of the Sequestration, with the Intimation to the Bishop of Winchester.

Forasmuch as the king's majesty, our most gracious sovereign lord, understandeth, and it is also manifestly known and notorious unto us, that the clemency and long sufferance of his majesty, worketh not in you that good effect, and humbleness, and conformity, that is requisite in a good subject; and for that your disobediences, contempts, and other misbehaviours, for the which you were by his majesty's authority justly committed to ward, have, since your said committing, daily more and more increased in you, in such sort as a great slander and offence is thereof risen in many parts of the realm, whereby also much slander, dissension, trouble and unquietness, is very like more to ensue, if your aforesaid offences (being, as they be, openly known), should pass unpunished: we let you wit, that having special and express commission and commandment from his majesty, as well for your contumacies and contempts so long continued, and yet daily more increasing, as also for the exchange of the slander and offence of the people, which by your said ill demeanours are risen; and for that also the church of Winchester may be in the mean time provided of a good minister, that may and will see all things done and quietly executed according to the laws and common orders of this realm; and for sundry other great and urgent causes: we do, by these presents, sequester all the fruits, revenues, lands, and possessions of your bishopric of Winchester; and discern, deem, and judge the same to be committed to the several receipt, collection, and custody, of such person or persons as his majesty shall appoint for that purpose. And because your former disobediences and contempts, so long continued, so many times doubled, renewed, and aggravated, do manifestly declare you to be a person without all hope of recovery, and plainly incorrigible; we eftsoons admonish and require you to obey his majesty's said commandment, and that you do declare yourself, by subscription of your hand, both willing and well contented to accept, allow, preach and teach to others, the said articles, and all such other matters as be or shall be set forth by his majesty's authority of supreme head of this church of England, on this side and within the term of three months; whereof we appoint one month for the first monition, one month for the second monition and warning, and one month for the third and peremptory monition.

Causes why this sequestration was laid against Winchester.

Winchester sequestered from his bishopric.

Within which time as you may yet declare your conformity, and shall have paper, pen, and ink, when you shall call for them for that purpose; so if you wilfully forbear and refuse to declare yourself obedient and conformable as is aforesaid, we intimate unto you, that his majesty, who, like a good governor, desireth to keep both his commonwealth quiet, and to purge the same of evil men (especially ministers), intendeth to proceed against you as an incorrigible person, and unmeet minister of this church, unto the deprivation of your said bishopric.

Intimation given to Winchester.

(Nevertheless, upon divers good considerations, and specially in hope he might within his time be yet reconciled, it was agreed, that the said bishop's house and servants should be maintained in their present estate, until the time that this injunction should expire, and the matter for the mean time to be kept secret.)

After this sequestration, the said bishop was convented unto Lambeth before the archbishop of Canterbury, and other the king's commissioners, by virtue of the king's special letters sent unto the said commissioners; to wit, the archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas bishop of London, Thomas bishop of Ely, Henry bishop of Lincoln, secretary Peter, sir James Hales knight; Dr. Leyson and Dr. Oliver, lawyers, and John Gosnold[1] esquire, &c., before them, and by

The names of the commissioners in the cause of Gardiner.

(1) "Gosnold," or Gosnal.—Ed.

Edward VI. A.D. 1550. Reprint from the First Edition. Page 771.

them, to be examined. *But,[1] forasmuch as among other divers and sundry crimes and accusations, deduced against this bishop, the especial and chiefest matter wherewith he was charged, depended upon his sermon made before the king's majesty, in not satisfying and discharging his duty therein—partly in omitting that which he was required to do, partly in speaking of those things, which he was forbid to entreat of—it shall not be out of the order of the story, here to recite the whole tenor and effect of his sermon, as it was penned and exhibited to the commissioners at his examination, with the copy also of the lord protector's letter, sent unto him before he should preach.

The Tenor and Copy of a Letter sent to the Bishop of Winchester, from the Duke of Somerset and the rest of the Commissioners, touching such points as the Bishop of Winchester should entreat of in his Sermon. On the twenty-eighth of June, 1548.[2]

To our loving lord the bishop of Winchester.

We commend us unto you: We sent unto you yesterday our servant William Cecil, to signify unto you our pleasure, and advise that you should, in this your next sermon, forbear to entreat upon those principal questions which remain amongst the number of learned men in this realm as yet in controversy, concerning the Sacrament of the Altar and the Mass; as well for that your private argument or determination therein might offend the people, naturally expecting decisions of litigious causes, and thereby discord and tumult arise, the occasions whereof we must necessarily prevent and take away, as also for that the questions and controversies rest at this present in consultation; and, with the pleasure of God, shall be in small time, by public doctrine and authority, quietly and truly determined. This message we send unto you, not thinking but your own wisdom had considered so much in an apparent manner; or, at the least, upon our remembrance, ye would understand it, and follow it with good will: consulting thereby your own quiet in avoiding offence, as observing our pleasure in avoiding contention. Your answer hereunto our said servant hath declared unto us in this manner: 'Ye can in no wise forbear to speak of the sacrament, neither of the mass;' this last, being the chief foundation, as you say, of our religion; and that without it, we cannot know that Christ is our sacrifice. The other being so spoken of by many, that if you should not speak your mind thereof, what ye think, you know what other men would think of you. In the end, concluding generally, that ye will speak the truth; and that ye doubt not but we shall be therewith content; adding also, as our said servant reporteth unto us, that you would not wish that we ourselves should meddle, or have to do in these matters of religion; but that the care thereof were committed to the bishops, unto whom the blame, if any should be deserved, might well be imputed. To this your answer, if it so be, we reply very shortly, signifying unto you our express pleasure and commandment, on our sovereign lord the king's majesty's behalf, charging you, by the authority of the same, to abstain in your said sermon from treating of any matter in controversy concerning the said sacrament and the mass; and only to bestow your speech in the expert explication of the articles prescribed unto you, and in other wholesome matters of obedience of the people, and good conversation in living; the same matter being both large enough for a long sermon, and not unnecessary for the time: and the treating of the other, which we forbid you, not meet in your private sermon to be had, but necessarily reserved for a public consultation, and at this present utterly to be forborne for the common quiet. This is our express pleasure, wherein we know how reasonably we may command you, and you, we think, know how willingly ye ought to obey us.

(1) The history continued from this place, and extending to page 264, containing the bishop of Winchester's sermon, and other valuable documents, will be found in the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments, pages 770 to 866 inclusive.—Ed.

(2) See article VIII. p. (75).—Ed.

For our intermeddling with these causes of religion, understand you, that we account it no small part of our charge, under the king's majesty, to bring his people from ignorance to knowledge, and from superstition to true religion; esteeming that the chiefest foundation to build obedience upon; and, where there is a full consent of other the bishops and learned men in a truth, not to suffer you, or a few other wilful heads, to disorder all the rest. And although we presume not to determine articles of religion by ourself, yet from God we knowledge it, we be desirous to defend and advance the truth determined or revealed. And so consequently we will not fail but withstand the disturbers thereof. So fare you well.

Edward VI. A.D. 1550. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

From Sion, the 28th of June, anno 1548.

Your loving friend,

Edward Somerset.

Here followeth the sum and effect of the sermon which Gardiner bishop of Winchester preached before the king's majesty, collected by Master Udall, and exhibited up to the commissioners in the time of the examination of the said bishop.

The Sermon of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, preached before the King.[1]

Most honourable audience! I purpose, by the grace of God, to declare some part of the gospel that is accustomably used to be read in the church as this day. And for because that without the special grace of God, neither I can speak any thing to your edifying, nor ye receive the same accordingly, I shall desire you all, that we may jointly pray altogether for the assistance of his grace; in which prayer I commend to Almighty God, your most excellent majesty our sovereign lord, king of England, France and Ireland, and of the church of England and Ireland, next and immediately under God, here on earth the supreme head; queen Katherine dowager; my lady Mary's grace, my lady Elizabeth's grace, your majesty's most dear sisters; my lord protector's grace, with all others of your most honourable council; the spiritualty and temporalty. And I shall desire you to commend unto God with your prayer, the souls departed unto God in Christ's faith; and among these most specially, for our late sovereign lord king Henry the Eighth, your majesty's most noble father. For these, and for grace necessary, I shall desire you to say a Paternoster [and so forth]. Page 772.

The gospel beginneth, 'Cum venisset Jesus in partes Cæsaræ Philippi,' etc. 'When Jesus was come into the parts of Cesarea, a city that Philippus builded, he asked his disciples and said: Whom do men say that the Son of man is? They said, Some say that thou art John the Baptist; some that thou art Elias; some that thou art Jeremy, or one of the prophets. He said to them: But whom say ye that I am? Then answered Simon Peter and said, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God, etc.'

I cannot have time, I think, to speak of the gospel thoroughly, for other matters that I have here now to say; but I shall note unto you such things as I may. And first, of the diversity of opinions concerning Christ, which were among the people variable, but among his (that is, the disciples of Christ's school), there was no variety. They agreed altogether in one truth, and among them was no variety. For when Peter had, for all the rest, and in the name of all the rest, made his answer, that Christ was the Son of God, they all, with one consent, confessed that he had spoken the truth. Yet these opinions of Christ that the people had of him, though they were sundry, yet were they honourable, and not slanderous; for to say that Christ was Elias, and John the Baptist, was honourable: for some thought him so to be, because he did frankly, sharply, and openly, rebuke vice. They that called him Jeremy, had an honourable opinion of him, and thought him so to be, because of his great learning which they perceived in him; and marvelled where he had it. And they that said he was one of the prophets, had an honourable opinion of him, and favoured him, and thought well of him. But there was another sort of people that spake

(1) Preached on the Feast of St. Peter, June 29, 1548. See article IX. p. 69.—Ed.

Edward VI.

A.D. 1550.

Reprint from the First Edition.

evil of him, and slandered him and railed on him, saying that he was a glutton, and a drinker of wine; that he had a devil in him; that he was a deceiver of the people; that he was a carpenter's son (as though he were the worse for his father's craft). But of these he asked not any question; for among these, none agreed with the other. Wherein ye shall note, that man of his own power and strength can nothing do. For nothing that good is, he can do of his own invention or device, but erreth and faileth, when he is left to his own invention. He erreth in his imagination. So proud is man, and so stout of his own courage, that he deviseth nothing well, whensoever he is left to himself without God. And then, never do any such agree in any truth, but wander and err in all that they do: as men of law, if they be asked their opinion in any point touching the law, ye shall not have two of them agree in opinion in any point touching the law; ye shall not have two of them agree in opinion one with the other. If there be two or three of them asked their opinion in any matter, if they should answer all one thing, they fear lest they should be supposed and thought to have no learning. Therefore, be they never so many of them, they will not agree in their answers, but devise each man a sundry answer in any thing that they are asked. The philosophers that were not of Christ's school, erred every one in their vain opinions, and no one of them agreeth with the other. Yea, men of simplicity, though they mean well, yet being out of Christ's school, they agree not, but vary in their opinions; as these simple people here spoken of, because they were not perfect disciples of Christ's school, they varied, and agreed not in their opinion of Christ, though they thought well of him.

Some said he was John, some Elias, some Jeremy, but none made the right answer. He that answered here, was Simon the son of Jonas; and he said, 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God.' Where ye shall note the properties that were in Peter, he was called Simon, which is obedience, and Jonas is a dove; so that in him that is of Christ's school, must be these two properties, obedience and simplicity. He must be humble and innocent as a dove, that will be of Christ's school. Pride is a let of Christ's school; for, as the wise man sayeth, 'God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace unto the humble and meek.' And according to the same doth Christ in the gospel say: 'O Father! I confess unto thee (that is: I laud and magnify thee), for that thou hast hidden these things from the wise, and hast opened them unto the little ones. Whereupon sayeth St. Augustine, that the gifts of learning, and knowledge of sciences, are no let to Christ's school, but a furtherance thereunto, if they be well applied, and used as they ought to be. But he that is proud, and feedeth himself with his own conceit and opinion of himself, and abuseth the gifts of God, applying his learning and knowledge to the satisfying and following of his own fantasy, is no right disciple of Christ, but falleth into error. 'Dicentes se sapientes esse, stulti facti sunt:' 'When they said and affirmed themselves to be wise, they were made fools.' The philosophers had every one a sect of his own, and had many gay sentences for the commendations of their opinions; and every man thought his own opinion to be best. But because they applied all to their own pride and glory, and not to the honour of God, nor humbled themselves as they ought to have done, but followed their own fancy, they erred and fell out of the way, and were not of Christ's school. And all that have gone out of Christ's school, pride hath brought them out of it; and such as have not entered, have kept themselves out of it with pride likewise. Therefore all such as will be scholars of Christ's school and discipline, must be humble and meek: otherwise, 'dicentes se sapientes esse, stulti facti sunt.' He that cannot learn this lesson of Peter, and humbly confess with Peter, that Christ is the Son of the living God, is no scholar of Christ's school, be he otherwise never so well learned, never so well seen in other sciences.

But now concerning the answer of Peter: Matthew here in this place saith,—he answered, 'Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi:' St. Luke saith, he answered, 'Tu es Christus Dei:' and St. Mark saith, he answered, 'Tu es Christus.'—But, in all that, is no variety; for to say 'Christus filius Dei vivi,' and to say, 'Christus Dei,' and to say, 'Christus,' is, in effect, all one, and no diversity in it. For Christus alone is the whole, and he that confesseth thoroughly Christ, is thoroughly a christian man, and doth then therein confess him to be the Lord and Saviour of the world.

Page 773 But now we must consider what Christ is. Christ was a sacrifice. He was

sent from the Trinity, to be our Mediator between God and us, and to reconcile us to the favour of God the Father. He was the bishop that offered for our sins, and the sacrifice that was offered. And as he is our bishop, so is he our mean to pacify God for us, for that was the office of a bishop, 'to sacrifice for the sins of the people, and to make intercession for the people.' And as he was our sacrifice, so was he our reconciliation to God again. But we must confess and believe him thoroughly, I say, for as he was our bishop then, so is it he that still keepeth us in favour with God. And like as his sacrifice then made, was sufficient for us, to deliver us from our sins, and to bring us in favour with God, so, to continue us in the same favour of God, he ordained a perpetual remembrance of himself. He ordained himself, for a memory of himself, at his Last Supper, when he instituted the sacrament of the altar. Not for another redemption, as though the first had not been sufficient, nor as though the world needed a new redemption from sin; but that we might thoroughly remember his passion, he instituted this sacrament by his most holy word; saying,—'This is my body:' which word, is sufficient to prove the sacrament, and maketh sufficiently for the substance thereof. And this daily sacrifice he instituted to be continued amongst christian men, not for need of another redemption or satisfaction for the sins of the world (for that was sufficiently performed by his sacrifice of his body and blood, done upon the cross), neither that he be now our bishop, for need of any further sacrifice to be made for sin; but to continue us in the remembrance of his passion suffered for us; to make us strong in believing the fruit of his passion; to make us diligent in thanksgiving, for the benefit of his passion; to establish our faith, and to make it strong in acknowledging the efficacy of his death and passion, suffered for us. And this is the true understanding of the Mass: not for another redemption, but that we may be strong in believing the benefit of Christ's death and bloodshedding for us upon the cross.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1550.

Reprint from the First Edition.

And this it is that we must believe of Christ, and believe it thoroughly: and therefore, by your patience, as Peter made his confession, so will I make confession. Wherein, by your majesty's leave and sufferance, I will plainly declare what I think of the state of the church of England at this day; how I like it, and what I think of it;[1] where I said of the mass, that it was a sacrifice ordained to make us the more strong in the faith and remembrance of Christ's passion, and for commending unto God the souls of such as be dead in Christ. For these two things are the special causes, why the Mass was instituted. The parliament very well ordained mass to be kept; and because we should be the more strong in the faith and devotion towards God, it was well done of the parliament, for moving the people more and more with devotion, to ordain that this sacrament should be received in both kinds. Therefore I say, that the act of parliament for receiving of the sacrament of the altar in both kinds, was well made. I said, also, that the proclamation which was made, that no man should unreverently speak of the sacrament, or otherwise speak of it than Scripture teacheth them, was well made: for this proclamation stoppeth the mouths of all such as will unreverently speak of the sacrament. For in Scripture is there nothing to be found that maketh any thing against the sacrament, but all maketh with it. Wherefore if they were the children of obedience, they would not use any unreverent talk against the sacrament, nor blaspheme the holy sacrament; for no word of the Scripture maketh any thing against it.

Winchester alloweth the sacrament in both kinds.

But here it may be said unto me, 'Why, sir, is this your opinion? It is good: you speak plainly in this matter, and halt nothing, but declare your mind plainly without any colouring or covert speaking.—The act for the dissolving and suppressing of the chantries seemeth to make against the mass, how like you that act? What say you of it? or what would you say of it, if you were alone?' I will speak what I think of it. I will use no colourable or covert words. I will not use a devised speech for a time, and afterward go from it again.—If chantries were abused by applying the mass, for the satisfaction of sin, or to bring men to heaven, or to take away sin, or to make men, of wicked, just, I like the act well; and they might well be dissolved: for the mass was not instituted for any such purpose. Yet, nevertheless, for them that were in them (I speak now as in the cause of the poor), it were well done that

Whether you did or not, let queen Mary's time judge.

(1) There appears to be some omission in this passage.—Ed.

Edward VI. A.D. 1550. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

they were provided of livings. The act doth graciously provide for them, during their lives, and I doubt not but that your majesty and the lords of your most honourable council have willed and taken order, that they should be well looked unto. But yet how shall they be used at the hands of under-officers? God knoweth, full hardly, I fear. But as for the chantries themselves, if there were any such abuse in them concerning the mass, it is no matter if they be taken away. King Henry the Eighth, a noble and wise prince, not without a great pain, maintained the mass; and yet in his doctrine it was confessed, that masses of 'Scala cœli,' were not to be used nor allowed, because they did pervert the right use and institution of the mass. For when men add unto the mass an opinion of satisfaction, or of a new redemption, then do they put it to another use than it was ordained for.. I, that allow mass so well, and I, that allow praying for the dead (as indeed the dead are of christian charity to be prayed for), yet can agree with the realm in that matter of putting down chantries. But yet ye would say unto me, 'There be fewer masses by putting away the chantries.' So were there when abbeys were dissolved: so be there when ye unite many churches in one. But this is no injury nor prejudice to the mass. It consisteth not in the number, nor in the multitude, but in the thing itself; so that the decay of the masses by taking away of the chantries, is answered by the abbeys: but yet I would have it considered for the persons that are in them, I speak of the poor men's livings.

I have now declared what I think of the act of parliament, made for the receiving of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in both kinds. Ye have my mind and opinion, concerning the proclamation that came forth for the same act; and I have showed my mind therein, even plainly as I think. And I have ever been agreeable to this precinct. I have oftentimes reasoned in it. I have spoken and also written in it, both beyond the seas, and on this side the seas. My books be abroad, which I cannot unwrite
Page 774. again. I was ever of this opinion, that it might be received in both kinds: and it was a constitution provincial scarce two hundred years ago, made by Peckham, the archbishop of Canterbury, that it should be received in both kinds; at leastwise, 'in ecclesiis majoribus,' that is, in the greater churches; for in the smaller churches it was not thought to be so expedient. Thus have I ever thought of this matter. I have never been of other mind, nor I have not changed my conscience; but I have obeyed and followed the order of the realm: and I prayed you to obey orders as I have obeyed, that we may all be the children of obedience.

Now I will return to the text. When Simon had answered, 'Tu es Christus, filius Dei vivi,' 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God,' then Christ said unto him: 'Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood hath not opened that unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter; and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' 'Blessed art thou,' said he, 'for flesh and blood hath not opened that unto thee.' For otherwise, in Luke, Andrew told of Christ and said: 'I have found the Messias, which is Christ.' But that is not enough. He that shall confess Christ, must have an inward teaching, and must be spiritually taught by the Father of heaven; for Andrew's confession were nothing but a carnal confession, and such a one as any other might have made, by natural reason. But the confession of Peter was above the reason of man; for Christ was there a very man, and Peter's *eyes* told him, that he was a man and nothing else. But he was inwardly taught by the Father of heaven, and had a secret knowledge given him from heaven, not by flesh and blood (that is to say, by man's reason), but inwardly, by the Father of heaven. And seeing this was above reason, it is a marvellous thing, that reason should be used to impugn faith. It is a precinct of carnal men, and such as use gross reason. But Peter had another lesson inwardly taught him; and, because he conned his lesson, Christ gave him a new name,—for 'Petros' is a stone, a new name of a christian man: 'For upon this confession of thy faith here, I will build my church;' that is: 'I will stablish all those which I intend to gather unto thee;' 'et demones non prevalebunt adversus eam;' that is: 'and the devils shall not prevail against it.' For he that with a good heart and sure faith confesseth this, he is sure from all peril: this world nor Satan can do him no harm.

But now for a farther declaration. It is a marvellous thing, that upon these words the bishop of Rome should found his supremacy; for whether it be 'super petram,' or 'Petrum,' all is one matter. It maketh nothing at all for our purpose, to make a foundation of any such supremacy. For otherwise, when Peter spake carnally to Christ (as in the same chapter a little following), Satan was his name: where Christ said, 'Go after me, Satan.' So that the name of Peter is no foundation for the supremacy; but, as it is said in Scripture, 'Fundati estis super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum;' that is, by participation (for godly participation giveth names of things), he might be called 'the head of the church,' as the head of the river is called the head; because he was the first that made this confession of Christ: which is not an argument for dignity, but for the quality, that was in the man—for the first man is not evermore the best. The head man of a quest is not always the best man in the quest; but is chosen to be the head man for some other quality that is in him. Virtue may allure many, so that the inferior person in dignity may be the better in place; as the king sometimes chooseth a mean man to be of his council, of whom he hath a good opinion; yet is the king the king still. And in some case the king of England might send to Rome; and, if the bishop of Rome were a man of such wisdom, virtue, and learning, that he were able, in matters of controversy concerning religion, to set a unity in the church of England, the king might well enough send unto him for his counsel and help; and yet should not in so doing give the bishop of Rome any superiority over the king. For if a king be sick, he will have the best physician; if he hath war, he will have the best captain; and yet are not those the superiors, but the inferiors. A schoolmaster is a subject, a physician is a subject, a captain is a subject, councillors are subjects; yet do these order and direct the king. Wherefore, leaving the bishop of Rome, this I say, to declare of what opinion I am. I do not now speak what I could say. I have spoken beyond the seas; I have written; my books be abroad; but this is not the place here. I say that this place maketh nothing for the bishop of Rome, but for Christ only; for none can put 'aliud fundamentum nisi id quod positum est, qui est Christus Jesus.'

But now to go forth declaring my mind; in my time hath come many alterations. First, a great alteration it was, to renounce the bishop of Rome's authority; and I was one that stood in it. A great alteration it was that abbeys were dissolved. A great alteration it was that images were pulled down. And to all these did I condescend, and yet I have been counted a maintainer of superstition; and I have been called a master of ceremonies and of outward things; and I have been noted to take that religion which consisteth in outward things, as though he were a right Christian that fulfilled the outward ceremonies.

I promised to declare my conscience, and so will I; and how I have esteemed ceremonies; and that I have never been of other opinion than I am, concerning ceremonies. And mine opinion I have gathered of Augustine and Jerome, ancient fathers and doctors of the church. Ceremonies serve to move men to serve God; and as long as they be used for that purpose, they may be well used in the church. But when man maketh himself servant to them, and not them to serve him, then be our ceremonies brought to an abuse. If by overmuch familiarity of them, men abuse them, they do evil: for we must not serve creatures, but God. We had monkery, nunnery, friary, of a wondrous number; much variety of garments, variety of devices in dwelling, many sundry orders and fashions in moving of the body. These things were first ordained to admonish them to their duty to God, to labour for the necessity of the poor, to spare from their own bellies to the poor; and therefore was their fare ordained and prepared. And because they abused these things, and set them in a higher place than they ought to do (not taking monition thereby, the better to serve God, but esteeming perfection to consist in them), they were Page 775. dissolved; their houses and garments were taken away. But one thing king Henry would not take away; that was, the vow of chastity. The vow of obedience, he converted to himself: the vow of chastity he willed still to remain with them. We had many images whereto pilgrimages were done, and many tombs that men used to visit; by reason whereof they fell in a fancy of idolatry and superstition, above the things that the image might have been taken for; and because it had not the use that it was ordained for, it was left. When men put

Edward VI.

A.D. 1550.

Reprint from the First Edition.

the images in a higher place than they served for, then were they taken clean away. As give a child a gay book to learn upon, and then if he gaze upon the gorgeousness of his book, and learn not his lesson according to the intent that the book was given him for, the book is taken away from him again. So the images, when men devised and fell to have them in higher place and estimation than they were first set up in the church for, then they might be taken away. And I was never of other mind, nor ever had other opinion of it.

Two manner of reformations: one where the things cannot be taken away, but the abuses: the other where both the things and the abuse may be taken away.

Divers things there be in the church, which be in the liberty of the ruler, to order as he seeth cause; and he that is ruler, may either let it stand, or else may cause it to be taken away. There be two manner of reformations we have had, of both sorts. There be things in the church, the which if they be abused, may not be taken away; as for baptism, if it be abused, there may not another thing be put in the place of it, but the thing must be reformed and brought to the right use again. Also preaching, if it be abused, may not be taken away, but must be reformed and brought to the right use. But there be other things used in the church, in which the rulers have liberty either to reform them, or to take them away. We have had many images, which be now all taken away, for it was in the liberty of the rulers, for the abuse of them, either to reform them or to take them away: and because it was an easier way to take them away than to bring them to the right use that they were ordained for, they were all clean taken away; and so they might be.—'Yea, sir,' will ye say, 'but ye have maintained and defended them; and have preached against such persons as despised them.' It is truth: I have preached against the despisers of them, and have said, that images might be suffered and used in the church, as laymen's books. Yet I never otherwise defended them, but to be used for such purpose as they were first set up in the church for. But now that men be waxed wanton, they are clean taken away; wherein our religion is no more touched than when books were taken away for abusing of them. There was an order taken for books not to be used, wherein some might have said, 'The books are good, and I know how to use them: I may therefore use them well enough. I will therefore use them, though they be forbidden.' But if thou have any charity, thou oughtest to be contented rather to have them all taken away, than to declare thyself of another opinion than thou oughtest to have.

As touching ceremonies, I esteem them all as Paul esteemeth them—things indifferent; where he saith, 'Regnum Dei non est esca et potus.' So of ceremonies. Nevertheless, we have time, place, and number: as a certain number of psalms to be said at times, which may be used without superstition. But these things must serve us, and not we serve them. Yet if an order be set in them by such as have power, we must follow it; and we must obey the rulers that appoint such time, place, and number to be kept. Ye may not say, 'If the time will not serve me, then I will come an hour after.' No, sir, ye must keep this time and this hour; because it is so appointed by the rulers: not for the things, but for the order that is set. I have been ever of this opinion. We had palms and candles taken away; which things may indifferently have either of the two reformations above said. When they were in places, they should have put men in remembrance of their duty and devotion towards God: but, because they were abused, they were and might be taken away. But the religion of Christ is not in these exercises; and therefore in taking away of them, the religion of Christ is nothing touched nor hindered; but men must in such things be conformable, not for the ceremony, but for obedience' sake. St. Paul saith, that we should rebuke every brother that walketh inordinately. I have told you my opinion (and my conscience telleth me that I have spoken plainly), that ye may know what I am; and that ye may not be deceived in me, nor be slandered in me, nor make any further search to know my heart. I like well the communion, because it provoketh men more and more to devotion. I like well the proclamation, because it stoppeth the mouths of all such as unreverently speak or rail against the sacrament. I like well the rest of the king's majesty's proceedings concerning the sacrament.

Winchester liketh well the communion.

I have now told you what I like; but shall I speak nothing of that I mislike? ye will then say, I speak not plainly. I will therefore show my conscience plainly. I mislike that preachers which preach by the king's license, and those readers which, by the king's permission and sufferance, do read open lectures, do openly and blasphemously talk against the Mass, and against the Sacrament.

And to whom may I liken such readers and preachers? I may liken them unto posts; for the proverb says, that posts 'do bear truth in their letters, and lies in their mouths.' And so do they. And to speak so against the sacrament, it is the most marvellous matter that ever I saw or heard of. I would wish, therefore, that there were a stay and an order in this behalf; and that there might be but one order or ruler: for as the poet saith (I may use the verse of a poet well enough, for so doth Paul of the great poet), Οὐχ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω. And let no man of his own head begin matters, nor go before the king (they call it, 'going before the king'): and such make themselves kings.

Edward VI. A.D. 1550. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

Well, what misliketh me else? It misliketh me that priests and men that vowed chastity, should openly marry and avow it openly; which is a thing that since the beginning of the church hath not been seen in any time, that men that have been admitted to any ecclesiastical administration, should marry. We read of married priests, that is to say, of married men chosen to be priests and ministers in the church; and in Epiphanius we read, that some such, for necessity, were winked at. But, that men being priests already, should marry, was never yet seen in Christ's church from the beginning of the apostles' time. I have written in it, and studied for it, and the very same places that are therein alleged to maintain the marriage of priests, being diligently read, shall plainly confound them, that maintain to marry your priests—or at the furthest, within two lines after.

Page 776.

Thus have I showed my opinion in orders proceeding from the inferiors, and in orders proceeding from the higher powers; and thus I have, as I trust, plainly declared myself, without any covering or counterfeiting. And I beseech your most excellent majesty to esteem and take me as I am; and not to be slandered in me; for I have told you the plain truth as it is, and I have opened my conscience unto you. I have not played the post with you, to carry truth in my letters, and lies in my mouth; for I would not for all the world make a lie in this place: but I have disclosed the plain truth as it lieth in my mind. And thus I commit your most excellent majesty, and all your most honourable councillors, with the rest of the devout audience here present, unto God. To whom be all honour, laud, and glory, world without end!

Thus, having comprised the sum and chief purpose of his sermon, with such other matters above written, as appertain to the better opening and understanding of the corrupt and blind ignorance of this bishop, with his dissembling and double-face doings in matters of religion, now it remaineth that we should proceed to the process of his examinations, before the king's commissioners, with the full handling of his cause in such order and process as things were done from time to time, as here following is to be seen.[1]

THE FIRST SESSION.

The First Session or Action against Gardiner bishop of Winchester, was holden in the Great Hall of the Manor of Lambeth, by the King's Majesty's Commissioners; that is to say, Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas bishop of London, Thomas bishop of Ely, Henry bishop of Lincoln, sir William Peter, one of the king's secretaries, sir James Hales knight; Griffin Leyson, John

(1) The reader is now introduced to an historical detail, extending to nearly ninety pages folio in the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments. As it is now first published since the year 1563, it will be read as well with interest as curiosity. It bears testimony to the fidelity of John Foxe, in recording the severe measures of certain parties against Stephen Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester; and while no protestant can justly defend the long imprisonment, without an open trial, of one, who, all must allow, was a conscientious popish prelate, yet no adherent to Gardiner's church has a right to fix upon protestantism, the injustice of those proceedings of which designing men, under colour of protestantism, were the agents. We learn, on the one hand, that no monarchy can be safe, so long as the supremacy of the pope is acknowledged by the subject: and on the other, we admire and adore the hand of God in overruling the intrigues and factions of contending parties, and in confirming in the hearts of our forefathers the love of those scripture principles which shall one day, we trust, be imbibed by the church of Rome herself.—Ed.

Edward VI. A.D. 1550. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

Oliver, doctors of law; Thomas Gosnold esquire; Thomas Argall and William Say, notaries and actuaries in that matter assigned, the 15th of December, A.D. 1550: at which day and place, Master John Lewis, on the behalf of the King's Majesty, presented certain letters of commission under the great seal of England, the tenor whereof ensueth.

Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland; defender of the faith, and of the church of England and Ireland in earth the supreme head: To the most reverend father in God our right trusty and right well-beloved councillor Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, the right reverend fathers in God our right trusty and right well-beloved councillors Nicholas bishop of London, Thomas bishop of Ely, and Henry bishop of Lincoln; our trusty and right well-beloved councillors, sir William Peter knight, one of our two principal secretaries, sir James Hales knight, one of our justices of Common Pleas; Griffith Leyson, John Oliver, doctors of the law; Richard Goodrick and John Gosnold esquires, greeting.

Whereas Stephen, bishop of Winchester, showing himself not conformable to our godly proceedings touching the reformations of sundry abuses in religion within this our realm—and for that amongst the multitude of our subjects not yet well persuaded therein, his examples, sayings, preachings, and doings, are very much hurt to the quiet furtherance, and humble receipt, of our said reformations and proceedings—was, for these and other great and urgent considerations, by our council, with our express consent and assent, willed, required, and commanded in our name, to preach and set forth there, in open sermon before us, sundry matters before that time justly ordered and reformed as well by our father of most noble memory, as by authority of parliament; and otherwise, by the advice of sundry learned men of our clergy; and whereas the said Stephen, bishop of Winchester, was at the same time, for the avoiding of occasion of our subjects, by our said council on our behalf, straightly charged and commanded not to speak of certain other matters unfit in respect of the time to be then spoken of, who, forgetting his bounden duty of allegiance to us, did nevertheless openly, in our own hearing, and in the presence of our council, and a great number of our subjects, disobey the said commandments given to him, to the danger and evil example of all others, and great contempt of us, our crown, and dignity royal: for the which contempt, the same being notorious, the said bishop was then, by our authority, committed to our Tower of London, where, notwithstanding sundry sendings unto him, he hath ever since continued in this form of disobedience, and utterly and expressly refused to acknowledge the same: And besides that, by other ways and means increased in continuance and disobedience; for the which, after many occasions, and clemency ministered unto him, perceiving no hope of reconciling or conformity, we have further proceeded to the sequestration of the fruits and possessions of his bishopric; and given, eftsoons, straight commandment to obey and conform himself within the space of three months, upon pain of deprivation of the said bishopric, as by the record of our council, amongst other things, fully appeareth:

Forasmuch as the said bishop—these our advertisements, monitions, and other the premises notwithstanding—doth yet still remain (as we be informed) in his former disobedience, and thereby declareth himself to be a person incorrigible, without any hope of recovery, we let you wit, that like as hitherto, by the space of these two years or more, we have suffered, and forborne to reform his offences with just punishment, upon hope of amendment, using and causing to be used (of our princely clemency, and certain knowledge) only such decrees and lenity in proceeding, as is aforesaid: so, seeing now and well perceiving by experience, that our long sufferance and great clemency hath been and is of him totally abused, and he thereby not only grown to a more wilfulness, but others also, by his example, much animated to follow like disobedience, we can no longer suffer his aforesaid misdemeanours and contempts to pass or remain unreformed: and therefore let you wit, that, knowing your gravity's learning, approved wisdoms, and circumspections, we, of our mere motion, certain knowledge, and by the advice of our council, have appointed, and by these presents do name and appoint, nine, eight, seven, six, five, or four of you (whereof you the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the

bishop of Ely, the bishop of Lincoln, sir William Peter, sir James Hales, or one of you, to be always one) to be our commissioners, substitutes, and delegates special; giving you nine, eight, seven, six, five, or four of you (whereof you the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the bishop of Ely, the bishop of Lincoln, sir William Peter, sir James Hales, or one of you, to be always one), ample commission, and full power, jurisdiction, and authority, not only to call before you at such days, times, and places, as often as to you it shall be thought convenient, the said bishop of Winchester, and all others, whatsoever they be, whom ye shall think good or necessary to be called for the examination, trial, proof, and full determination of this matter or any part thereof; but also to require all and every such process, writings, and escripts, as have passed and been done in this matter as is aforesaid, to be brought in and exhibited before you. And finding the said bishop either to continue in his former contempt, or that he hath not conformed him according to our pleasure and the monitions given by our council by commission from us; or if he, being called before you, shall, eftsoons, refuse to conform himself, according to our said commandments and monitions, our pleasure is, that you shall proceed against him to deprivation of his bishopric, and removing of him from the same, and further do, and cause to be done in the premises and in all matters and causes annexed, incident or depending upon the same or any part thereof, all and every such thing or things as to our laws either ecclesiastical or temporal, statutes, ordinances, equity, and reason, shall appertain, and to your good wisdoms may seem just and reasonable; causing that that shall be decreed, judged, and determined by you or four of you, as is aforesaid, to be inviolably and firmly observed: in the examinations, process, and final determinations of which matter our pleasure is that ye shall proceed 'ex officio mero, mixto, vel promoto, omni appellatione remota summarie et de plano, absque omni strepitu et figura judicii, ac sola veritate inspecta:' willing that that which, by any four of you, is or shall be begun, shall and may from time to time be continued and ended, by any the same, or any other four or more of you; so as you the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the bishop of Ely, the bishop of Lincoln, sir William Peter, or sir James Hales, or one of you, be one. And such persons as you shall send for, or command to appear before you concerning this matter, if they appear not, or, appearing, do not obey the precepts, we give you full and ample authority to punish them and compel them, by such ways and means as to you or four of you, as is aforesaid, shall seem convenient; commanding and straightly charging all and singular mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other our ministers and subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting unto you in the doings of the premises. In witness whereof, to this our present commission, signed with our hand, we have caused our great seal of England to be annexed and put unto.

Edward VI. A. D. 1550. *Reprint from the First Edition.* Page 777.

Given at our palace at Westminster the 12th day of December, and the fourth year of our reign.

Edward Somerset,	William Paget,
William Wiltshire,	Thomas Cheney,
John Warwick,	Anthony Wingfield,
John Bedford,	Thomas Darcy,
William North,	William Harbert,
Henry Dorset,	William Tirrell,
Edward Clinton,	Edward North.
Thomas Wentworth,	

This commission being openly read, the archbishop with the rest of the said commissioners (for the honour and reverence due to the king's majesty) took the charge and burden of the said commission upon them; and decreed to proceed according to the form and effect thereof. And thereupon his grace, by consent of the rest, then and there assigned William Say and Thomas Argall, jointly and severally, to be registrars and actuaries of that cause, and assigned Master David Clapham and Master John Lewis, proctors of the Arches, jointly and severally to be necessary promoters of their office in that

Edward VI. A.D. 1550.

behalf. Which done, the said promoters assigned, taking upon them the said office, and promoting the office of the said commissioners, ministered unto him certain positions and articles.[1]

Reprint from the First Edition.

Whereupon they required the bishop of Winchester, then and there personally present, to be sworn faithfully and truly to make answer; and therewith the said bishop of Winchester requiring and obtaining leave to speak, declared in manner following:

'That forasmuch as he perceived himself to be called to answer to justice, he did most humbly thank the king's majesty, that it had pleased his grace to be his good and gracious lord therein, and most humbly did acknowledge his majesty to be his natural sovereign lord; and that he had [obeyed], and always would obey, his majesty's authority and jurisdiction, and be subject thereunto. And that forasmuch as his grace had been pleased to grant him to use his lawful remedy and defence in this behalf, therefore he, there and then, openly protested, that by any thing then spoken, or to be thenceforth spoken, or then done or to be done, or by his then personal appearance, he intended not to consent unto the said judges, nor to admit their jurisdiction any otherwise, nor further, than by the law he was bound to do; nor to renounce any privilege which he might or ought in this behalf to use, but to use the same to his most advantage, and all other lawful defence meet and convenient to and for him, as well by way of recusation of the same judges, or excepting against their commission, as otherwise: which his said protestation he willed and required to be inserted in these acts, and in all other acts thenceforth to be sped and done in this matter.'

Archbp. of Canterbury.

Page 778.

And under the same his protestation he required a copy, as well of the said commission, as also of these Acts; which copies the judges did decree unto him. And this done, the archbishop, by consent of the rest, then and there did onerate the said bishop of Winchester with a corporal oath, upon the holy evangelists by him touched and kissed, to make a true and faithful answer to the said positions and articles, and every part of them, in writing, by the Thursday next following, between the hours of nine and ten before noon, in that place; and delivered a copy of the said positions and articles, willing the lieutenant of the Tower to let him have papers, pen, and ink, to make and conceive his said answers, and other his

[1] (1) These positions and articles may be found at page 64. In the original Editions of the Acts and Monuments is inserted another copy of these articles in this place: they differ in a few respects from those already referred to, as follows:

'Article VIII. That after the premises, and for that those former admonitions and commandments notwithstanding, you did yet still show yourself not conformable; and for that also, by your example, the people were much animated, and thereby occasion of much unquietness ministered, you were called before the king's majesty's council in the month of June, in the second year of his majesty's reign, and by them, on his majesty's behalf, commanded to preach a sermon before his majesty; and therein to declare the justness and godliness of his majesty's father, in his proceedings upon certain matters partly mentioned in certain articles to you delivered in writing, and partly otherwise declared unto you. The effect whereof was touching the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, and that his pretensed authority was justly and godly taken away in this realm, and other the king's majesty's dominions; touching the first suppression and taking away of monasteries, religious houses, pilgrimages, relics, shrines, and images; the superstitious going about of St. Nicholas bishop, of St. Edmund, St. Katherine, St. Clement, and such like; for taking away of chantries, obits and colleges; touching hallowing of candles, water, ashes, palm, holy bread, beads; creeping to the cross, and such like. Also touching the setting-forth of the king's majesty's authority in his young years, to be as great as if his highness were of many more years; touching auricular confession; touching the procession and common prayer in English; and that things done in general councils against the word of God, may be justly revoked in particular councils.

'IX. Item, That you, receiving the same, and promising to declare them in a sermon by you made before his majesty for that purpose, on the feast of St. Peter, in the said second year of his highness's reign, did then and there contemptuously and disobediently omit to declare and set forth many of the said matters; to the great contempt of his majesty, and dangerous example of others.

'XV. Item, That after all this, viz. the 19th of July, in the said fourth year, you, being personally called before the whole council, and having the said submission and articles openly and distinctly read unto you, and required to subscribe the same, refused, for unjust and fantastical considerations by you alleged, to subscribe the same.'—Ed.

protestations and lawful defences in that behalf: the same bishop, under his form of protestation giving the same oath, as far as the law did bind him, and requiring to have counsel appointed him; which the archbishop, and the rest of the commissioners, did decree unto him, such as he should name.

Edward VI. A.D. 1550. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

This done, the said promoters produced sir Anthony Wingfield comptroller of the king's majesty's honourable household, sir William Cecil secretary, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Edward North, Dr. Coxe, almoner, sir Thomas North, sir George Blage, sir Thomas Smith, sir Thomas Challoner, sir John Cheke, Master Dr. Ayre, Master Dr. Robert Record, Master Nicholas Udall, and Thomas Watson, witnesses upon the articles by them ministered as before. Which witnesses, and every one of them, the archbishop, with the consent of his colleagues aforesaid, did admit, and with a corporal oath in form of law did onerate, to say and depose the whole and plain truth that they knew, in and upon the contents of the said articles; and monished them and every one of them, to come to be examined accordingly: the said bishop of Winchester, under his said former protestation, dissenting to the said production, admission, and swearing; and protesting to say, as well against the persons of the said witnesses, as their sayings, so far as the same did or should make against them; and asking a time to minister interrogatories against them: to whom it was assigned to minister the said interrogatories by the Thursday immediately following.

Witnesses.

Objected to by Gardiner.

As touching the depositions of the witnesses above named, ye shall have them, with all other attestations of the witnesses, as well of nobility as of others produced and examined in this matter (both *against* the said bishop, and *with* him), in the twentieth Act of this process, where publication of the most part of them was required and granted. After this, the archbishop, with the consent of his colleagues aforesaid, at the petition of the said promoters, continued the cause, in the state it was, unto the Thursday following, between the hours of nine and ten in the forenoon in that place.

THE SECOND SESSION.

The Second Session or Act against Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, was held at Lambeth, on Thursday the 18th day of December.

The said 18th day of December, in the fore-named place, between the hours as above prefixed, before the archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the commissioners, assembled as they were the last session, in the presence of William Say and Thomas Argall actuaries, there was there presented to them a letter sent to them from the Privy Council, the tenor whereof is this:

'After our right hearty commendation unto your good lordships: It is come to our knowledge by report of [persons of] good credit which were present at Lambeth at your last session in the bishop of Winchester's cause, that the said bishop did earnestly affirm in open court before your lordships, and in the hearing of a great multitude of people, that we had made a full end with him at the Tower, for all the matters for which he was then committed, in such sort as he verily thought never to have heard any more thereof: which report seemed to us very strange, and so much toucheth the honour of the king's majesty, to have him called to justice now for a matter determined; and our fidelities to his majesty, to have ended the same cause without commission, that although the said bishop seem to defend his cause with untruths, yet can we not suffer him to seek his credit by his overbold affirmation, amongst a multitude of so

Edward VI.

A. D. 1550.

Reprint from the First Edition.

false and untrue matters; and, therefore, we have thought it necessary, upon our fidelities and honours [to declare], that his said tale of our ending the matter with him, is false and untrue: for neither did we make any end of his matter, neither had we any commission from the king's majesty so to do; but only to hear and confer with him for his obedience, and thereof to make report. And whereas he saith our end was such, that he thought never to have heard thereof again, if he meant to remember truths, as in this behalf he hath devised untruths, he then can tell what we said to him, requiring more liberty, that we had no commission to grant him that, or to take any order with him, but only to commune with him.

We be sorry to see him make so evil a beginning at the first day, as to lay the first foundation of his defence, upon so false and manifest an untruth; and would wish his audacity and unshamefacedness were used in allegation of truths; for this way, as the proverb saith, 'it doth but feed the winds.' Forgetfulness is oftentimes borne with as a man's excusation, but impudent avowal of falseness, was never tolerable. Wherefore, besides that we would admonish him hereof, because his false report was openly made, and arrogantly against the truth told him maintained, we pray you to cause this our declaration to be manifested in like manner; that the truth may appear, and thereby the said bishop may be taught to forbear further false allegations: and, at the least, if he will help his cause no otherwise, yet to consider whom he shall touch with his untruth. For although the king's majesty is well pleased he shall there, before you, use his defence, and have good justice, yet must he think it is not granted him to become so liberal a talker *out of* the matter, as his natural property and condition moveth him, nor *within* the matter to become so arrogant, as his sayings should be believed against other men's proofs: which two things if he should amend, we will be most glad of it, and charitably wish him a mild spirit, to remember he standeth in judgment for contempt against his sovereign lord the king's majesty. And so we bid your lordships most heartily well to fare. From Westminster the 17th day of December, 1550.

Page 779.

Your good lords' assured loving friends,

Edward Somerset, John Bedford,
William Wiltshire, William North.

This letter, after they had read it to themselves, they commanded to be openly read; the said bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, requiring that he might be heard speak before that they would so openly read: for that as he said he had matter to say, that should move the judges not to have it openly read. Which request of the said bishop, because they granted him not, but willed the same letter to be openly read, as it was, by the actuary, who was William Say; and after, by the judges decreed, to remain among the acts: the said bishop upon the said reading, declared among other things to them, that they should have respect to all indifferently, and regard no letters or particular advertisements, but to have "solum Deum præ oculis:" under his former protestation protesting also, for that he could not be heard speak as before.

After this, the said bishop, declaring that he had used all the diligence he could possibly, to make ready his answers—which for the prolixity of them, and lack of a clerk, and shortness of time [he had not been able to complete]—yet, to declare his diligence in this behalf, under his said protestations, exhibited his said answers; being, as he said, the first original of his own hand-writing, which he required and offered to read openly himself. And because of the length of them, the judges were contented, that the said actuaries should exemplify them, and after collation and conference made between the said original and copy, with the said bishop in the Tower, by the said actuaries, the said original to be delivered him

again.[1] Thus his answers being exhibited, the commissioners did grant, (as is said) not only to re-deliver them to him, but also granted to the said bishop to alter and reform his said former answers, in case they should not have been fully and truly made according to his mind; and the same being fully made, to exhibit on Tuesday next in the place and at the hours aforesaid.

Then the said bishop, under his former protestations, gave in certain interrogatories against the witnesses sworn at the last session, requiring them to be interrogated upon them accordingly. The tenor of which interrogatories are these, as followeth:

Interrogatories ministered by Winchester against his Witnesses.

Inprimis: Whether they heard the bishop of Winchester say, in the end of his sermon made before the king's majesty, that he agreeth thoroughly with the rulers and higher estate of the realm; but all the fault he found was in the lower part, or such like words to that sense?

Whether the bishop of Winchester did not say unto him, when he came with sir Anthony Wingfield, that he thought so to have made his sermon, as none of the council should have found fault with it?

Whether the said bishop of Winchester required the same sir Ralph Sadler to show the lord of Somerset's grace, that, by his advice, he should never speak of the letter he sent unto the said bishops?

These his interrogatories being thus laid in, the judges granted him, at his request, a longer day, to minister more interrogatories, if he were so disposed, against as many of the said witnesses as remained about the city, and that they should not depart thence between that and the next session. Then the said bishop, under protestation as afore, required a copy of the sentence of sequestration and intimation made against him in the last summer, and likewise to have a clerk, and some temporal counsel. And the judges granted him to have a clerk to be with him and his counsel, so long as his counsel remained there, and willed him to send them the names of such temporal counsel as he would have, and he should have answer therein as was meet. There was also, by the said bishop, under his said protestation, exhibited a letter missive, directed from the council to Dr. Standish, Dr. Jeffrey, and Dr. Lewis, advocates of the Arches, and to Dockrel and Clark, proctors of the same; the tenor whereof ensueth in these words:

Letter missive to Drs. Standish and Jeffrey, etc.

To our loving Friends Dr. Standish and Dr. Jeffrey, Advocates of the Court of the Arches, and Dockrel and Clark, Proctors of the same.

After our hearty commendations: Whereas the bishop of Winchester (having counsel granted unto him by our very good lord the archbishop of Canterbury, and other the king's majesty's commissioners, as we be informed,) caused you to be required to be a counsel with him: these be to advertise you the king's majesty is pleased to, and by these our letters doth, license you, not only to be counsel with him, but also to repair to the Tower from time to time, for conference with him for his defence in this matter. And this his majesty is pleased, notwithstanding one of you is his majesty's chaplain. Fare you well.

From Westminster, this present Tuesday, in December, 1550.

Your friends,

Edward Somerset,	W. North,
William Wiltshire,	F. Huntingdon,
J. Warwick,	E. Clinton,
John Bedford,	Thomas Cheney.

(1) As these his answers are expressed before (at page 64), therefore here we omit them, and refer the reader to the place.

Edward VI. A. D. 1550. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

By the said letter, as ye have heard, they were licensed, as well to be a counsel with the bishop of Winchester in this his suit, as also to repair to the Tower from time to time, for conference with him for his defence in this matter. Which letter, under his said protestations, he required to be registered, and the original to be to him re-delivered; and the same his counsel then present (Dr. Lewis only absent) to be licensed also, by decree of the judges, to be of counsel as afore; at whose desire the said judges decreed according to his request.

THE THIRD SESSION.

Page 780. The third session or action was sped on Tuesday, the 14th day of December, A.D. 1550, at the prefixed hours, at Lambeth aforesaid, before the archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the commissioners (sir James Hales and Master Richard Godricke only absent), in presence of the aforesaid William Say and Thomas Argall, actuaries. At the which day and place, Gardiner bishop of Winchester was assigned to exhibit his full answers to the positions and articles objected, and to minister more interrogations to the witnesses not yet departed: where and at what time, the said bishop of Winchester read an appellation in writing afore the actuaries aforesaid, and required them to make an instrument thereof; the copy of which appellation is as followeth in the note:[1]

(1) *Prima Appellatio.*

In Dei nomine Amen. Coram vobis publicâ et authenticâ personâ ac testibus fide dignis hic præsentibus, Ego Stephanus, permissione divinâ episcopus Wintoniensis, (episcopus animo appellandi et de nullitate æquè principaliter querelandi, omnibusque melioribus et efficatioribus viâ modo et juris formâ, quibus melius aut efficatius de jure debui aut debeo, atque ad omnem juris effectum exinde sequi valentem,) dico, allego, et in his scriptis de jure propono, Quòd—licèt fuerim et sim episcopatum Wintoniensem prædictum legitimè assecutus, ipsumque (sic assecutus) cum suis juribus et pertinentiis universis per nonnullos annos possiderem pacificè et quietè, eisque (salvis subscriptis) etiam possideam in præsenti, pro veroque episcopo ac legitimo possessore hujusmodi fuerim et sim communiter dictus, tentus, habitus, nominatus et reputatus, palàm, publicè, et notoriè; quòdque, licèt fuerim et sim (prout esse debui et debeo) in pacificâ possessione, juris-suique sim percipiendi et habendi fructus, reditus, proventus, et obventiones, et alia jura et episcopalia emolumenta quæcunque, ad episcopatum prædictum qualitercunque spectantia atque de et ex eodem undecunque provenientia et contingentia; et quamvis insuper fuerim et sim vir integri status, bonæ famæ, vitæque ac morum et conversationis laudabilium, non suspensus, non excommunicatus nec interdictus, seu aliquo crimine, saltem notorio seu famoso, irretitus seu convictus, sed ad parendum juri et standum mandatis ecclesiæ ac quorumque superiorum meorum (præsertim omnibus et singulis mandatis, præceptis, et monitionibus metuendissimi in Christo principis et domini nostri Edwardi Sexti, Dei gratiâ Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ supremi capitis; quatenùs legibus statutis proclamationibus et injunctionibus ejusdem serenissimæ Majestatis Regiæ, et ejus auctoritate editis, factis, publicatis, et admissis conveniant et repugnantia non fuerint, et quatenùs salvâ conscientiâ meâ parere possim) semper promptus et paratus, prout iisdem hactenùs effectualiter (quatenus teneor) parui et obedivi, ac parere et obedire intendo, Deo duce, in futurum,—Nihilominùs, præpollentes nobilesque viri, Edwardus dux Somerset, Wilhelmus, comes Wiltshire, magnus thesaurarius Angliæ, Johannes comes Warwick, dominus magnus magister hospitii regii, Wilhelmus marchio Northampton, magnus camerarius Angliæ, et simul alii viri illustres privati concilii Regiæ Majestatis, prædicti conciliarii, sese ejusdem Regiæ Majestatis in ea parte delegatos asserentes, me, episcopum antedictum, ad subscribendum certis articulis sive capitulis tunc mihi ex scripto recitatis, etiam incontinentèr, absque deliberatione debitâ et maturâ ac in eâ parte requisitâ (maximâ gravitate et difficultate contentorum in eisdem pensatis), mandarunt et admoverunt: et licèt copiam articulorum sive capitulorum ejusmodi mihi concedi tradique atque inducias competentes debitè petierim, ut de illis omnibus et singulis sincerum animæ meæ judicium et persuasum ex Scripturis veritatis scripto declararem, meque promptum ad sic respondendum scripto singulis articulis sive capitulis hujusmodi obtulerim; dicti tamen delegati asserti (me, episcopum antedictum, in præmissis seu præmissorum aliquo exaudire non curantes ulteriùsque utcunque procedentes, absque causæ cognitione et absque causâ justâ legitimâve, procedentes 'de facto,' cùm 'de jure' nullo modo potuerunt nec debuerunt) fructus episcopatûs mei prædicti (eorum reverentiis honoribus et dignitatibus semper salvis) nulliter et minus justè, sub certis modo et formâ per eos servandis at nullo modo servatis, 'de facto' (ut præfertur) sed non 'de jure,' sequestrârunt; et comminationes insuper minus justas in eodem decreto adjecerunt, ut in eodem decreto continetur. Unde ego Stephanus, episcopus prædictus, sentiens me ex præmissis atque ex his quæ ex eisdem recolligi et inveniri possent indebitè prægravari, et timens in futurum enormiùs gravari posse, ab eisdem et eorum quolibet ad præfatam Regiam Majestatem atque ejusdem Regiæ Majestatis personam excellentissimam—primo verbo tenùs, coram certis meis servientibus sive familiaribus tunc mecum in loco carceris Turris Londinensis (ubi tunc incarceratus fui et in præsenti sum), propter defectum tàm notarii quàm etiam aliorum testium jurisperitorumque ac atramenti et calami—infra decem dies gravamina hujusmodi proximè et immediatè sequentes, sæpiùs seu semel appellavi, apostolosque petii, et protestatus fui; et, quum data facultas,

This being done, the bishop, under his former protestation, and under the protestation not to recede from the benefit of his said appeal, did exhibit his answers to the said positions, being fully made, as he said; and required a copy thereof, and also his first original answer to be re-delivered to him: which was decreed, due collation first made of the said original; the tenor of which his fuller answers, word for word, ensueth:

Answer of the Bishop of Winchester to the request of a more full Answer in certain Articles objected unto him.

'The seventh article is not fully answered, where you say, 'I remember not:' 'At any time, that I remember.' First, for that it is required to make a more full answer to the seventh article, containing such general matter as is referred to two years and a half by-past and gone, than do the words 'as I remember,' the said bishop saith his answer therein, uttering as much as is presently in his conscience, doth satisfy all law and reason; and that the word 'credo' in Latin, whereby all such positions be answered unto, containeth in effect no more virtue and strength, than do the words 'as I remember' in English; because no man can think of himself to be true, that he remembereth not, except as a man may think of himself generally, that (knowing his direct intention ever to do well), may think well of himself, as the said bishop hath, in the latter general clause of his answers, said; where he saith, 'Credit' all his affirmations and denials in his said answer to be true, as his conscience now testifieth unto him. And therefore, because he answereth to the said seventh article, that he was never but once called in all his life, and at that time declared the matters wherefore he was called; and how, in the end of that examination, the said bishop answereth, that he so departed as he durst; and did allege for himself that he was no offender, and ought not in that sort to tarry by commandment, it must needs, by the matter contained in his said answer, sufficiently appear, he hath fully answered that article; and that (being such a personage as he is and hath been) he ought not—after vexation in prison so long time (two years and a half) in such manner of solitary keeping as he might reasonably forget that, and the world also—be now thus travailed with, whereby to touch the integrity of his conscience, and, without cause, indirectly to impute to him, as though he had not satisfied his oath: specially considering that the answer of the said bishop hath been willingly made to such articles; as else, by the direct order of the law, he ought not to be compelled to make answer unto: offering, nevertheless, that when by the judges any further specialty shall be objected unto him, he will, and is ready (in such case as the law bindeth him to answer unto it) to make such answer as the law bindeth him unto in that behalf.

'The eighth wanteth answer to this part; namely, You were called before the king's majesty's council, in the month of June, in the second year of his majesty's reign, and by them, in his highness's behalf, commanded to preach a sermon before his majesty, and therein to declare the justness and godliness,' etc.

To the eighth article the said bishop saith that full answer is made, in that the whole process of the fact, as it can come to the said bishop's remembrance, is

easet coram reverendissimo archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et aliis judicibus ac serenissimâ Regiâ Majestate et aliis tunc præsentibus me ita appellasse significavi. Atque deinde, omnino infra decem dies, postquam notarii præsentiam et jurisperitos calamumque et atramentum habere potuissem, videlicet die et loco præsenti appellatione et querelâ meâ specificatis, coram vobis publicâ et authenticâ personâ et testibus superiùs mentionatis, denuò ac meliori et efficatiori modo et formâ in his scriptis appello; apostolosque peto, primò secundò et tertiò, instantèr instantiùs et instantissimè, mihi dari tradi et liberari cum effectu; atque de nullitate præmissorum æquè principaliter dico querelo et protestor, quòd non sunt decem dies elapsi, ex quo notarii publici testiumque præsentiam et jurisperitorum consilium ac calami et atramenti usum, ut hanc appellationem interponerem, habere potuissem; protestorque quòd gravamina ista sunt gravamina in dies continuata; atque protestor quòd casu quo judicum delegatorum prætensorum prædictorum præsentias habere potuissem, de facto libentèr appellarem; et insuper protestor quòd est de addendo corrigendo reformando ac minuendo hanc meam appellationem, et de subtrahendo ab eadem filamque in meliorem et competentiorem formam redigendo, justum jurisperitorum consilium, atque de intimando eandem omnibus et singulis quorum interest seu interesse poterit in hâc parte, pro loco et tempore congruis et opportunis, prout moris est juris atque stili. Super quibus, &c. [See Edition 1563, pp. 780, 781.—Ed.]

Edward VI. A. D. 1550. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

plainly told (in what sort that matter of preaching was opened, and where, and with whom) by a clause, that 'otherwise the said bishop was not spoken with concerning preaching.' Which preciseness he nevertheless doth understand according to his present memory and conscience, wherein the said bishop can say no more, but as his conscience now testifieth the fact to have been; declaring with whom he was, with whom he spake, and what they said to him; which, as touching the time, he thinketh was done in the month of June; and his being with the duke of Somerset, to have been the Monday sevennight before the said bishop preached: And the determination of the bishop being such as he intended faithfully to speak of the matters in the papers, after his conscience (as he indeed ought to think of himself in general estimation of his own integrity), he did—and it cannot be to him prejudicial to have been commanded to preach, and therefore he mindeth not to make contradiction, or any state of question therein, although he must presently answer as his conscience telleth him, and so doth in his answer to the said article.

'The ninth is not sufficiently answered, where you said, If I did omit: and, If I did perchance omit any thing, whereof I can make now none assurance: But if I did omit: If it were true, as I know it not to be: and, If I promised to speak plainly: If I had broken it,' etc.

To the ninth, the said bishop saith his answer to that fact (of two years and a half by-past) of so many divers particularities to be by him touched in special, in a sermon, whereunto he came so troubled as in his said answer is declared, cannot be required to be made now more certain than it is made. And in case of omission (as is here objected), which may be by oblivion, and, considering the said bishop's intent, if it happened, was so, and no otherwise; no man can affirm precisely what he forgat, if it were true he did forget; for he that forgetteth, in that he forgetteth, knoweth it not, [being] forgotten then. And seeing the said bishop determined to speak of all requisite to be spoken of, according as was answered he would, he may then say, If he forgat, it must be by oblivion, and not of purpose. And it is a position uncertain and dangerous for conscience, whereunto the law bindeth no man to answer, to bring the said bishop's faith in slander, to answer more precisely to the fact, than is already done. Wherefore all the 'ifs' that be made in the bishop's said answer in that article, be to declare the exclusion of contempt and disobedience, if any thing were indeed omitted, as the said bishop knoweth not any to have been, and without prejudice of granting by implication, what ought not to be granted in fact; which was by oblivion, if it were. And therefore, in all law and reason, the said answer as it was first made, is sufficient and reasonable cause by the said bishop now alleged, why none other should now be made or required of him.

'To the tenth, concerning that you were commanded and inhibited, on the king's majesty's behalf, etc. you answer nothing.'

Page 782. To the tenth, sufficient answer is made by declaration of the fact as it was; whereupon whether an inhibition and commandment may be grounded and proved, shall appear in the discussion of that letter sent by the duke of Somerset's grace; which letter the said bishop answereth, in his said answer, to be of no force in his conscience; declaring the reason of the causes why, and more intendeth to declare, by matter specially to be alleged hereafter for the same. And therefore, seeing commandment and inhibition to be terms of law, the force whereof riseth upon estimation of the fact thereupon to be denied, what *is* commandment and inhibition, as what is *none;* the said bishop esteemeth himself discharged in law, to tell for answer the mere fact done in that matter—with the sincerity of his conscience, how he esteemed and doth esteem it; and is bound by no law to bring his credit in slander upon a point of law, and either to grant to his prejudice that to be a commandment or inhibition, which, in his conscience, is none, or, by denial, incur danger of slander of his conscience, if others would esteem it a commandment or inhibition; and, therefore, he telleth the fact as it was, of the receipt of the said letter: which letter he is ready to exhibit, as he doth offer in his said answer, for more ample understanding of the said answer.

'The last hath no answer concerning your submission, reconcilement, and reformation,' etc. To the last article the said bishop said, that, seeing he denied in his answer all contempt on his part, he answereth it sufficiently, seeing the cause of reconciliation and reformation, after the judgment of his conscience,

failing, the same ought not to be by him offered with prejudice of his innocency, which he is bound to maintain and defend; because, being an honest man, he is somewhat worth to the king his sovereign lord; and having cast his innocency willingly away by the untrue testimony of himself, he is nothing worth to the world nor himself either. As touching 'submission,' being an ambiguous word, to justice and mercy, the said bishop would think himself not worthy to live, if he should not submit himself to the king's majesty's justice willingly and humbly, which he hath always done, as shall appear hereafter, now doth, and will do during his life. And when, by examination of his cause by justice, the said bishop shall appear in any point faulty, he will humbly submit himself to such punishment as shall be appointed to that fault, if there be any; and, by that means, honour (as his duty is) the king's majesty and his laws, as every good subject should do. But otherwise, by submission to mercy whereby to imply an offence in himself, whereof the said bishop in his conscience knoweth he is not guilty, and whereof the said bishop is by no order of law convinced, is what the said bishop dare affirm, and is persuaded, the king's majesty would wittingly require of no man; but will graciously permit every man to be tried and taken as he is.

'You lack well near (in your answer) to every article and position this clause —'and otherwise,' etc.—without which your answer remaineth imperfect and uncertain.'

Finally, as touching the general clause 'and otherwise,' etc., seeing this is a special matter, specially used, and handled in such a special form as the said bishop thinketh was never heard of in a special personage, and in a special time; the said bishop desireth, that among so many specialties he be not bound to such a general clause as no law requireth in special terms; and such a clause as needeth not in this matter, nor can serve to any other use, but to bring the faith of the said bishop in slander, answering as he doth upon his oath: in consideration whereof, seeing the said bishop hath to such articles made answer, as by law he is not bound to answer unto—declaring thereby his desire to have the fact opened and known, uttering for his part as much as his conscience testifieth to be truth, and as much as upon these generalities he can call to remembrance—the said bishop (his protestations in the acts repeated and preserved), desireth his answers may be so by you the judges accepted and taken; considering also the said bishop offereth himself ready, as any other specialty, according to law and equity, shall be asked of him, he will be and is always ready to make such answer as the law bindeth him as afore is always said.

These his full answers, as he said, being perused and considered by the commissioners, then the promoters alleged, that the bishop had not fully answered to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and nineteenth positions, referring themselves to the same answers and to the law; and therefore, accusing his contumacy in that behalf, did require him to be pronounced 'contumax;' and in pain thereof to be declared 'pro confesso,' upon the same, whereunto he had not fully answered; the said bishop, under his said protestations, saying that he had fully answered, referred himself to the said answers: whereupon the judges had assigned him to make full answer to the said positions, in case his answers already made were not full, the next court day; having first declaration made from the said judges, by St. John's day next, wherein it was not fully answered.

Then the said promoters alleged, that there were certain acts, orders, and other processes concerning that matter, making for the proof of the articles by them ministered in that cause, remaining in the books of the registry of the king's most honourable council, which they desired might there be exhibited. Whereupon Master Armigil Wade, and Master William Thomas, clerks of the said council, by commandment of the said judges did present two books, being,

Edward VI. A.D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

as they affirmed, originals of the said register, with certain copies extracted therefrom, concerning that matter; and, upon a corporal oath to them proffered by the judges, at the promoter's request they affirmed the same to be the very true and original books of the said register; and forasmuch as the books contained many secret matters not to be opened abroad, therefore the said judges, at the request of the promoters, decreed collation to be made between the said originals and copies, by the said clerks, and the foresaid actuaries; and that after collation made, as full faith should be given to the said copies as to the originals, as well as if the said bishop were present at the same collations.[1]

After which decree, the said bishop, under his said protestations dissenting to the said exhibition, and protesting of the nullity thereof, and of the exhibits, and alleging the same to be but private writings, and not authentic, nor such whereunto faith sufficient in law ought to be given, nevertheless, without prejudice of his said protestation consenting that collation thereof might be made in his absence, reserving power to him to object against the said exhibits, as far as by the law he might in that behalf do, as if he were personally present at the said collation.

After this the judges, at the promoters' request, published the depositions of the witnesses produced by them (the which witnesses, as heretofore I have declared, ye shall read in the twentieth act of this process), the said bishop, under his said protestation dissenting thereunto, and protesting not to take knowledge or understanding of the said depositions, for that he intended to propose a matter justificatory, directly contrary to the articles proposed.

Page 783.

After this the judges, at the promoters' request, assigned to the said bishop to propose a matter, if he had any, upon Thursday next after the feast of the Epiphany, at the hours and place [specified], the bishop, under his said protestations, dissenting, and asking a copy, as well of the acts, as of the exhibits aforesaid; to whom it was so decreed.

THE FOURTH SESSION.

The fourth session or act against the bishop of Winchester, was before the aforesaid commissioners, sitting in judgment in the hall of the manor at Lambeth, in the presence of William Say and Thomas Argall notaries, the 8th day of January, anno 1551, upon Thursday, before noon.

It was assigned to the bishop of Winchester this day and place, to make full answer to the sixth, eighth, ninth, and nineteenth positions, before not fully answered; and also to propose a matter, if he had any to propose; whereupon the said bishop of Winchester, repeating his former protestations, and under the same, and also such protestations as he said were contained in his matter, did then and there exhibit a matter in writing, which he required to be admitted, and a competent term assigned to him to prove the same, to all the effects of the law, and to all intents, purposes, and effects, contained in his said matter, with compulsory process, and other as shall be

(1) As concerning the specified acts, orders, and proceedings of the council against him, and being now as you have heard exhibited, see them page 79.

requisite for him to have, for proof of the said matter: which matter of his being then and there exhibited, though it be long and tedious here to recite, yet, for the further accomplishment of the whole process, we thought here not to omit it; the words whereof are here as followeth.

Edward VI. A.D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

A Long Matter justificatory, proposed by the Bishop of Winchester.

In the name of God, Amen.—Before you, most reverend father in God, Thomas, by the sufferance of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan, and one of the king's majesty's privy council; Nicholas, bishop of London; Thomas, bishop of Ely, and one of the king's majesty's privy council; Henry, bishop of Lincoln; sir William Peter, knight, and one of the principal secretaries of the king's majesty, and one of his majesty's privy council; sir James Hales, knight, one of the justices of the King's bench; John Oliver and Griffith Leyson, doctors of the civil law; Richard Godricke and John Gosnold, esquires, commissioners or judges (delegate, as it is pretended), in this behalf deputed, either before you, all and every of you, jointly together, or before some of you, such as in this matter shall happen to proceed, Stephen, by God's permission bishop of Winchester,—first and before all things protesting not to renounce, forsake, or go from, his appellation lately by him made, from a certain decree of sequestration of the fruits of his bishopric, after a certain sort and manner, given and done by certain of the king's majesty's privy council, affirming themselves specially appointed or delegated by the king's majesty in that behalf; and for other griefs, nullities, and unlawful process (their honours always saved) by them made in that behalf, and under all other protestations heretofore by him before you the said commissioners, or some of you, made in this pretensed matter; the same protestations, all and singular, and all manner of benefits and remedies of the law to him always reserved and saved, which he in no wise intendeth to go from, but to use and firmly and wholly to stand to, adhere to, and abide by; which all and singular protestations he repeateth, and for often and oftener repeated hath and will have them, in all and singular his acts, gifts, purposes, intents, petitions, facts, sayings, and doings, of what manner, kinds, effects, or sorts soever they be, now being made or done, or that in any wise hereafter shall happen to be made or done, against certain pretensed articles, capitules, objections, or interrogatories, lately by the commissioners aforesaid, of their office (as is pretended) necessarily promoted against the said bishop, [but] unlawfully purposed and objected; and against all and singular purposes, effects, matters, causes, and things in the same pretensed articles contained, by all and singular ways, forms, means, and effects, best and most effectual, which he best and most effectually ought to do, or may do, and—to all effects and purposes of the law that may and should follow thereafter—saith, allegeth, and, in this writing, purposeth in law articularly, and also jointly and severally, as hereafter followeth.

First, That the said articles and contents in the same, be and ought to be by the law, of no efficacy, virtue, strength, value, or effect; nor ought in any wise to be prejudicial or hurtful to the said bishop of Winchester, for the causes and matters severally and respectively deduced, and expressed in this present article, and in other articles in their course hereafter following. And, among other things, because the said bishop hath been always ready, with his best endeavour, diligence, and industry, according to his bounden duty, to publish, declare, and set forth, as well the supremacy, and supreme authority, of the king's majesty that now is, and of the most noble prince of famous memory, the king's majesty's father that dead is, as the abolishing of the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, and setting-forth of all and singular acts, statutes, laws, injunctions, and proclamations, made and ordained in that behalf, and concerning orders of religion in this his majesty's church of England; and hath had, hitherto, a very circumspect, learned, and diligent chancellor under him, who hath duly executed, and put in execution, the same accordingly: all which things the said bishop, for his own part, hath likewise always justly, duly, and obediently done, kept, observed, and executed, and for the approving, confirming, and stablishing the said supremacy. And of the usurped power of the bishop of Rome aforesaid, he hath not only openly preached, affirmed, and declared the same, in many and divers his sermons (preaching and teaching

Edward VI. A. D. 1551.

always due obedience), but also hath made and set forth a certain book or work concerning the same, as by the contents thereof more plainly appeareth, and hath defended the same in the university of Louvain. And these things were and be true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous. [Proponit conjunctim, divisim, et de quolibet.]

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II. Item, That the said bishop, being charged with many and sundry commandments, to be by him done, executed, and observed, in our late sovereign lord's time that dead is, was never found faulty, nor any fault objected and proved against him; but hath always been, and yet is, a true, painful, and just servant and subject in that behalf, and so commonly had been accepted, taken, reputed, and accounted, among the best sort, and with all sorts of persons, of all degrees, being not his adversaries or enemies. [Proponit ut supra.][1]

III. Item, That the said bishop hath been always hitherto, and yet is, esteemed, taken, and reputed, a man just of promise, duly observing the same; and hath not been called or troubled heretofore, by any manner of suit or other vexation in any court of this realm, spiritual or temporal, for any such pretence or occasion as is aforesaid, until the time he was sent to the Tower, the morrow after he preached before the king's majesty, in his manor or palace called the White Hall at Westminster, being the next day immediately following, and the last day of June, which shall be full three years at the same day next coming; and this was and is true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous.

Page 784.

IV. Item, The said bishop was in such reputation and estimation of the councillors of our late sovereign lord that dead is, as being one of his majesty's privy council till his majesty's death, that he was, by their good contentment, used in council to have the speech in their name to the ambassadors of Scotland, the French king, and the emperor, within fourteen days, or thereabouts, of the death of our late sovereign lord.

V. Item, That the said bishop, for declaration of his zeal and due affection for the preservation of our sovereign lord that now is, his realm and countries, communed with the duke of Somerset thereof, when he had first taken upon him to be protector; and, by his commandment, wrote unto the said duke his mind therein divers and sundry times, as the copies of the letters will declare; which the duke seemed to take in good part, and accepted the same as by his letters may appear, to the which he referreth himself, as much as they make for him and no otherwise.

VI. Item, The said duke, in the conference aforesaid, told the said bishop that he would suffer no innovations in religion during the king's majesty's young age; which made the bishop more bold to write his mind plainly to the said duke.

VII. Item, That the said bishop wrote sundry privy letters to my lord archbishop of Canterbury, rehearsing what dangerous discords and evil opinions might arise; and specially in the end, the utter denial of the very presence of Christ's most precious body and blood in the sacrament, with fear that the same evil opinion should be brought in, howsoever the said archbishop defended the contrary.

VIII. Item, That albeit the said bishop laboured as much as he might, by his privy letters to the duke of Somerset, my lord archbishop of Canterbury and in the absence of the same duke to the whole privy council of our sovereign lord, to stay innovations, yet, when the bishop perceived he could do no good therein, he showed himself so much conformable, that all innovations made and set forth by the king's majesty's commandments, laws, proclamations, or injunctions, were obediently, quietly, and conformably set forth, executed, and willed to be observed in his diocese, without omission of any one part thereof, &c.

IX. Item, That at the time of the king's majesty's visitation, kept and made in the diocese of Winchester, mentioned in the sixth article of the objections aforesaid, likewise before, and somewhat after the same visitation, the said bishop was in the Fleet, at the commandment of certain of the king's majesty's privy council, by reason of a letter sent by him upon zeal that he had, according to his bounden duty, to the same council, in that they allowed not the same; and, in his said absence, the king's majesty's visitors were, by his proctors there at Winchester, and likewise in all other places of his diocese, by all the subjects of the same, honourably, quietly, and devoutly received, accepted, and admitted; and

(1) These words 'proponit ut supra' are to be understood as following every one of the next eighty-two items.—Ed.

the injunctions and orders by them published, were likewise received, admitted, and observed, as well on the behalf of the said bishop, as of the subjects of his diocese, for any thing he knoweth, which things were, and be true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous.

X. Item, That the bishop was delivered out of the prison of the Fleet the morrow after the eleventh day, in the first year of the reign of the king's majesty, by his majesty's general pardon, granted in his parliament kept at Westminster the same year.

XI. Item, That about thirteen or fourteen days after the delivery of the said bishop out of the Fleet as is aforesaid, he was committed to prison to his own house in Southwark, for not subscribing to a certain form of articles or doctrine of justification, whereof was no law or lawful determination made; out of which trouble the said bishop was delivered the first Monday in Lent then next following, with thanks from the said duke of Somerset.

XII. Item, That albeit the said bishop was committed to his house, as is aforesaid, for his prison, yet afterwards (to wit in the month of February the next following), his answers made to the said articles of justification, were received and admitted by my lord of Somerset; and the said bishop thereupon delivered and discharged thereof, with thanks; and, so discharged, went down to Winchester, as a person delivered from all trouble or travail of business. And this is true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous.

XIII. Item, The same bishop, within a small time after, first gently required by letters of the duke of Somerset to surrender a college which he yet had and enjoyed in the university of Cambridge, because upon good considerations he refused so to do, was more sharply written unto, in such terms as might declare the displeasure of the said duke, the considerations of the said bishop being nevertheless such in that matter, as the lower house of parliament, kept at Westminster by our sovereign lord's authority that now is, the second year of his most gracious reign, upon their wisdoms, without any suit of the said bishop, being then in prison in the Tower of London, refused and rejected a bill conceived for the abolishing of the said college, and to be converted into another use, as the duke intended.

XIV. Item, That the said bishop, after his delivery out of travail, in the month of February, in the second year of our sovereign lord's reign then being, did, in a sermon made at Farnham, in the way to Winchester, being resident there, exhort the people to obedience in this form; to confirm their wills in the exercise and ceremonies of religion to the superior's order, and to think that best which they appointed to be done and used, wherein they should show their humility and judgment.

XV. Item, The said bishop preached one special sermon at Winchester, the month of April or May in the second year of our sovereign lord's reign that now is, teaching all the life of a christian man to consist verily in suffering, which was properly when he followed the will of another; in example whereof Christ, said he, came to do the will of his Father; and we must do God's will, who willeth us to obey the superiors; wherein we must either do the will of the superiors, and suffer that, or suffer willingly the power of the superior to punish us.

XVI. Item, That the said bishop, receiving letters from the king's majesty's council in the month of May, in the second year of his majesty's reign, to come before them for declaration of his willing obedience in all points, came from Winchester in a horse-litter to London, and so to the council, when he could not ride for disease in his body. And this was and is true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous.

XVII. Item, Incontinently after the coming of the said bishop to London as aforesaid, he appeared before the said council, and answered to such matter as was objected against him, in such wise as it was then accepted by the council, to his judgment. The said bishop, being required of the same council to tarry and not depart home, showed himself ready to do so, alleging, nevertheless, that he ought not to tarry as an offender, because he was none; and, for the declarance thereof, desired that he might borrow of them some house in the country to resort thereunto for his commodity.

XVIII. Item, That whereas in the month of June, in the second year of our sovereign lord's reign, Master Cecil repaired to the said bishop, then at his

Edward VI. A. D. 1551.

house in Southwark, from the said duke, to move him to preach and give his sermon in writing, the said bishop, granting to preach, refused to give his sermon in writing, because that were to preach like an offender; whereas the said bishop had not indeed offended. And in that sort, like no offender, had a little before departed from the council, as is before declared.

Reprint from the First Edition. Page 785.

XIX. Item, When the said Master Cecil had opened the said duke of Somerset's pleasure after the sort aforesaid concerning preaching, the said bishop said, he would repair to the same duke of Somerset to make answer himself, and to declare him his mind therein. And because the said duke would not suffer the said bishop then to come to him, the same bishop was fain to send his answer to the duke by his chaplain.

XX. Item, That after the said bishop had offered himself, by answer made by his chaplain, contented to preach, the said duke of Somerset sent articles to the said bishop by Master Cecil, first after one sort, single; and afterwards, in another sort, termed, as it liked the divisor, not so circumspectly, advisedly, and effectuously, as the matters thereof required; as may appear by the same which the said Master Cecil would have had the said bishop to rehearse in his sermon word by word, like a lesson made for a child to learn; which the said bishop refused to do.

XXI. Item, The bishop, seeing he was no offender in any point of those articles delivered him by Master Cecil, thought himself (and so alleged then) not to be used according to justice, to be of the duke so specially and precisely required to speak of these matters after that manner; whereby the said bishop should have partly touched and hurt his own innocence therein, as by the matters and contents of the same articles, and otherwise, if need be, more evidently may and shall appear.

XXII. Item, That thereupon, sir Thomas Smith, then one of the king's majesty's secretaries, or some other, procured a consultation of men learned in the ecclesiastical laws, what a bishop might command, and what the bishop of Rome might command; that by the same consultation the said bishop might be enforced to rehearse in his sermon the said articles devised by others, as his own, and of his own conscience.

XXIII. Item, That the said bishop, being sent for to the said duke, then being at the king's palace in Westminster, the Monday sevennight before he preached (which preaching was on St. Peter's day, viz. the 29th of June then next following), for just and lawful causes, and according as he ought to do in that case, refused to preach the said articles as they were then penned or conceived.

XXIV. Item, At the same time the said duke showed unto the said bishop the consultation made of the learned men, to whom the said bishop answered, that if he might speak with those learned men, it should shortly appear *that* consultation not to touch his case. Whereunto the said duke answered, the said bishop should speak with no learned men, but only have time of deliberation thereupon between that time, and the afternoon of the same day.

XXV. Item, The said bishop was then, by secret way, conveyed by the lord great master then being, to the said lord great master's chamber, and there offered to dine alone, like a man restrained and threatened to suffer further trouble.

XXVI. Item, After dinner, the same time, came to the said bishop sir Thomas Smith secretary aforesaid, to reason with the said bishop in that matter; which Master Smith then defended not the manner of speaking of those matters contained in the aforesaid articles to be required of the said bishop, but only of those things there contained.

XXVII. Item, That upon the communication had between the said bishop and sir Thomas Smith, the said bishop was brought to the said duke's private chamber, and there much familiarity showed by the said duke, and a friendly departure between them; at which time the said duke said, he would require the bishop no writing of his sermon before he made it, but remitted all to the said bishop, so he would speak of those matters contained in the articles or papers delivered unto him by Master Cecil, as aforesaid,[1] except the king's

(1) These be the matters that be rehearsed in the eighth article of the objections laid against the bishop.

majesty's minority whereof neither was nor is any mention made, as by the contents thereof may appear. Whereunto the said bishop said, he would touch the substantial points thereof, and not speak of St. Clement's nor St. Nicholas's going about, nor such small children's toys, being gone and forgotten; and said merrily, 'the people would call him a babbler of ceremonies when they were now gone;' but, of the chief matters of the said articles, he would speak, and of other matters also: and therewith departed without coming to the presence of the council, and without any other commandment than like as was before brought by Master Cecil from the said duke: and ended, and departed in this familiarity and friendly agreement.

XXVIII. Item, That the said bishop reasoned with sir Thomas Smith, then secretary, touching the preaching of the said articles or papers in this wise in effect: If it be intended by this sermon (meaning the sermon aforesaid, to be made before the king's majesty at Westminster), to defame him the same bishop, that, to keep himself out of trouble and displeasure and to redeem him some secret faults, he speaketh so that all men may know that he meaneth it not, then it may serve to such purpose, to have those articles or papers rehearsed in his sermon. But, if it be intended to have the sermon made for edification, and to have the same bishop thoroughly known, what he thinketh of the state of the church and of the innovations made, it were more expedient to have the said bishop preach of himself; and so should he be known what he were. The said bishop adding, that if he thought not to agree with the council in the speaking of these matters, he had rather begin the contention within, secretly, than in the pulpit. Upon which reasons proceeded the friendly resolution, and the said bishop was left to speak of those matters at liberty as before.

XXIX. Item, That the said bishop, at his repair to his house, showed divers of his chaplains and others the resolution aforesaid, with his determination to speak of such matters (specially the chief of them) so as they ought to be satisfied; and likewise after the sermon aforesaid made account with them, that he had accordingly done in such wise as no man ought to be offended.

XXX. Item, That in the papers or articles aforesaid, delivered as is above specified to the said bishop by Master Cecil, there is mention of the mass and of the sacrament of the altar to be specially named and spoken of in his sermon; whereby the said bishop esteemed then, and yet doth esteem himself bound to show the catholic faith and true doctrine of them, which some unlearned persons did then (contrary to the king's majesty's proclamations and injunctions) impugn.

XXXI. Item, The Wednesday at afternoon next and immediately before the said bishop preached his sermon, which was the Friday then next following, when the said bishop was fully provided what to say in his said sermon, and in what order; the said duke of Somerset sent, by the same Master Cecil, to the said bishop, his private advice not to speak in his sermon of any doubtful matters of the sacrament and the mass. Whereunto the said bishop answered, he would utter the true catholic faith that hath no doubt; and advised the said duke not to meddle with matters of religion, but to refer it to bishops and to others that could or should understand it: the said bishop expressly declaring, that he must and would utter the catholic faith, if he were suffered to come to that place.

XXXII. Item, That the Thursday, viz. the next morrow then following, between three and four of the clock at afternoon, or thereabouts, was delivered unto the said bishop a letter from the said duke, dated at his house at Sion, subscribed with his own hand only, and without mention of any advice of the king's majesty's council, but only of his own pleasure, with commandment in words of maintenance thereof, on the king's majesty's behalf, in such manner and sort handled and conveyed, that they ought not to be credited, obeyed, or regarded, but to be bewailed to proceed from one in that estate and degree in the commonwealth; for which respect indeed he vexed the said bishop, who, having no leisure convenient to write or send to the duke, was much troubled how to avoid what was seemed meant by pretence of that letter, being an interruption of the order of such matter as the said bishop had determined to have uttered in that sermon; and the chief care of the said bishop was how to

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

Page 786.

utter the catholic faith of the sacrament of the altar, which might not be omitted, and yet so as the words of the letter (although it were of no force) might be avoided, for the avoiding of all quarrel and contention.

XXXIII. Item, That the said bishop, to the intent he might, in that short time, more conveniently devise how to escape without all manner of quarrels, from the time of the receipt of that letter forgat to refresh his body, and did neither eat, drink, nor sleep, till the next day at five o'clock at afternoon, when his sermon was done; and only travailed in mind how to bring in and order what he should utter; all the said bishop's preparation being interrupted by this advice and letter, delayed, as appeareth of purpose, to so short time before the bishop should preach; which duke knew well the said bishop might, and supposed he would speak, of the sacrament and mass, or else not indeed to have sent his advice in that behalf.

XXXIV. Item, That the said bishop (appointed to preach on St. Peter's day then next following, being the 19th of June aforesaid), in his sermon preaching did declare, set forth, and touch, the effect of all such things, points, articles, and matters, delivered to him by Master Cecil, as by the contents of the same, and other persons of sufficient credit, being present at his sermon aforesaid, and hearing and noting the same, shall more plainly appear.

XXXV. Item, That the said bishop, because he would be well assured to foresee the satisfaction of the agreement aforesaid, that was made as is before specified, touching the matters in the papers or articles, that nothing might be imputed, determined to utter in his sermon, and did there utter, this general clause, or like in effect, viz., 'that he agreed with the superiors, and found no fault with them, but only the fault was in the lower part, touching their disobedience;' and there reproved them that brake statutes, injunctions, and proclamations, which general allowance must needs (and doth indeed) comprehend all particularities mentioned in the papers or articles, whereof the bishop was, as before, content and minded to speak.

XXXVI. Item, That in the month of June aforesaid, in the which the said bishop first appointed to make his sermon, and received the articles or papers of Master Cecil, and then made his sermon, as is above written, the said bishop, only and at one time, and no more at any time within the said month, did appear, and was personally before the king's majesty's privy council, except only one other time he was before the duke of Somerset, and the lord great master as is before rehearsed, and not before the whole council: at which time he was neither willed nor commanded to preach, nor had any articles or papers delivered him, either by the king's majesty, or by the said privy council, otherwise than afore; as by such persons as were always with him present during that time, shall more plainly appear, if need require.

XXXVII. Item, If, in the said letter of the duke of Somerset, any restraint was seemed to be made to the said bishop from entreating of some points of the sacrament of the altar and of the mass, the bishop did indeed refrain from the same points as they were devised in the said letters. And yet he was not bound to obey the same, in any wise, for divers considerations as well before specified, as also among other causes, for that the said letter was the private letter of the said duke only, and had not the subscription of the greater part of the king's majesty's privy council, or of any of them; and for that the same letter, if they should apply an absolute prohibition, as they did not, was expressly contrary and repugnant, as well to the former articles or papers, as to a letter printed and sent to all preachers, in the name of the lord protector and the whole council's names; whereof was no mention made in the said letter. And in case the said letter had been to be obeyed, yet the said bishop did not violate the tenor thereof, because it willed him only to forbear speaking of such points of the sacrament and mass, as were in contention then. But the very presence of Christ's body in the sacrament and mass was not then, amongst learned men, in any controversy, but, as a true doctrine, received, admitted, published and taught universally, by the obedient subjects in this realm; of which the bishop, in his said sermon, spake and uttered his conscience, and of no matters then in controversy, as by the articles or papers, and by the letter and other proofs (if need be) hereafter more plainly may and shall appear.

XXXVIII. Item, The said bishop was in such security of mind, upon the clearness of his conscience to have so preached as no quarrel might have been

made to him for it (and like mind and opinion was and is reported commonly, of all indifferent persons hearing the same sermon), so that the said bishop suspected not any trouble towards him there-for, till it was showed him sir Anthony Wingfield, with the guard, were arrived at the bishop's stairs, the Saturday about three or four of the clock at afternoon, being the next day following the sermon aforesaid.

XXXIX. Item, At such time as sir Ralph Sadler, accompanying the said sir Anthony Wingfield, showed the said bishop the cause of his sending to the Tower to be disobedience against the letter above spoken of, sent by the said duke; the said bishop alleged he had not offended the words of the letter; and therewith did friendly advise the said duke never to speak of that letter again. And further, the said bishop said, if he might be heard, he would declare he had not offended: wherein he desired them to be suitors, that he might not be forgotten in prison, as he was in the Fleet, but heard with more speed, and be charitably handled in the prison; wherein they promised to be suitors.

XL. Item, The said bishop, so from his house conveyed to the Tower, was there kept a secret prisoner, without suffering of any resort to him for his comfort, or himself to come abroad, to take there the air for his relief, one whole year saving six days, or thereabouts; without coming of any of the council or others to talk with him, and declare any particularity of his offence, to have omitted in his sermon, or to have said that, which might not or should not have been said.

XLI. Item, The said bishop, having only commodity (after his committing to prison to the Tower by the space of one whole year lacking but six days) to speak only with Master lieutenant, continually desired him to sue for the said bishop, that he might have license to write to the said duke of Somerset; which, in one quarter of the year, could not be obtained.

XLII. Item, That after license obtained to write, the said bishop made humble suit, by his letter, to be heard according to justice; offering himself content to abide *that* justice would; as may appear by copy of the said letter: whereunto could be obtained no answer.

XLIII. Item, That after eighteen weeks' imprisonment, the said bishop, to provoke the said duke to hear him speak, delivered to Master lieutenant the said [letter] following, to be delivered to the said duke in this form contained.

'The bishop of Winchester maketh most instant suit, to have the benefit of the laws of the realm, like an Englishman; and not to be cast in prison without bail or mainprize, without accusation or indictment, without calling to any presence to be charged with any thing; and so to remain these eighteen weeks, and could have no relief to know what is meant with him. As for his sermon, he made it by commandment to preach there; wherein he said nothing but his conscience serveth him to justify his doings therein by God's law, and the laws of the realm, the king's proclamation, the king's commandment, my lord protector's *open* letters; and not against his *privy* letters, the surety of the king's estate—the quietness of this realm—the discharge of his duty to the king's majesty—the remembrance of the kindness of the king's majesty that dead is—the declaration truly to be made of himself, in each of these points.

'I doubt not to justify my doings if I may be heard, and have the inheritance of an Englishman, to be used by course of law.'—

[Which suit, nevertheless, was not heard or regarded.]

XLIV. Item, The said bishop, complaining divers and sundry times to Master lieutenant of the precise straitness of his keeping, and, without judgment, to be in execution of death, desired him to sue, that he might be heard in justice, and be punished according to the nature of his offence as it were, and not remain in the great temptation of solitariness, able (were it not God's special help) to make a man work with man's imaginations the confusion of his wits; showing Master lieutenant, that to the king's justice and laws he submitted himself as humbly as any subject might do.

XLV. Item, That in this mean time, the servants of the said bishop made sundry suits to the said duke for the relief of their master, to be heard according to justice; of whom they received comfortable words without fruit or effect. Whereupon they delivered also a bill to the lord chancellor, to be by him

Page 787.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

opened in parliament, that the said bishop's cause might be heard there, which took no effect, so as (their manifold suits notwithstanding) the said bishop remained in close prison, destitute of all comfort and relief, and without hearing any word from the said duke or council, till it was within six or seven days (or thereabouts) of one whole year.

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XLVI. Item, That in the end of one whole year, or thereabouts, after the bishop had remained prisoner (as before) came to the Tower the lord chancellor of England then and now being, the lord treasurer, and Master secretary Peter; and, calling to them the said bishop, said in effect as followeth, viz.: That they had brought with them a book passed by the parliament, which they willed the bishop should look on, and say his mind to it; and, upon his conformity in it (they said), the duke would be a suitor to the king's majesty, for mercy to be ministered unto him.

XLVII. Item, The said bishop, making his answer to the demands and requests as here next before him proposed, said in effect as followeth: That he trusted, if he might be heard, the king's majesty's justice would relieve him, which (he added) he had long sued for, and could not be heard: saying that to sue for mercy, when he had not offended, and to sue out of that place, being in the said Tower in prison, where asking for mercy implieth further suspicion than he would, for all the world, be touched in, it were not expedient; adding, that 'not guilty' is, and hath been, a good plea for a prisoner.

XLVIII. Item, The said bishop—then being demanded of the said lord chancellor, if he were not commanded to preach of the king's authority in his young age, in his sermon aforesaid, made before the king on St. Peter's day, and yet did not—did expressly say, he was not commanded; the same lord then replying thereunto, 'Why! is not,' quoth he, 'that article in the papers ye had delivered you?' the said bishop saying, for answer thereunto, that he assured him *not;* and so likewise denied the same.

XLIX. Item, Then, after communication between the said lord chancellor and others there then present as is aforesaid, of the king's majesty's authority (wherein there was no disagreement, but therein they agreed), then my lord chancellor said to the bishop, he had disobeyed the duke of Somerset's letter; the bishop saying, that he had not—adding, that if the matter came to judgment, it should appear that he had not disobeyed his grace's letter. The same bishop, declaring further, told the same lord chancellor, that many open injunctions under seal, and in open court, had been broken in this realm; and yet the punishment thereof had not been handled or executed in such extreme sort as the said bishop was handled: and the said bishop affirmed, that it should appear sufficiently, that he had not broken or disobeyed the said letter, weighing the words of the same.

L. Item, That after some reasoning then by the bishop, with Master secretary Peter, what a controversy was, and some part what the same bishop could say further, the said bishop said to the lord chancellor and others aforesaid then present, 'Whatsoever I say or can say in this matter, ye must judge it; and, for the passion of God, do it; and let me sue for mercy, if I will have it, when the matter of offence is known:' adding, that when he were declared an offender, he would, with humility of suffering, make amends to the king's majesty so far as he were able; saying that he ought never to offend his majesty, and much less in his grace's young age.

LI. Item, That then the said lord chancellor showed to the bishop the beginning of the Act for Common Prayer; how dangerous it was to break the order of it: to whom the bishop answered, that it was true; and therefore, if he came abroad, he would be well ware of it. But the bishop said, it is after, in the act, how that no man should be troubled for that act, unless he were first indicted; and therefore, he said, he ought not to be kept in prison for that act.

LII. Item, That done, the said lord chancellor, with the others aforesaid, required the said bishop to look on the Book of Common Prayer then showed him by the lord chancellor, and to say his mind in it. The bishop answered, that he thought it not meet to yield himself a scholar to go to school in prison; and then slander himself, as though he redeemed his faults with his conscience: saying, touching this law (meaning the law and orders in that book, or concerning the same), which he said he knew not, he would honour it like an obedient subject, and, if he kept it not, he would willingly suffer the pain of it.

LIII. Item, At the same time the said bishop required my lord chancellor, and others aforesaid then present with him in the Tower, to remember that he, the said bishop, refused not the said book by the way of contempt, nor in any evil manner.

Edward VI. A. D. 1551.

LIV. Item, The said bishop then demanded of my lord chancellor, Whether he would desire the king's majesty to be his good lord: at which word the said bishop said in effect as followeth, namely: 'Alas, my lord! do you think that I have so forgotten myself?' affirming that his duty required so to do. 'And I will, on my knees, desire his grace to be my good lord and my lord protector also.' My lord chancellor—being as appeared well contented with that answer—demanded of the bishop, what he would say further: the same bishop saying, that he would say further, that he thought, when he had preached his sermon aforesaid, he had not offended at all; and that he thought so still.

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LV. Item, That the said lord chancellor, repeating the bishop's saying of his humble obedience and conformity aforesaid, demanded of the bishop, if he would submit himself to be ordered. The bishop granting that he would be content to be ordered by the laws, and staying at that point, the said lord chancellor, and others aforesaid, were content to grant the bishop, of their gentleness, to make suit for him, to procure him to be heard, and to obtain for him liberty to go into the gallery, and that he should hear from them within two days following: and yet, in a whole year after, lacking but fourteen days or thereabouts, the said bishop was never spoken withal concerning that matter, notwithstanding he sent two letters, whereof mention is made in the next article following, to the king's majesty's council, of most humble request to be heard in that matter according to justice, whereunto he obtained no answer.

LVI. Item, After committing the said duke to the Tower, the said bishop wrote in two sundry letters to the whole council, with lamentable complaint of his misery, and humble request to be heard according to justice; whereunto he received no answer.

LVII. Item, After the said bishop had remained in close prison two whole years saving fourteen days or thereabouts, came to the Tower the duke of Somerset, the lord treasurer, the lord privy seal, the lord great chamberlain, and master secretary Peter, and called before them the said bishop, unto whom they said, that they came specially sent to know his conformity: unto whom the said bishop said, he was ever ready to show as much conformity as ever any subject did, which was, to be contented to be ordered by justice, whereunto he submitted himself, and had long sued for it; and desired them, for the passion of God, that he might come to some end of this matter by it, much lamenting unto them the manner of his long detaining in prison, and after that sort, and never could be heard. It was then said, he should not do well to stick so much to the demand of justice, thereby to make the whole council party against him. And after many persuasions to rid himself out of prison other ways, as others had done, he ever answered, there could nothing, in his mind, countervail the displeasure [he should feel, in] saying otherwise than truth of himself. And after many more words it was moved to him, to let all be forgotten that was by-past, and to show them what report they should make of him to the king's majesty.

LVIII. Item, The said bishop, being demanded how they should make report as is aforesaid, said, as to the king's majesty, he professed himself an humble and obedient subject, always ready to his duty, to observe all such things as were set forth in his commonwealth; or, if he did not, to suffer the pains appointed to be suffered by the offender.

LIX. Item, That the sayings of the said bishop should be reported as is aforesaid, was well liked; but they asked him then, whether he would agree to the Book of Common Prayer or no; whereunto he said, he knew it not; but, as soon as he was out of prison, he would, incontinent, show what he thought therein; and, if he liked it, not yield himself willingly to be punished. Page 788.

LX. Item, It was then required, that the said bishop should give answer in prison to the said book: whereunto he said, that in so doing he should slander himself, and be seen to grant for fear, what else he would not; and it should somewhat touch them to be seen, by weariness of prison, to fear him to it. To this reason the duke of Somerset replied thus in effect, namely: 'If it be worse for the council to have your agreement in prison than out of prison—if the council choose the worse—be you contented.' And therewith he required the

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

bishop, for his sake, to show so much conformity as to remit it to the council, whether they would have answer in prison, or at the said bishop's house: whereunto the said bishop condescended.

LXI. Item, That at the same time there was much other communication, and that it ended in this resolution; with as much gentleness showed on their part to the said bishop, as he could desire.

LXII. Item, Over the premises, the bishop was bold to tell them, it was a marvellous matter to keep one in such close prison solitary two years—as the said bishop was kept—and then to ask him of a fault; unless it were for murder, felony, or treason. And the said bishop said, it was such a new diet, it would purge a man, even though he had as many other faults than those three, as Job had sores. And so, for that time, the said bishop parted with them.

LXIII. Item, The Saturday following, they repaired to the Tower again, and the lord Chobham with them, and demanded the answer of the said bishop to the book of Common Prayer, which had been sent to the said bishop in the mean season from them: unto whom the said bishop answered in this wise—That book he would not have made after that form, but, as it was, he could with his conscience keep it, and cause others in his diocese to keep it, and diligently see that it should be kept, and the offenders punished. Which answer was well accepted, and the said bishop required to write it; which he desired they would not require of him, because, by so doing, he should seem to grant himself an offender. It was then asked, whether master secretary Peter should write it; wherewith the said bishop was content; who then wrote very faithfully. And then the word was scanned, whether 'to keep it' contained every part of it: to take away which doubt, the said bishop was content they should put in, 'every part of it,' because he meant so; and that he would not halt or fail in any part of it that he should promise.

LXIV. Item, The said bishop was required to subscribe what was written; who made request to pardon him thereof, and desired them not to require that which would serve them to no purpose, and yet imply him to be an offender: wherewith they were content. The said bishop then told them why he liked the said book, and noted unto them how, notwithstanding the alteration, yet touching the truth of the very presence of Christ's most precious body and blood in the sacrament, there was as much spoken in that book as might be desired; and that although the elevation was taken away, yet the alteration, in one special place, was indeed reserved: and showed it them, adding, it must needs be so; affirming also, there was never more spoken for the sacrament than in that book, wherewith might be confuted all that spoke against it, if they would take it for authority.

LXV. Item, Further the said bishop showed them how he liked the declaration of the cause of the change, in the end of the book; whereby appeared the catholic doctrine not to be touched, but only ceremonies removed; which, the said bishop said, was wisely handled.

LXVI. Item, After the aforesaid communication, the duke of Somerset said, 'There is another book for making of priests. What say you to that?' Whereunto the bishop, pulling it out of his bosom, said, it was no matter by their former appointment to be answered in prison: and trusted it not in any force of any law, neither thought it a matter necessary for them that had inheritance to look on, because, in the said bishop's judgment, it touched the honour and dignity of the king's person and succession, who, by this order, should never after be anointed, having no Samuel left to execute it; 'and it is a terrible saying, Cessabit unctio vestra; and the book of Common Prayer admitteth unction with baptism, which the priest, not anointed, cannot minister.' Whereunto was no reply made, but it was said, that the said bishop should find other faults than that in it. As for that, the bishop said there was matter like all other points of other laws, which either must be kept and observed, or the punishment appointed to be suffered for breach of them: after which sort the said bishop desired he might be admitted to live without any other specialty in his person, but to be taken as another bishop of the realm.

LXVII. Item, When the same bishop saw, that notwithstanding his answer made, and conformity showed as much as was required, and that nevertheless they did not discharge him, then he returned to his former request of justice, to be so discharged by the end thereof: whereunto the lord great chamberlain

said, he liked better the saying of the said bishop at their other being there, of the new duty. The bishop said, every end were better to him, than to be thus worn out with lingering in prison: and then it was said, it should not be long now; even within two days. The bishop desired they would send him home that night; whereunto was said, they must speak with the council again, 'and things must be done as they may be done, and in order:' whereunto the said bishop, taking his leave, said, there were more respects than were in his time, in the council; and so ended the communication with the said duke and others.

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

LXVIII. Item, That by reason of the communication, agreement, and conformity aforesaid, a common voice, fame, and report, went and was sped through the Tower, the city of London, and the suburbs of the same, and divers other places near to the said city—that the said bishop should, within two days, be at liberty. And upon the said conformity and agreement, the bishop was suffered, by the lieutenant, to make his farewell feast, according as is, and hath been, used and observed there, when any personage of dignity, that hath there remained prisoner any continuance of time (as the bishop had done), is discharged, or granted to be delivered from prison; and by reason of the agreement, and other considerations aforesaid, the bishop only hearkened from day to day for commandment to be discharged of his imprisonment.

LXIX. Item, That three weeks or a month after, or thereabouts, came to the Tower the lord treasurer, the earl of Warwick lord great master, William Harbert, and master secretary Peter, who, calling to them the said bishop, delivered to him the king's majesty's letters, which letters the said bishop received at the hands of the said lord treasurer on his knees, according to his bounden duty, and kissed them; and, still on his knees, read them. And after he had thoroughly read them, he much lamented that he should be commanded to say of himself as was there written, whereby to say otherwise of himself than his conscience would suffer him; and, where his deeds would not, as he trusted, condemn him, there to condemn himself with his tongue, he would sooner, he said, by commandment (as he then thought), if they would bid him, tumble himself desperately into the Thames.

LXX. Item, The lord earl of Warwick then, seeing the bishop in that agony, said to the bishop, 'What say you, my lord, to the other articles?' Whereunto the bishop answered, that he was loth to disobey where he might obey, and not hurt his conscience, destroying the comfort of it, as to say untruly of himself. And then, being demanded of the said earl if he would subscribe the other articles, the bishop said, he would subscribe them; but then the article that touched him and his conscience, which was to say untruly of himself, should be put out. And to that, answer was made, that the same needed not to be put out, for he might write on the side, what he would say unto it.

LXXI. Item, That then the said bishop, being then very gently entertained, namely of the said earl of Warwick, had pen and ink given him, and wrote, to the article that touched him, these words in effect, namely, 'I cannot with my conscience thus say of myself.' And there followed an article of the king's majesty's supremacy, unto which the bishop began to write on the side of that, and had made an 'I' onward, as may appear by the same articles. And because the lords and others of the privy council aforesaid would not have him so do, but to write only his name after the articles, he did so as they willed him, whereat they were right well contented and pleased: the said bishop then merrily saying to them, that by that mean, he had placed his subscription above them all.

Page 789.

LXXII. Item, This done, the said lords and others aforesaid, very gently entertained the said bishop; and after the said bishop had somewhat declared unto them the misery of his imprisonment, he desired them not to be miscontent with what he should say, which was, he said, that when he remembered each one of them alone, he could not think otherwise of them, but they were his good lords; and yet, when they met together, he felt no remedy at their hands; adding, that he looked when my lord of Somerset was there with him at the Tower, to go out with him in two days, and that he had thereupon made his farewell feast in the Tower, and that since that time there was a month past, or thereabouts; saying, 'I had agreed with them, and now I agree with you

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

[meaning the lords and other of the privy council aforesaid, then, as is aforesaid, being with him in the Tower]; and yet I may fortune to be forgotten. The lord treasurer said, he should not be forgotten, and that the same bishop should hear from them the next day. And so, by their commandment, the bishop came out of the chamber after them, that they might be seen to depart from the bishop friendly, and his good lords and friends. And so, after that manner they departed; whereby, and by other the premises, it may appear of no contempt or disobedience of the said bishop's part, as is pretended in the articles laid in the behalf against him; insomuch that then the bishop (by reason of his subscription aforesaid, according to the requests made to him therein, and for other his conformity) took and esteemed verily in his conscience, to have been a whole satisfaction to the king's majesty's letters.

LXXIII. Item, That at the same time, among other treaties and communication had betwixt the said lords and others of the council, and the bishop, it was said by some of the same council, that others would have put in many more articles than those which they brought with them, but they would have no more but the same articles aforesaid, which were, by the said bishop, subscribed as is above rehearsed.

LXXIV. Item, The next day after the being in the Tower (as is aforesaid) of the lord treasurer, the earl of Warwick, and others,—came unto the bishop aforesaid, sir William Harbert and master secretary Peter, to devise with him, how he should make some acknowledging of his fault (as they said). Whereunto the bishop answered, that he knew himself innocent, and for him to do anything therein by his words or writing, it could have no policy in it; for, if he did more esteem liberty of body, than defamation of himself, he said—yet, when he had so done with them, he was not assured by them to come out, for and he were, by his own pen, made a naughty man, yet then he were not the more sure to come out, but had locked himself the more surely in; and a small pleasure it were for him, to have his body at liberty by their procurement, and to have his conscience in a perpetual prison by his own act. And after divers other words and persuasions made by the said sir William Harbert and sir William Peter, the said bishop, having just cause, required them for the passion of God, that his matter might take an end by justice; and so they departed, there being no contempt or disobedience showed on the behalf of the said bishop, but only allegation for his just defence, and declaration of his innocency, in the best manner he could devise.

LXXV. Item, That the Monday next and immediately following, or thereabouts, came to the said bishop, to the Tower, the bishop of London, sir William Harbert, master secretary Peter, and one other person unknown to the bishop, bringing with them a paper, with certain articles written in it, to which they required him to subscribe. Whereupon the said bishop most instantly required them, that this matter might be tried by justice, which, although it were some time more grievous, yet it hath a commodity with it, that it endeth certainly the matter. And because he could come to no assured state, he was loth to meddle with any more articles, or trouble himself with them; and yet, because they desired him so instantly, he was content to read them: and so did read them, and (to show still his perfect obedience and obedient mind) offered, that incontinently upon his deliverance out of prison, he would make answer to them all, such as he would abide by, and suffer pain for if he deserved it. Finally, his request was, that they would in this form make his answer to the lords of the council in effect as followeth; namely, That the said bishop most humbly thanketh them for their good will to deliver him by way of mercy; but, because of respect for his innocent conscience, he had rather have justice. He desired them (seeing both were in the king's majesty's hands), that he might have *it*, which, if it happened to be more grievous unto him, he would impute it to himself, and evermore thank them for their good will. And so the bishop and they departed, no manner of misbehaviour or evil demeanour in anywise showed on behalf of the said bishop.

LXXVI. Item, That upon a Saturday at afternoon, being the 19th day of July last past, at the time of even-song, in the chapel at the court in Westminster, the said bishop being before the lords of the king's majesty's privy council, the said lords affirmed, They were all his judges by special commission, and intended to proceed against him: and willed him to subscribe to certain articles

which were then read, and that he should directly make answer, whether he would subscribe them or no. To whom the bishop, making humble answer on his knees, said as in effect followeth; namely, 'For the passion of God I require you to be my good lords, and let me be tried by justice, whether I be in fault or no; and as for these articles, as soon as you deliver me to liberty, I will make answer to them, and abide such pain as the answer deserveth, if it deserve any.

Edward VI. A.D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

LXXVII. Item, That, immediately, the lords of the council aforesaid said to the bishop, that he must answer directly, whether he would subscribe the aforesaid articles or no: the bishop answering to the same in effect as followeth; namely, That the same articles were of divers natures, and that some of them were laws which he might not qualify; some were no laws, but learning and fact, which might have divers understandings, and that a subscription to them without telling and declaring what he meant, were over dangerous; and, therefore, he required a copy of the said articles, and offered, for the more evident declaration of his obedience to all their requests—in effect—that, although he were a prisoner, and not at liberty, yet, if they would deliver him the articles, to have in prison with him, he would shortly make them particular answers, and suffer the pains of the law, that by his answer he should incur, if the same were worthy of any pain. And after this manner he eftsoons offered himself ready to make answer, with all conformity and obedience of his part; which would not be accepted, but that in anywise he should make his absolute subscription incontinently to the said articles, as by the acts and process there then written (to which he referred himself, as much as is need and expedient for him, and none otherwise), and by other proofs, should appear.

LXXVIII. Item, If any decree of sequestration of the fruits of the bishopric of Winchester was, at the time aforesaid, made by the forenamed councillors of the king's majesty's privy council, specially appointed by commission for that purpose, as they pretended, the same sequestration, and all things containing the same—for the causes above respectfully specified, and because therein they exceeded the manner of correction, and other the premises considered, and that the same their pretensed decree was notoriously in that behalf excessive; specially other great and intolerable punishments aforesaid unjustly weighed, and also, in that it was made without knowledge of the cause, and the due order of the laws pretermitted without any cause reasonable, and contrary to the laws, without any proof in that behalf made or had; the said bishop neither confessing any thing whereby they might or ought so to proceed, nor being in anywise thereupon convicted,—was and is (the honour, dignity, and reverence of the said most honourable council always saved) unjust, unlawful, and of no efficacy or effect; and so, by law, ought to be pronounced, taken, and declared. Page 790.

LXXIX. Item, That if in any part of the pretended decree of sequestration—at the time thereof, or immediately after—there were any intimation or monition with commination made to the bishop aforesaid, that he should, within three months next following the said intimation, reconcile and submit himself, with commination to proceed to deprivation if he did not, and that now the same three months be past and expired, as is untruly deduced in the seventeenth and eighteenth articles of the objections aforesaid, yet the same intimation, monition, and commination, for the cause above specified, was and is unjust, unlawful, and, by the law, of no value or efficacy; and also, over and besides the causes aforesaid, in that the said pretensed intimation, monition, and commination, were given and made under manner, form, condition, and effect following, namely, that the bishop, by the space of three months then next ensuing, should have, at every month's end, pen and ink, to write and see if he would subscribe the said articles; and, of truth, never since that time was there, to that intent and purpose, any pen and ink brought him, neither yet were the said articles or any copy of them delivered to the said bishop, being since continually still in the Tower, nor yet was he at any time since required, willed, or commanded so to do, nor could have the use of a pen or ink within the compass of the said three months, nor come to the presence of the council: and that it is notorious, that the said bishop hath been continually, ever since that time—like as he was before and yet is—a prisoner in the Tower of London.

LXXX. Item, That from the same pretensed sequestration, monition, and commination aforesaid, and from all things concerning the same, the said

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

bishop, within ten days next and immediately following, being in the Tower a prisoner, having no liberty, nor pen, nor ink, nor yet notary, nor other witness there but his own servants, did first, before his said servants, protest of the nullity of the pretensed sequestration, intimation, monition, and commination; and did appeal and intimate the same to my lord of Canterbury, and other the commissioners aforesaid in this matter, at Lambeth. And, within ten days next and immediately after that, he had council assigned him; and that, according to the counsel of such of the laws as were appointed to him, he caused an appellation querele, allegation, and protestation, to be conceived and made in due form and order of law, and did appeal before a notary or two and a multitude of witnesses, my lord of Canterbury and other commissioners being then present, and hearing the same thoroughly read: whereupon he required the said notary to make him one or sundry instruments in that behalf, and all that were there present to bear witness and testify the same. And this is true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous.

LXXXI. Item, That the said bishop did, in the mean time, sue to master lieutenant, and to master marshal, to obtain hearing of the council, or to be put to bail: whereunto the bishop could never get answer, or know what should be done with him, till the instant time after seven of the clock in the morning, when he must incontinently be led to answer at Lambeth, before the lord archbishop of Canterbury and other judges appointed to proceed in this pretensed matter of deprivation.

LXXXII. Item, That a continual humble suit for ministration of justice can be, by no law or reason, accounted or taken for any obstinacy, contempt, refusal, disobedience, or any point of fault; but as a declaration of the demanders' confidence and trust in the superiors' equity and indifferency, much to their honour and estimation; and much more than by demanding of mercy before judgment, which, in him that hath a clear conscience in the fault pretensed, implieth a mistrust and diffidence in the administration of justice: which opinion the said bishop cannot conceive, nor thinketh meet to be persuaded of the superiors; and, therefore, hath continually made that request and suit for justice.

LXXXIII. Item, That forasmuch as in the act of Parliament, Of the uniformity and service of the administration of the Sacraments, is plainly declared in this wise; namely, 'And albeit the king's majesty, with the advice of his entirely beloved uncle the lord protector and other of his highness's council, hath heretofore-times essayed to stay innovations or new rites concerning the premises, yet the same hath not had so good success as his highness required, in that behalf,' etc., thereby it evidently appeareth, that the said bishop's preaching against those that of themselves made innovations, ought therefore specially to be commended and allowed, because he did therein his bounden duty, and furthered and advanced the king's majesty's purpose as much as in him was: and that all secret letters of the said duke's, speeches, or sayings, contrary to the determination of the king's majesty and the council, declared in the said act, ought not to be reputed of any force or strength whereby now to trouble the said bishop.

LXXXIV. Item, The said bishop, as well at the time of his committing to prison to the Tower, as before and since the same time, hath always been, and yet is, as humble, ready, willing, and desirous, as any obedient subject ought to be, to do, accomplish, and fulfil, any commandment, request, or other thing, that shall be moved and made to him, either by the king's majesty, or by the lords of his most honourable council, whatsoever it be, so that it be agreeable in his conscience to God's laws, and to the laws and statutes of this realm, and to the proclamations, and ordinances, and injunctions, set forth by the king's majesty's authority, in this his realm. And so by these presents, under protestation aforesaid, he offereth himself now most ready to do as is aforesaid, in all things.

LXXXV. Item, That the premises above written, all and singular, be true, and, according as is above written, such of the premises be public, notorious, manifest, and famous, and so be above specified; and upon them (so specified to be public, notorious, manifest, and famous) goeth and laboureth a public and common voice and fame, which things and matters above specified, all and singular, the said bishop (saving always his protestations above expressed) pur-

poseth and offereth ready to prove the same jointly and severally, under the said protestations, according to the law, at time and place convenient: and, under the same protestations, asketh justice to be ministered unto him on and upon the premises jointly and severally; not compelling him to prove every and singular things, clauses, matters, articles, or points of the premises, neither to the charge of superfluous proving of them, whereof he here specially and expressly maketh his protestations.

And thus much for the long matter justificatory, exhibited by Gardiner, in this present act, unto the commissioners. Now, to proceed further: in this fourth act the said Gardiner, after this matter thus exhibited as is above said, did also, under his said protestation, exhibit a certain letter,[1] to him (as he said) sent from the duke of Somerset, inasmuch as the same concerned his full answers to the positions, and made for his full answers; and not otherwise. And therewith he also gave in his answers to the positions afore not fully answered, the promoters accepting the contents as well of the said letters, as of his answers, as far as they made for the office, and not otherwise; and further alleging, that the bishop had not fully answered; and therefore requiring, that he be pronounced 'contumax;' and in pain thereof, be declared 'pro confesso' upon those positions whereunto it was not fully answered: the said bishop, under his said protestation, alleging that he had fully answered, as far as he was bound by law, referring himself to all his answers, and to the law, and to the letters and matters aforesaid.

Then the promoters (protesting of the nullity and generality, invalidity and inefficacy, of the said matter), alleged that the same did not conclude in law, and therefore ought not to be admitted; and Page 791. therefore they required the same to be rejected: the said bishop, under his said protestations, requiring the same to be admitted as afore. Then the judges assigned to hear their pleasure as well upon the said answers as upon the said matters, upon the Monday following, at the same time and place, to which assignation the said bishop (under his said protestations) dissented, and required a letter by him, as before exhibited, to be registered, and the original to be to him re-delivered: which was decreed.

THE FIFTH SESSION AGAINST GARDINER.

The fifth appearance or session of the aforesaid bishop was on the 12th day of January, anno 1551, in the forenoon of that day, before the judges, and in the place, as it was in the last session; the said actuaries being present. It was assigned, then and there, to hear the judges' pleasure upon the bishop's answers, and the matter by him proposed.

The promoters did allege, that the bishop had not fully answered to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and nineteenth positions, as by them is before alleged (referring themselves to the answers, and to the law), and therefore did accuse the contumacy of the bishop. And he, being commanded to make full answer thereunto, and not full answering, they did, as afore, desire him to be pronounced 'contumax;' and, in pain thereof, to be declared 'pro confesso,' upon the parts of those positions, whereunto he had not fully answered:—the said

(1) This letter, because it is placed and expressed before, needeth not here to be recited, which is to be found page 86.

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

bishop, under his former protestations, saying, that he ought not to be so pronounced and declared, for that he did not refuse to make answer, but upon the judge's decree and declaration made: that wherein he hath not fully answered, he would then make answer accordingly. And after disputation had on both sides upon the matter, the judges admonished the said bishop to make full answers to the said positions already not fully answered, on Monday the 26th day of the same month, the same time and place, under pain of the law. After this, the said judges, at the said bishop's request, under his former protestation, admitted the matter aforesaid, inasmuch as the law would the same matter to be admitted, and not otherwise; the said promoters accepting the contents in the said matter, as far as the same did make for the office, and none otherwise.

Then the said judges assigned to the said bishop (for a term to prove the contents of his said matter) Monday the 26th day of January, the same time and place; and every judicial day between this and that, to produce his witnesses upon intimation thereof made to the promoters of the office; and further offered to the said bishop, that in case he would nominate his witnesses, he should have (if he would require) letters from the said judges to the said witnesses, to command them with speed to come to answer, and be examined without further compulsory process.

The copy of the letter sent to the several witnesses, here followeth.

The Letter from the Judges to Gardiner's Witnesses.

After our commendations, we signify unto you, that whereas the bishop of Winchester thinketh your testimony necessary for declaration and proof of the truth, as he saith, in a cause depending before us and others, the king's majesty's commissioners, and doubteth lest, upon his own request, ye will not willingly come, without certain advertisement from us, thereby to mean no displeasure or danger: these shall be to do you to wit, that ye may, without all blame and lack, upon request unto you made, repair to bear witness in that matter after the truth, and your conscience. And, to the intent the matter now depending by your absence be not delayed and deferred, we likewise charge you and command you, upon sight hereof, to repair to London with all convenient speed, to depose and testify in the said matter as afore: and therefore will you to use what diligence you can, whereby to avoid that may be objected unto you for the contrary. Thus fare ye well.

Your loving friends,

T. Canterbury,	John Oliver,
N. London,	John Gosnall,
William Peter,	Griffith Leyson.

From Lambeth, the 16th day of January, anno 1551.

And further the said judges declared, that if at that day (the bishop in the mean time using due diligence for production of his witnesses) there should appear sufficient cause to grant him a longer day to prove, that then they would prorogue his said term further, as should be requisite: the bishop, under his said protestations, dissenting to the assignation to prove, for shortness of the time assigned. After this, upon motion made that the bishop should constitute proctors, to produce his said witnesses for him, the said bishop, under his said protestation, alleging and protesting that these causes were criminal, and that he therefore could not, by the law, constitute a proctor; nevertheless, under protestation also that by his constitution he intended not to alter the nature of his cause, did constitute Master Thomas Dockwray, John Clerk, proctors of the Arches, James Basset, James Wingfield, and Thomas Somerset, gentlemen, jointly and severally his proctors, to appear for him, and in his name, before the said judges; and to produce witnesses necessary in that behalf, and to require them to be received, sworn, and examined; and, further, to do all things needful and requisite in that behalf, promising to ratify and stand to their doings in the premises and other his said protestations; requiring a copy of all the acts and exhibits in this cause: to whom it was so decreed.

THE SIXTH ACT AGAINST GARDINER.

Another act or session was held on Saturday the 17th day of January, in the bishop of London's palace, before the said bishop, and the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, Master Dr. Oliver, and Master Gosnall, commissioners, in the presence of Thomas Argall and William Say, actuaries.

The said day and place, appeared before the said judges Master Thomas Somerset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, by him constituted the last court day; and, under the said bishop's former protestations, he exhibited the said proxy, and, making himself party for the said bishop, produced William Coppinger and John Davy, for witnesses upon Articles XL. XLI. XLII. XLIII. XLIV. LV. LVI. LXVIII. LXXIX. LXXX. and LXXXI. of the matter laid in by the bishop; requiring them to be charged with a corporal oath in form of law, to testify the truth thereupon. At whose request the judges did onerate the said witness with a corporal oath upon the holy evangelists, to depose the whole and plain truth as well upon the said articles as upon the whole cause, and upon such interrogatories as should be ministered unto them, in presence of Masters Lewes and Clapham, promoters of the office, protesting to say against them and their sayings, in case and as far as they should depose against the office. The copy of the which interrogatories as well against Coppinger and Davy, as others undernamed, followeth in these words:— Page 792.

Interrogatories ministered against William Coppinger, John Davy, and William Bell, Nicholas Lentall, and Richard Hampden, John Seton, doctor of divinity, William Medow, clerk, Thomas Watson, clerk, and Robert Massey, pretensed Witnesses, brought in and sworn in, of the Bishop of Winchester's part.

First, it was asked of every of the said pretensed witnesses, Whether he is or hath been servant retained or belonging to the said bishop, and how long he hath been servant so retained or belonging; and what wages, livery, annuity, or advancement, he hath or hath had, of the said bishop.

Item, Whether he hath any affection, and what affection, toward the said bishop and his matter, in this cause moved and depending against the said bishop.

Item, Whether they or any of them do earnestly covet and desire that the bishop may overcome in this matter, and have the victory: yea or nay.

Item, If any of the said witnesses shall at any time seem to say anything prejudicial unto the office promoted against the said bishop, or sounding to his discharge, let it be asked of the cause of his knowledge, and let him express the same.

And thus much for the interrogatories against Coppinger and others. Concerning the depositions of the witnesses here produced, ye shall see more at large in the twentieth session, until the which session we have deferred all other depositions of witnesses, as well of the one part as of the other, there the whole to be read and seen together.

THE SEVENTH SESSION AGAINST GARDINER.

The Seventh Appearance or Action of the forenamed Bishop was in the Council-chamber at Greenwich, on Monday the 19th day of January, anno 1551, before the Bishops of Ely and Lincoln, Master Secretary Peter, and Master Doctor Leyson, Judges delegate; the Actuaries, as before, being present.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

The said day and place, appeared Master James Wingfield, and Master James Basset, proctors, constituted at the last session (which was the 12th day of January) in this cause, by the bishop of Winchester; and, under the bishop's former protestations, did exhibit the proxy to them in that behalf made, and produced the right honourable personages here undernamed being of the king's majesty's most honourable privy council; that is to say, the duke of Somerset's grace, on articles I. II. III. IV. X. XVII. XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV. XXVII. XXVIII. XLV. XLVII. XLVIII. LIX. LX. LXI. LXII. LXIII. LXIV. LXV. LXVI. LXVII. LXXVI. LXXVII.: the earl of Wiltshire, lord treasurer, on articles I. II. III. IV. X. XVII. XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV. XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII. XLVI. XLVII. XLVIII. XLIX. L. LI. LII. LIII. LIV. LV. LVII. LVIII. LIX. LX. LXI. LXII. LXIII. LXIV. LXV. LXVI. LXVII. LXIX. LXX. LXXI. LXXII. LXXIII. LXXVI. LXXVII.: the earl of Warwick, lord great master, on articles I. II. III. IV. LXIX. LXX. LXXI. LXXII. LXXIII. LXXVI. LXXVII.: the earl of Bedford, lord privy seal, on articles I. II. III. IV. LVII. LVIII. LIX. LX. LXI. LXII. LXIII. LXIV. LXV. LXVI. LXVII.: the marquis of Northampton, lord great chamberlain, on articles I. II. III. IV. V. LII LVIII. LIX. LX. LXI. LXII. LXIII. LXIV. LXV. LXVI. LXVII. LXXVI. LXXVII.: sir William Harbert, master of the horse, on articles I. II. III. IV. LXIX. LXX. LXXI. LXXII. LXXIII. LXXIV. LXXV. LXXVI. LXXVII.: the lord Chobham, on articles LXIII. LXIV. LXV. LXVI. and LXVII. of the matter proposed by the bishop. Which said honourable personages they required to be admitted, sworn, and examined, as witnesses thereupon, as the law in that behalf required; the said honourable personages declaring, that such personages of dignity as they, were privileged, by the laws of the realm, not to be sworn after the common form, as other persons and witnesses are accustomably sworn: nevertheless promising, upon their truth to God, their allegiance to our sovereign lord the king's majesty, and their honours and fidelities, to depose the very truth that they knew in that behalf. Whom the said judges did so onerate upon their truth and allegiance to God, and the king's majesty, and upon their honours and fidelities, to depose the very truth, as well upon the said articles, as also upon the whole cause, in presence of Master Clapham, promoter of the office, then and there requiring them to be so onerated upon the whole cause, and with due reverence approving the honourable personages of the said witnesses; protesting, nevertheless, to use the benefit of the law against their sayings (their honours always saved), in case and as far as the same should be seen in law to make against the office; and requiring them to be likewise examined upon such interrogatories as should be ministered unto them by the office; they likewise, as afore, promising, and by the judges onerated, to declare and answer the truth thereunto, according to their knowledge in this behalf.[1]

THE EIGHTH SESSION AGAINST GARDINER.

The eighth session or court day was holden upon the cause of the bishop of Winchester, in the place of the lord chancellor lord Riche, at Great St. Bartholomew's, before the archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the king's commissioners, in the presence of the aforesaid actuaries, on the twelfth day, the 20th day of January, anno 1551.

The same day and place, appeared before the said judges Master James Basset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, constituted the last court day; and, under the said bishop's former protestations he exhibited the said proxy; and, making himself party for the said bishop, produced the right honourable lord chancellor of England, as witness upon articles I. II. III. IV. XLV. XLVI. XLVII. XLVIII. XLIX. L. LI. LII. LIII. LIV. and LV. of the matter laid in by the bishop; whom he required to be admitted, sworn, and examined, as a witness, according to the law; the said lord chancellor declaring, that honourable personages being of dignity and office

(1) The attestation of these noble personages here produced we have likewise deferred to the twentieth session, with the rest there to be read and seen at large.

(as he was), are by the laws of the realm privileged not to be sworn in common form, as other witnesses accustomably do swear; promising nevertheless, upon his truth to God, his allegiance to our sovereign lord the king's majesty, and upon his fidelity, to testify the truth that he doth know, in this behalf: whom the said judges did so onerate upon his truth to God, allegiance to thy king's majesty, and upon his honour and fidelity, to depose the plain and whole truth, as far as he knew, as well upon the said articles, as also upon the whole cause, in presence of master Clapham, promoter of the office, approving the honourable personage of the said lord, and yet protesting to say against his sayings, in case and as far as they should be seen in law to make against the office; and requiring his lordship to be examined upon such interrogatories as should be ministered unto him by the office; his lordship (like as afore) promising, and by the judges onerated, to declare and answer the truth thereunto, according to his knowledge.

Edward VI. A.D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.* Page 793.

Concerning this noble personage of the lord chancellor here produced, who was then Master Wriothesley, understand, gentle reader, that though we find him here produced and sworn, yet we find not his depositions in any place. Whether he did depose at all, or not, I am not able to say. And this, by the way, concerning that man. Now to the matter.

This being done, the said James Basset, proctor aforesaid, and under the protestations above recited, did intimate to the said lord chancellor, the appellation[1] and querelation made be the said bishop of Winchester, as he said; and did show the instrument thereof made.

After this, the said James Basset, under the former protestations, did produce the worshipful John Baker, knight, upon articles I. II. III. and IV. of the matter aforesaid, requiring that he might swear and be examined upon the same. At whose request the said judges did onerate the said sir John Baker with an oath upon the holy evangelists, to declare the truth he knew upon the same articles, and upon the interrogatories that should be ministered by the office; the aforesaid master Clapham approving his person, and yet protesting, as before he protested of the lord chancellor.

Interrogatories ministered by the Office.

I. Imprimis: Whether ye know, or have heard say, that the late king of famous memory, king Henry the Eighth, father of our sovereign lord the king's majesty that now is (for sundry causes him moving, and specially for that he

(1) As touching this appellation, ye heard before in the third session, page 100; and as concerning the instrument the tenor thereof here now ensueth:

The Tenor of the Instrument made upon the Appellation above expressed in the Third Session of this Process.

In Dei nomine, Amen. Præsentis publici instrumenti serie cunctis evidenter appareat et notum sit, quòd—anno ab incarnatione Domini 1550, regnique excellentissimi et invictissimi principis et domini nostri Edwardi Sexti, Dei gratiâ Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regis, fidei defensoris, et in terris ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremi capitis, quarto, mensis quidem Decembris die 23—reverendus in Christo pater et dominus, dominus Stephanus, permissione divinâ Wintoniensis episcopus (coram reverendissimo in Christo patre et domino, domino Thoma permissione divinâ Cantuariensis archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ primate et metropolitano, una cum aliis ejusdem serenissimæ Regiæ majestatis judicibus delegatis, sive commissariis, tunc in aula manerii ipsius reverendissimi domini archiepiscopi apud Lambehithe, in Wintoniensi diœcese, judicialiter et pro tribunali, sedentibus, personaliter constitutus) in nostrâ notariorum subscriptorum præsentiâ quasdem appellationem, apostolorum petitionem, querelam, et protestationem, simul et scriptis conceptas et recitatas, fecit, legit, et interposuit; appellavitque, apostolos petiit, querelavit, et protestatus est, ceteraque fecit et exercuit, prout in scriptis hujusmodi per eum tunc ibidem publice lectis plenius continebatur, tenore subsequentis. 'In Dei nomine, Amen. Coram vobis, &c.' Super quibus omnibus et singulis idem reverendus pater appellans, nos notarios subscriptos sibi unum vel plura, publicum vel publica, instrumentum vel instrumenta, conficere, testesque inferius nominatos testimonia veritati perhibere, instanter rogavit et requisivit. Acta fuere præmissa, omnia et singula, prout supra scribuntur et recitantur, sub anno Domini regnique Regiæ majestatis, mense, die, et loco, prædictis: præsentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus viris, magistris Richardo Liel, Galfrido Glinne, Johanne Fuller, Wilhelmo Jeffrie, Richardo Standish, David Lewis, legum doctoribus; Johanne Lewis, David Clapham et Johanne Clerke, notariis publicis; et aliis complurimis in multitudine copiosa tunc ibidem congregatis testibus, ad præmissa testificanda specialiter rogatis et requisitis. [See Edition 1563, page 793.—Ed.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

judged and esteemed the bishop of Winchester nothing well pleased with the proceedings of the realm in matters of religion) misliked the said bishop, and was much offended with him?

II. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that for the suspicion conceived of the said bishop, as is aforesaid, his highness did forbear and refuse to have him named among other bishops and learned men, which were appointed to make the books last set forth by his majesty, touching a uniformity in matters of religion?

III. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that for the causes aforesaid, and other great considerations him specially moving, he reputed the said bishop for a man vehemently suspected to favour the bishop of Rome?

IV. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that the said late king, expressly willed him (the said bishop), no more to be of the privy council with the king's majesty our sovereign lord that now is; and omitted, and expressly refused, to have him named among other councillors, in his testament, to be of the council, as is aforesaid?

V. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that the said bishop, being aforenamed as an executor in the testament of the said late king, was, a little before his death, at his declaring of his last will, put out by his highness, and so by him refused to be one of his said executors? for what causes the said bishop was so put out, and what the said late king said of the said bishop at the same time?

VI. Item, Whether you know, or have heard say, that the said bishop is, and in the time of our late sovereign lord hath been, commonly reputed and accepted a man much favouring the authority and proceedings of the bishop of Rome, and, as such a one, an adversary to the king's majesty's godly proceedings for reformation of abuses in religion in the court, in his diocese, and elsewhere, among such as be men of good understanding; and knoweth him commonly accepted and taken as such, and that such is the common and public fame in the court, in his said diocese, or elsewhere in this realm?

VII. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that to such of his diocese as favour the king's majesty's godly proceedings, he hath been and is an offence or slander; and whether it is probably thought by them, that he, the said bishop, hath been and is, a great hinderance to the said proceedings; and for such a one hath been and is by them commonly reputed and taken.

VIII. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that he—being commanded in the king's majesty's name, for the avoiding of tumult, and upon other urgent considerations, not to treat of anything in controversy concerning the communion or sacrament of the altar and the mass—contrary to that commandment, spake, among other things, these words following, or like in effect; namely, That the very presence of Christ's most precious body and blood is present in the sacrament, to feed us, which was given to redeem us, and that Christ consecrated himself to be a memorial of himself; and that it was the same Christ that was offered then, and is now either sacrificed, or else remembered in the mass; and that private masses might be and were well retained in this realm of England?

Page 794.

IX. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that as well before the time of the sermon made by the bishop of Winchester on St. Peter's day, in the second year of the king's majesty's reign, as at the time of the sermon, there was much contention, strife, debate, and controversy, among divers of the king's majesty's subjects, as well in the city of London, as elsewhere within this realm of England, concerning the presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the sacrament of the altar, and the retaining and use of private masses, whether the same might stand with God's word or no.

Then Basset required the lord chancellor to be examined as a witness on the Monday following.

THE NINTH SESSION AGAINST GARDINER.

The ninth session or action upon the cause of Gardiner was held in the house of Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, called Cold Harbour,

before Thomas and Henry, bishops of Ely and Lincoln, with the other commissioners judicially sitting, with the presence of the above-named notaries, on Wednesday the 21st of January, 1551.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

The said day and place, appeared before the said judges James Basset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, and under former protestations, produced Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, on articles I. II. III. and IV.; William Bell, clerk, on articles XXXIV. and XXXV.; Nicholas Lentall and Richard Hampden on article XV.; John Seton, doctor of divinity, on articles XV. XXIX. XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVIII.; William Medow, clerk, on articles I. II. III. X. XV. XXV. XXXIII. XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVIII.; Thomas Watson, clerk, on articles VII. XI. XII. XIV. XVI. XVIII. XIX. XX. XXIX. XXXI. XXXIII. XXXVI. XXXVIII. and LXVIII.; and Robert Massey on articles XIII. and XVI. of the matter purposed by the bishop of Winchester; requiring that they and every of them might be onerated with an oath, to say and depose the truth in that they knew. At whose request the judges did onerate the same witnesses, and every of them, with an oath corporal, taken in due form, to testify the truth as well upon the said articles, as also upon the whole cause, and, upon such interrogatories as should be ministered unto them, and every of them, when they should be examined in the presence of David Clapham, one of the said promoters of the office, approving the person of the said Cuthbert, bishop, and yet protesting to say against his sayings, and the persons and sayings of the other witnesses, in case they should say or depose any thing against his office.[1]

These things done, appeared before the said commissioners then and there judicially sitting, as before, Thomas Dockwray, one of the proctors of the bishop of Winchester, constituted and appointed by him, and under former protestations made by the said bishop, he did exhibit his proxy for the said bishop, made in the acts, and made himself party for him. And also, under the said protestations, he gave and exhibited certain positions additional unto the matter already purposed by the said bishop of Winchester, which he desired to be admitted in the presence of the aforesaid David Clapham, one of the promoters, protesting of the nullity, generality, invalidity, inefficacy, and undue specification, of the same; and desiring the same to be rejected.

Then the judges assigned to hear their pleasure upon the said positions upon the Monday following at Lambeth, at the hour accustomed, and heretofore already assigned. Consequently the said Thomas Dockwray, proctor aforesaid, under former protestations, etc., did lay in and give a matter in writing, conceived against the exhibits, desiring the same to be admitted by the judges in the presence of the aforenamed David Clapham, promoter, protesting, as he did of the positions additional afore given; and further, alleging the same not to conclude in law, and therefore desiring the same matter to be rejected. Hereupon the judges assigned their pleasure to be heard upon the admission, or else the rejection, of the said matter, the day and place assigned; concerning which positions additional, with the matter, also, by the aforesaid proctor exhibited, the tenor thereof here followeth:

ARTICLES ADDITIONAL EXHIBITED BY GARDINER.

Here follow the positions and articles additional and declaratory of the matter, and letter, of late purposed and exhibited by the bishop of Winchester, before the pretensed commissaries or judges delegate, named in the same matter, which the said bishop gave under the protestations made by him in the matter aforesaid.

First, that the bishop of London that now is, then being bishop of Rochester, did openly in his sermon made at Paul's Cross in the month of November or December, or thereabouts, in the first year of the king's majesty's reign that

(1) See the deposition of these witnesses likewise, in the twentieth action following; as frequent mention hath been made before.

Edward VI. A.D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

now is, very earnestly and vehemently preach and teach the true presence of Christ's most precious body to be in the Sacrament of the Altar. [Proponit conjunctim, divisim, et de quolibet.]

Item, That Dr. Redman, in a sermon which he preached before the king's majesty in Lent, the second year of his majesty's reign, did preach and teach to be believed for the true catholic faith, that the true presence of Christ's body and blood was in the sacrament of the altar. [Proponit ut supra.[1]]

Item, That my lord archbishop of Canterbury, about the time that the bishop of Winchester aforesaid preached a sermon on St. Peter's-day at Westminster, before the king's majesty, in a book by him translated, called Catechism, did affirm, publish, and set forth, the true presence of Christ's most precious body and blood to be in the sacrament of the altar; and, to the intent the same should so be believed, observed, acknowledged, and taught to be the true and catholic faith, did cause the same to be printed in his name, and as his translation; which books, so printed into great number of books, were, after their imprinting, to the intent aforesaid, openly and commonly sold by many and sundry booksellers, as well of London as of other places, and came about to all the parts of this realm, or to many parts of the same, and were openly and commonly known, declared, published, read, and heard, of all sorts of the king's majesty's subjects of this realm. And this was and is true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous.

Item, That in the months November and December, in the second year of the king's majesty's reign, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, London, Chichester, Worcester, Norwich, Hereford, and Westminster (being of the most ancient bishops and best learned in this realm), did openly, in the parliament then kept at Westminster, defend the very and true presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the sacrament of the altar.

Item, That in sundry open and solemn disputations, made as well in the university of Oxford, as of Cambridge, the third year of the king's majesty's reign, the same true presence of the very body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, was maintained and defended by the great number of the chief and well learned of the said universities. And this was and is true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous.

Item, That the truth of Christ's most precious body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, hath not been nor was impugned, by any famous clerk, or yet by any named learned man in any part of all Christendom, either in the Greek or in the Latin Church, by our time; specially at the time of the letters sent by the same duke of Somerset to the said bishop, mentioned in this matter aforesaid; but only by Œcolampadius, Zuinglius, Vadianus and Carolostadius, the impugning whereof was most manifest error; and, in England, no learned man named had, or yet did, openly defend or favour that error. And this is true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous.

Page 795.

Item, That the said bishop said not to Master Cecil that the mass was the chief foundation of our religion, for Christ himself is the only foundation; and in the mass, as now in the communion, [is] the showing forth of Christ's death; which is a sacrifice recordative of that only sacrifice of the cross, used in the church according to Christ's institution till his coming; the substance of the sacrifice being all as one, and the manner of the offering only differing. And after this manner and sort, in effect, the bishop, in his speaking of the mass to Master Cecil, as is aforenamed, declared to him, and no otherwise, if he had then rightly taken, perceived, and afterwards so uttered and reported the same.

Item, That by our late sovereign lord the king's majesty's father that now is, and by his testament and last will, it was provided, ordered, and (upon just considerations then moving his majesty for the preservation and quietness of this his then realm) decreed, that his majesty's councillors of his privy council, then being named and appointed in the same testament, or the more part of them, with further execution in that behalf, should have the whole order and governance of the same realm, during the minority of his only treasure under God, the king's majesty that now is, which things, according to these effects, were thus declared, before the king's majesty that now is, by the mouth of the lord chancellor, who was at that time in the Tower of London, then being present as well the said bishop of Winchester, as other of the lords of the council,

(1) These words follow each item.—Ed.

and divers others hearing the same, whereby the authority of the protectorship was clearly restrained.

Edward VI.

Item, That the digression of the said duke from that order aforesaid, and the breaking thereof, was afterwards, among other matters, with the body of the king's majesty's privy council, objected to him as a fault and offence.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

The Tenor of the Matter exhibited by the Bishop of Winton against the Exhibits laid in against him.

In the name of God, Amen.—Before you Thomas, by the sufferance of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan, and one of the king's majesty's privy council; Nicholas bishop of London; Thomas bishop of Ely and one of the king's majesty's privy council; Henry, the lord bishop of Lincoln; sir William Peter knight, one of the principal secretaries of the king's majesty, and one of his majesty's privy council; sir James Hales knight, one of the justices of the king's Common Pleas at Westminster; John Oliver and Griffith Leyson, doctors of the civil laws; Richard Goodrick and John Gosnall esquires, commissaries or judges delegates, as it is pretended, in this behalf deputed; either before all you jointly together, or before some of you, such as, in this pretensed matter of your office (as it is pretensed, necessarily against Stephen bishop of Winton promoted) shall happen to proceed—the said bishop, all and singular protestations heretofore by him made in this pretensed cause always to him reserved and saved; and in all things that he doth or shall do now, or at any time hereafter, to be had always for often and oftener repeated—under the same protestations excepting and admitting all such matters, clauses, words, articles, sentences, and all such parts of the books, acts, or writings, as were exhibited before you the commissaries pretensed aforesaid, or before some of you, then howsoever sitting in this pretensed matter at Lambeth, the Tuesday afore the nativity of Christ last past, being the 23d day of December, as maketh for that part purpose and intent of the said bishop, in this behalf, against all such pretensed parts, clauses, sentences, words, or matters, of the same books, acts, [and] writings, that shall seem to make against the said bishop, and against all other things as be against him purposed and pretended in this matter, by all ways, manners, and forms of the law, best and most effectual, owed by the law, and to all effects, purposes, and intents of the law, that may thereupon follow, saith, allegeth, and in this writing purposeth in law articularly, and jointly and severally, as hereafter followeth:

First, that the said books, acts, and writings, or anything in them contained, be [not] in effect, strength, virtue, or efficacy, to make any proof, namely, sufficient by the law, against the said bishop, nor yet be, nor ought to be, by the law, in anywise prejudicial to the said bishop, in this pretensed cause, for the causes, matters, and considerations in this present article, and in other articles, in their order and course following respectively deduced; and, among other things, because the said bishop, being commanded, by letters directed to him from my lords of the council, to appear before the king's majesty's council the 25th day of the month of September, the first year of the king's majesty's reign; according to the same commandment, repaired unto them with all speed he could, and, the 25th day of that month, the same bishop appeared at Hampton Court, before them. [Proponit conjunctim, divisim, et de quolibet.]

II. Item, That the said bishop, for desire he had to have the king's majesty's visitors honourably and duly received, provided, before his repair to the council, to make a sufficient proxy under his seal, in ample form, to one Master Cook, and one Potinger, to supply the absence of the said bishop, and do for him, and in his name, all things duly and accordingly, if the said bishop should happen, by sickness or otherwise, then to be absent, as he, the said bishop, might do, being personally present. [Proponit ut supra.[1]]

III. Item, That the said bishop—hearing that the said king's majesty's visitors should come to Winchester, and then having commandment, as is aforesaid, to appear before the king's majesty's council, about three weeks or thereabouts before the visitors, coming thither—doubting, for the causes that might happen (as is aforesaid), that he should then be absent, gave especial and express commandment, as well to his proctors aforesaid, as to his chancellor

(1) These words follow each item.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

and other his officers, there to do their duties to the said visitors, if they came in his absence, and to receive and use them in most humble and honourable manner; and also to obey them, in their doings and commandments, quietly and willingly in all things.

Reprint from the First Edition.

IV. Item, That likewise the said bishop, besides the general commandment aforesaid, willed and commanded his chaplains and curates of his diocese, such as it chanced him to speak withal, after that he had knowledge of the visitation (as is aforesaid) to be had at Winton, especially such as it chanced him to speak with by the way coming to the council, that they, in anywise, should duly receive and obey whatsoever in that visitation should be done, enjoined, and commanded.

V. Item, That according to the will, mind, and commandment aforesaid, by the said bishop respectively given, the said bishop's proctor, his chancellor, his chaplains, and other his officers and ministers, and the residue of his diocese, did, with due honour, obedience, and quietness, use themselves to the said visitors; and did obey and fulfil their commandments and injunctions.

VI. Item, That the said visitation began in the diocese of Winton about the 12th day of the month of October, in the first year of the king's majesty's reign.

VII. Item, That at the time of the said visitation, kept as is aforesaid at Winchester, and likewise somewhat afore the said visitation, and a long time after, the said bishop was a prisoner in the Fleet; and under commandment so to be kept there, that none of his servants but only two specially appointed or licensed in that behalf, nor yet any other stranger, might have access or speak with him; but there to remain secretly.

VIII. Item, The said bishop was committed to the Fleet, as is aforesaid, by reason of his letters, which, according to his bounden duty, and as a true and faithful subject, about a month before the said visitation at Winchester, he sent to the king's majesty's privy council, declaring in the same letters (like a faithful obedient subject) what his conscience and duty bound him to utter; specially concerning certain contrarieties contained in matters to be set forth by that visitation, as by the same letters, and by the contents of the same matters, more plainly may appear; to which he referreth himself—to as much as may make for his purpose in this behalf.

Page 796.

X.[1] Item, At the time the said bishop was committed to the Fleet, as is aforesaid, the duke of Somerset was not then at home in these parts, but, at that time and likewise before, was in Scotland, or at the least was not come home from his journey in Scotland. And this is true, public, manifest, and famous.

XI. Item, The said bishop, being prisoner in the Fleet, after the coming home of the duke of Somerset, sent to the same duke many and sundry times, requiring him that he might be heard, and to know why he should be so detained in prison without any offence specially declared unto him: and thereupon, by his letters, declared to the said duke, the circumstance of that whole matter, as by the contents of the same letters, and otherwise, if need require, shall and may appear.

XII. Item, The said bishop, being in prison in the Fleet aforesaid by the space of fifteen weeks or thereabouts, remained continually there, not called before any judge, or any of the king's majesty's council by way of examination, nor yet anything objected against him wherefore he should be committed to prison, or so to be used.

XIII. Item, That the said bishop was delivered out of the Fleet, by the general pardon the morrow after Twelfth-day, at Hampton Court, in the said first year of the king's majesty's reign.

XIV. Item, That within fourteen days then next following, or thereabouts, the same bishop was, by the same duke and others of the king's majesty's privy council, commanded to keep his own house in Southwark, for not agreeing to a certain form of articles touching Justification, as was then conceived; where he remained after that manner till the first Monday in Lent then next following.

XV. Item, That the said first Monday in Lent, or incontinently after, the said bishop returned to Winchester, where he lived quietly, and did duly execute, accomplish, and set forth all such commandments as were then ordered

(1) Article IX. is omitted, in the original.—Ed.

to be set forth and executed, with the due obedience; observing, following, and executing of, all such proclamations as were then, in the king's majesty's name, sent abroad to be published in that diocese, and other parts of his majesty's realm.

XVI. Item, That as well the said bishop as his servants, at all times of his being at Winchester, and at all other places of this realm, hath been always in quiet peace and quiet behaviour, without any tumult, commotion, or disturbance, either among themselves or any other of the king's subjects, or in giving any occasion thereunto,—nor yet at any time they or any of them were in harness, or prepared harness, or any other weapons, to any such purpose or intent; and as well the said bishop as his servants, always have been and be—for persons of quietness, soberness, and of good and peaceable demeanours and behaviours in all their doings—commonly and openly named, accepted, taken, and reputed.

XVII. Item, That the said bishop, being a person of quietness, and of quiet and peaceable behaviour, as is aforesaid, did never at any time command any of his servants to wear harness, or foresee any manner of safeguard of his house and person from the force of any man, nor yet to withstand the powers of the realm; nor yet the said bishop hath at any time showed in his doings any likelihood of such a temerous act, or any token of such folly, to think he could, without his utter destruction, give or attempt the least signification of such a purpose. And therefore this pretence (as here, for the bishop's lawful defence only, may be declared without the offence of any personage of authority) is such an untrue imagined matter as was neither true nor yet done or thought of by the said bishop or any of his, to his knowledge; nor yet the same was ever at any time in anywise objected against the said bishop, nor any such surmise or information should be against him, till now it should seem such matter to appear in some part of the pretensed acts aforesaid.

XVIII. Item, That at such time that master Tonge and master Eyre repaired to Winchester, to be instituted canons in that church, they were required and caused to come to the bishop, and to his house there, and by the same bishop gently welcomed, and familiarly entertained, and caused by him to tarry and to sup with him, being the Thursday at night before the bishop preached on the Sunday then next following as he had before so appointed. And, afterwards, the bishop departed from them very familiarly, offering them to be welcome to his house during their tarrying in the town.

XIX. Item, The said bishop, in his preaching or sermon aforesaid, made at Winchester the Sunday after their coming, or otherwise, did not disprove or disgrace the said master Tonge and master Eyre, or either of them, as by them was surmised; and the said bishop, having that objected to him by the duke of Somerset, did justly deny it expressly.

XX. Item, That the said bishop, after his preaching at Winchester aforesaid, was called before the duke of Somerset and others of the king's majesty's council then being, and being charged with certain matters of no importance, and most untruly surmised, did so answer unto the same as they appeared not worthy of any further examination, and the said bishop and council did indeed no further proceed in them. And thereupon, the said bishop (required to tarry in the town) was bold to say to them, he ought not to tarry as an offender, for he was none.

XXI. Item, That the said bishop, in his sermon before the king's majesty made at Westminster, on St. Peter's day shall be three years, was very quietly heard, and so quietly departed without any tumult or disturbance then risen there, or in the town, or any other place, or any time since, by occasion thereof.

XXII. Item, Albeit the said bishop ought and doth honour all virtues of the king's majesty, and esteemeth justice worthy to be extolled with the commendation of clemency; yet as touching clemency, as it implieth forgiveness and pardon of a manifest fault, after special conviction and condemnation therein, the said bishop never hitherto came into the same case, being never convicted or condemned of any fault; and yet hath and doth, with other of the king's majesty's subjects, enjoy such general pardon, as it hath pleased his highness to grant; for the which he will also with them pray and extol the king's majesty's clemency, to which virtue the said bishop thinketh the king's said majesty to be, by God's goodness, inclined.

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

XXIII. Item, The said bishop—under the protestations aforesaid, alleging against those parts of the books, acts, or writings against him, as is aforesaid in this behalf howsoever exhibited—to the intent and purpose only to use his just defence herein, without any prejudice or offence of any party, and no otherwise (whereof he here expressly protesteth) saith; that the devisers, conceivers, and writers of the said pretensed exhibits, have inserted expressly, and specified in them, divers and sundry matters, clauses, and things, which notoriously and manifestly were and be untrue and unjust; as, among other things, concerning the bishop's servants to be by the said bishop secretly armed and harnessed to withstand such as should be sent, by the duke of Somerset's grace and the council, to Hampshire, and those parts. And in divers other places of the same exhibits, the said devisers, conceivers, and writers, have omitted and left out divers and sundry clauses, points, matters, and allegings, as make for the just defence and declaration of innocency of the said bishop, videlicet, among other things, where the bishop offered to make particular answer to the articles mentioned in the same books propounded unto him; and required a copy of the articles to be delivered unto him, that he might so do; and offered to be ready to make the said answer, being in prison, as by the contents of the said pretensed exhibits, and otherwise, if need required, might and should evidently appear.

XXIV. Item, That the premises, all and singular, were and be true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous; and upon them had and did labour a common voice and fame: whereupon the said bishop, under his protestations aforesaid asked and required justice to be ministered unto him of and upon all and singular the premises jointly and severally, not obliging him to prove all and singular the said premises, nor any superfluous charge of any proving of them, whereof he here expressly protesteth.

THE TENTH SESSION.

Page 797. The tenth session against Gardiner bishop of Winchester was holden in the house of the bishop of Ely, in Warwick-lane, before the said bishops of Ely and London, master Leyson, and other the king's commissioners, with their notaries above mentioned, on Friday the 23d day of January, 1551, in the fourth year of Edward the Sixth.

The said day and place appeared before the said commissioners master Thomas Somerset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, and under former protestations made, etc., he produced sir John Markham knight, on articles XL. XLI. XLII. XLIII. XLIV. LVI. LXVIII. and LXXXI.; Thomas White esquire, on articles I. II. III. and XIII.; John Norton esquire, on articles I. II. and III.; John Cooke esquire, on articles I. II. III. VIII. and XIV.; master John White, warden, on articles I. II. III. XV. XXIX. and XXXVII.; Francis Allen, on articles VII. VIII. XI. XII. XXXVI. XXXVIII. XLV. and LXVIII.; John Potinger, on articles I. VIII. and XV.; Peter Langridge, on articles I. VIII. and XV.; Roger Ford, on articles I. and VIII.; William Laurence and Giles White, on the XVth; William Lorking, vicar of Farnham, on the XIVth; Herman Bilson, on the XVth; Thomas Williams, John Hardy, Robert Braborne, Robert Quinby, John Reade, on XIVth; Thomas Crowte,[1] on the XVth and LXVIIIth; George Bullock, George Smith, Hugh Weston, Philip Morgan,[2] Richard Bruerne,[3] John Weale, clerks, on the articles XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII; Alexander Deringe, William Browne, on articles I. VIII. IX. and XV.; John Temple, on articles I. II. and III.; Thomas White, prebendary, on the XVth; and John Glasiar, on the VIIIth and IXth articles of the matter given by the bishop of Winchester: which said witnesses, and every one of them, the said bishop of London, by the consent of his colleagues, and the desire of the said Thomas Somerset, proctor aforesaid, did onerate with a corporal oath on the holy Evangelists, to depose the whole truth as well upon the same articles, that they

Witnesses produced upon the first matter exhibited by Winchester.

(1) Also spelt Grote, and Groute; but Crowte is the name inserted in the Depositions.—Ed.
(2) 'Morgan Philips,' in the Depositions.—Ed. (3) Otherwise Breman.

were so specially produced on, as the whole cause and matter, and upon such interrogatories as should be ministered to them, as far as they knew, in the presence of master Davy Clapham, one of the promoters of the office; dissenting from the said production, and approving the persons of the aforesaid sir John Markham and master Ralph Hopton; but yet protesting to say against their sayings, in case they should depose against the office; and desiring that they might be examined of such interrogatories as should be ministered by the office; and protesting against the persons and sayings of all the other witnesses and of every of them, in case they or any of them should depose against the office; and repeating against them the interrogatories last ministered by the office. This done, the said master Somerset, proctor aforesaid, alleged that master doctor Redman, and doctor Steward, were necessary witnesses for to prove certain things contained in the aforesaid matter, which master Redman had been and then was sick, and the said master Steward in durance. Wherefore he desired a commission for the examination of the said master Redman, and means had, that the said master Steward might come to be sworn and examined; and also required temporal counsel to be assigned to the said bishop.[1]

THE ELEVENTH SESSION.

The eleventh session upon the matter of Gardiner bishop of Winchester, was in the house of the lord Paget, without Temple-bar, before the aforesaid commissioners judicially sitting (Thomas Argall, notary, being present), the day aforesaid; that is, the 23d of January, 1551.

At that time and place master Davy Clapham, and John Lewis, promoters of the office, did produce sir William Paget, knight of the order of the garter, lord Paget, upon the articles laid in by the office; whom they desired to be sworn and examined as a witness, according to law; the said lord Paget declaring, that honourable personages being of dignity as he was, were, by the laws of this realm, privileged not to be sworn in common form, as other witnesses accustomly did swear; promising, nevertheless, upon his truth to God, his allegiance to our sovereign lord the king's majesty, and upon his fidelity, to testify the truth that he did know in this behalf; whom the said judges did so onerate upon his truth to God, allegiance to the king's majesty, and upon his honour and fidelity, to depose the plain and whole truth, as far as he knew, as well upon the said articles, as also upon the whole cause and interrogatories that should be ministered, in the presence of Thomas Somerset, proctor to the bishop of Winchester, under protestation, etc., dissenting to the production, and protesting of the nullity, etc.; and to say against his person and sayings (if he should depose against the said bishop in this matter); and requiring that he might be examined upon such interrogatories as should be ministered against him; and requiring, also, that he might be sworn with a corporal oath upon the Evangelists.[2]

THE TWELFTH SESSION AGAINST GARDINER.

The twelfth session upon the matter of Gardiner bishop of Winchester, was within the bishop of Ely's house, before the bishops of London and Ely, with the rest of the commissioners delegate, one of the aforesaid two actuaries being present, the 24th day of January, 1551.

The said day and place appeared James Basset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, and, under protestations before made, and always reserved, he produced sir Thomas Smith, on articles XVII. XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV. XXVI. XXVII. and XXVIII.; Robert Willerton, John Young, and Edmund Bricket, clerks, on articles XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII.; whom and

(1) Concerning the depositions of these above rehearsed witnesses, look in the twentieth act following.

(2) Concerning the depositions of this lord Paget here produced, we defer to the twentieth act, where you shall find him examined as well upon the above-named articles, as upon the interrogatories severally ministered to him: as well by the office as the bishop.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

every one of them the said judges, at his desire, did onerate with a corporal oath, for to say and depose the truth upon the said articles, the whole cause and interrogatories, in the presence of master Clapham, approving the person of sir Thomas Smith, and protesting to say against his sayings, and the persons and sayings of the other witnesses, in case they or any of them should depose against the office; repeating the interrogatories already ministered against all the said witnesses, saving sir Thomas Smith.

THE THIRTEENTH SESSION AGAINST GARDINER.

The thirteenth session wherein appeared the said bishop of Winchester was held at Lambeth, before the archbishop of Canterbury, with all the other judges except master Hales and master Goodrick; the two aforesaid actuaries being withal present, on Monday in the forenoon, which was the 26th day of January, 1551.

This said day and place, the bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, exhibited an allegation in writing touching the admonishment given to him the last court day to make answer to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and nineteenth positions or articles; the copy and tenor of this allegation, so by him exhibited, hereafter followeth.

The Allegation of Winchester, touching the pretensed Admonishment.[1]

The said bishop, repeating his protestations in the acts, said, that discoursing, and particularly debating, the last court day the answers made by him to the said articles, and agreeing, as he took it, with the judges therein, and so departing, it had been, and was besides, his expectation to hear, in the acts, mention of such admonishment. Nevertheless, the said bishop, for the declaration of himself, how ready he was to obey always, for satisfaction of that admonishment laid in his allegations; and therewith declared, that according to the testimony of his conscience, he had fully answered the said articles, weighing together all that he had answered already and proved, so far as the same opened. And further declared the matter of the said answer, without captious understanding, whereof the bishop protested. And yet, if the judges should declare any special point of any the said articles, wherein a more full answer ought by law to be made, the said bishop offered himself, without any further delay, to make such answer as the law should bind him; and thereby eschew, as much as in him was, the report of disobedience not to answer, when he might answer, or not so fully as he might, with his conscience.

This allegation thus exhibited by the said bishop—furthermore, by word of mouth, for fuller answer [he] alleged, that he thought he spake of every article particularly, saving of the king's authority in his young years, and except St. Nicholas and St. Edmund, and such children's toys. And also he said, that he always submitted himself to justice; and for that he knew not himself guilty, he called not for mercy within the time of three months expressed in the said articles: which time of three months ran not, because it was suspended by his appellation made from the sequestration mentioned in the said articles.

After this the judges, at the said bishop's request, under his former protestations, admitted the positions additional, and the matter lastly laid in on his behalf, and before inserted in the ninth session (as far as the same should or ought in law to be admitted, and none otherwise) in presence of the promoters protesting of the overmuch generality, impertinency, and inefficacy, of the said positions additional and matter; and alleging, that the same ought not, by the law, to be admitted. Then the bishop, under his former protestations protesting that he intended not to renounce the benefit of the law which he ought to

(1) Inserted in the Acts or Sessions, to make a full answer to articles VII. VIII. IX. and XIX. [This is an abstract, and not a copy of the original Allegation.—Ed.]

have, in the production and swearing of such witnesses as he alleged were received afore in his absence—touching their oath, gave certain interrogatories in writing against the lord Paget, being a witness received and sworn against him; the promoters alleging that none were received but either [in] his own presence or that of his proctors.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

The copy of the said interrogatories, laid in against the aforenamed lord Paget, followeth; which were these:—

Interrogatories ministered to the Lord Paget.

First, Whether he was present at the Council sitting in the king's majesty's palace at Westminster, when the bishop of Winchester appeared there, to answer such matter as was objected by the duke of Somerset, then lord protector; being in the month of May or June in the second year of the king's majesty's reign?

Item, Whether the said bishop, after answer made to all such matters as were objected against the bishop of Winchester, when he was required to tarry in town, did answer, that he ought not to tarry as an offender; for he was none?

II. Item, Whether the said bishop did thereupon request, to the intent it might so appear the better, that the said bishop might borrow some house in the country more near London, whereunto to resort for shift?

III. Item, That the said bishop required specially the house of Esher, whereof the said lord Paget was then keeper.

IV. Item, Whether the said lord Paget, incontinently upon the attainder of the late duke of Norfolk, did not do a message from the king's majesty to the said bishop, that he would be content that master secretary Peter might have the same hundred pounds a year of the said bishop's grant, that the said duke had?

V. Item, Whether, after the said bishop had answered himself, to gratify the king's majesty, to be content therewith, the said lord Paget made relation thereof, as is said, to the king's majesty, who answered, that he thanked the bishop very heartily for it, and that he might assure himself the king's majesty was his very good lord?

VI. Item, Whether the said lord Paget knew the said bishop to have been in the council, within thirteen days of the king's departure, to be there mouth to mouth, to commune with the ambassadors, or no?

After this the said bishop, then and there, under his former protestations alleged as followeth:

That master secretary Peter, one of the judges, was a necessary witness for proof of certain articles received in his matter justificatory; wherefore he required him so to be received and sworn by the rest of the commissioners, the promoters protesting of the nullity of the said allegation and petition; and alleging, that the same ought not to be admitted, for that, chiefly, there hath hitherto been divers articles sped in this cause, having the strength and efficacy of 'litis contestatio:' and master secretary then and there declared, that his testimony was not so necessary for the bishop, for that at such time as he was with the bishop in the Tower, there were two or three more with him, by whom the truth of that which was then done, might be known, without his testimony; and that whereas sir William Harbert and he were there with him at another time, he (the said master secretary) would always be ready to declare, by mouth or writing, what was done and said at that time, to his knowledge and remembrance, as well as if he were sworn.

Page 799.

This done, the bishop, under protestation aforesaid, produced for a witness upon articles I. II. and III. of the matter justificatory, master Philip Paris, whom the judges did onerate with a corporal oath, in form of law, to testify the truth as well upon the said articles, as upon all other articles and interrogatories, to be ministered in this cause unto him; the promoters protesting to

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

say, both against the person of the said witness, in case and as far as he should depose against the office, and repeating the interrogatories heretofore ministered. The bishop also, under his said protestation, required to have master Thomas Somerset, James Basset, and master James Wingfield, sworn as witnesses; the promoters alleging, that they were the bishop's proctors, and had exercised for him in this cause, and therefore ought not now to be admitted for witnesses. After this, the said bishop, under his protestations aforesaid, for part of his proof of his matter justificatory, did exhibit and leave among the articles of this cause a certain book, written and made by him (as he said) concerning his opinion and true belief of the Sacrament of the Altar, and of the True Catholic Faith therein, for confutation (as he affirmed) of my lord of Canterbury's book, lately set forth upon the said matter. And, not provoking (as he said) the said judges presently to dispute thereupon, offered himself to be ready, at the will and pleasure of the judges, at any time and place convenient, and before a due audience, by learning to defend the said book: which book he required to be inserted among the articles of this cause, and a copy thereof to be granted to him, to whom the judges did decree.[1] The exhibition of which book, and the contents thereof, the said promoters, protesting of the nullity, alleged the same to be the bishop's private writings, and not authentic and such whereunto by the law there is faith to be given; referring themselves to the book, and to the law, as far as it was expedient. After this, the said judges, at the petition of the said bishop, under his former protestation, prorogued his term probatory until Tuesday, the 3d of February next, by nine of the clock in the forenoon of the same day, in the same place; and every judicial day in the mean time to produce witnesses, upon due intimation thereof made to the promoters, or one of them: and assigned to the said bishop to see further process in this cause between ten and eleven of the clock aforenoon, the same day.

Then the said judges, at the said bishop's request, under his protestations aforesaid, alleging master doctor Redman to be a necessary witness for proof of the contents of articles XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII. of his matter justificatory, and that he was at this present, for sickness, not able to come thither without danger, decreed a commission for his examination, and committed power and authority to receive, swear, and examine him, to master Edward Leedes and master Michael Donninge of Cambridge, jointly and severally, in Trinity College in Cambridge, on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, now next ensuing; taking to them for actuary Robert Chapman, or (he being absent or letted) any other indifferent notary; and assigned them to transmit the same on Tuesday, the 3d of February next, by nine of the clock in the forenoon in this place. And further the said judges—at the said bishop's request, under protestation as afore, required to have Dr. Steward examined upon certain articles of his matter, and to have more temporal counsel besides sir John Morgan—decreed, that Dr. Steward should be examined between this and the next Court day, and willed the bishop to send them the names of such temporal counsellors as he required. The said bishop also, under protestations as afore, showed forth certain letters, and other writings, which he intended also (as he said) to exhibit. To whom the judges did assign to bring in the same and leave them 'apud acta' with them (the said actuaries) the morrow next.

THE FOURTEENTH SESSION AGAINST GARDINER.

The fourteenth action, or session, was in the bishop of Winchester's lodging, within the Tower of London, on Tuesday, the 27th day of January, in the presence of William Saye, one of the aforesaid two actuaries.

The said day and place, in presence of William Saye, notary, the bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations (that by this act he intended not to alter the nature of the cause), did constitute master Thomas Dockwray, John Clerke (proctors of the Arches), Thomas Somerset, James Basset, and James Wingfield, his proctors; jointly and severally—for him and in his name—to produce wit-

(1) This book (because it is in print) I thought not good here in place to bring in, but I leave you to it.

nesses upon his matters purposed, and to be purposed, in this matter: and further, to do therein as he himself ought or should do, at all times, as well when he was present as absent. And likewise did constitute William Bucknam and master Mitch, fellows in Trinity-hall in Cambridge, jointly and severally his proctors, to produce Dr. Redman before the king's majesty's sub-delegates, and to require him to be received, sworn, and examined, upon the articles to the commission annexed; and promised to ratify the doings of his said proctors herein, being present hereat master Dr. Jeffrey, William Copinger, and John Davy, &c.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

THE FIFTEENTH SESSION AGAINST GARDINER.

The fifteenth action or session upon the matter of the bishop of Winchester was holden before Dr. Oliver, one of the king's commissioners, in the presence of Thomas Argall, one of the two actuaries.

The said day master Thomas Somerset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, according to the assignation made, and under former protestations, etc., did exhibit certain minutes, letters, and escripts, to declare the said bishop's conformity from time to time, since the death of king Henry the Eighth, unto this present time; and also exhibited the same, as much as they should make for him in this cause, and not otherwise; videlicet first, five original letters, whereof three [were] from the duke of Somerset, one from master Cecil, and the others from master Brig and other the king's visitors.

Page 800.

Item, A book of statutes set forth in the second and third year of the king's majesty that now is; wherein is contained An Act of Uniformity of the Service, and the Administration of the Sacrament throughout the realm.

Item, The bishop of Winchester's proxy exhibited in the visitation.

Item, The copy of a letter printed and directed unto the preachers, from the duke of Somerset and others of the council.

Item, Minutes of two letters from the bishop of Winchester to the duke of Somerset, then protector, from Winchester, before the said bishop's committing to the Fleet, with copies of them.

Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop of Winchester to the bishop of Canterbury—in No. 3, with their copies.

Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop of Winchester to the lords of the king's majesty's council, before his committing to the Fleet—in No. 2, with their copies.

Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop of Winchester to the lord protector out of the Fleet—in No. 4, with their copies.

Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop of Winchester to the lord protector, when he was committed to ward in his house—in No. 1.

Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop to the lord protector, from Winchester—in No. 1.

In the mean time before the bishop's sending for to London, at which time he was sent to the Tower, all these said originals the said master Somerset required to have, when they were collated and conferred.[1]

THE SIXTEENTH SESSION AGAINST GARDINER.

Another action or session upon the cause of Gardiner was in the house of the bishop of Ely, before the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, master Leyson, and master Oliver (Thomas Argall, actuary, being present), on Thursday, the 29th day of January, 1551.

The same day and place, James Basset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, under the bishop's former protestations, exhibiting his proxy, etc, produced the reverend father Thomas, bishop of Norwich, on articles I. II. III.

(1) But as concerning the sight of them, as many as came into our hands, ye shall see them above in page 24, etc.

Edward VI.

A.D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

IV. of the first matter, and the IVth and VIth of the additionals; sir Edward Carne, on the articles I. II. and III. of the first matter; Thomas Babington, on articles I. VII. X. XI. of the last matter; Maurice Griffith, clerk, on articles III. IV. XXXV. and XXXVII. of the first matter, and the first article of the additionals, and on the twentieth of the last matter; Christopher Moulton, on articles III. IV. XXXV. and XXXVII. of the matter, and on the XXth of the matter contra exhibited; William Glyn clerk, on the Vth of the additionals; Thomas Nave, on articles XV. XVI. and XX. of the last matter; Oliver Wachell, on articles XIII. XV. XVI. and XVIII. of the last matter; Thomas Cotisforde, on the VIIth of the last matter; Henry Burton, on articles IX. XV. and XVI. of the last matter; Thomas Skerne, on the XVth and XVIth of the last matter; Osmond Coware, on the IXth, XVth, and XVIth of the last matter; John Cliff, on the XVth and XVIth of the last matter; John Warner, on the XVth and the XVIth of the last matter; John Seton, clerk, on articles IV. VII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. and XX. of the last matter; William Medowe, clerk, on the Ist of the additionals, and on articles IV. V. VI. VII. IX. XIV. XV. XVI. XVIII. and XX. of the last matter; Thomas Watson, clerk, on the Ist of the additionals, and on articles IV. VII. IX. XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. and XX. of the last matter; John Potinger, on articles II. III. V. VI. XV. and XVI. of the last matter; John Temple, on the XIIIth of the last matter; Alexander Dering, on the XVth and XVIth of the last matter; William Browne, on the IId, IIId, Vth and VIth of the last matter—which witnesses the said judges did onerate with an oath, to depose of and upon all and singular such articles as they were produced upon, and the whole cause, and such interrogatories as should be ministered in the presence of Clapham and Lewis; approving the persons of the said bishop of Norwich, and sir Edward Carne; and protesting to say against their sayings, and the persons and sayings of all the other witnesses; and repeating the interrogatories before ministered, and requiring them to be examined on the same, and others to be ministered by them. Which done, the same James Basset (under the said bishop's former protestations) alleged that the bishops of Durham, Worcester, and Chichester, were necessary witnesses to prove, etc.; and to have a commission for the examination of Dr. Steward, being prisoner in the Marshalsea. Whereupon the said judges, by one assent, committed their power to the bishop of Ely and Dr. Oliver, for the examination of the bishop of Durham; master Leyson for the examination of Dr. Steward; and the bishop of Lincoln for the examination of the bishops of Worcester and Chichester in the Fleet.

And forasmuch as mention is made, in this act, of certain interrogatories, as well of such as were to be ministered, as of the others being repeated before, the copy of them, which were afterwards ministered, here followeth in these words:

Interrogatories upon the First Articles additional.

I. Whether the bishop of London, in his said sermon, speaking of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, did use any of these words: 'the real, corporal, or substantial presence,' or the same adverbially; or any such like, and of the same effect, and what they were?

II. Item, Whether he did not bid his auditory to be content to delay the discussion of the secret of that matter, till it should be afterwards judged by learning and authority?

Item, Whether he did not say, that he would, and did, show them the sentence of an old author, which was both a great learned man, and martyr; and only did cite the same for the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament, and who was the author, and what was the place?

THE SEVENTEENTH SESSION AGAINST GARDINER.

Another action upon the cause of Winchester was holden at Cold Harbour, before the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, and master doctor

Oliver, with the presence of Thomas Argall, actuary, on Friday, the 30th day of January, 1551.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

Page 301.

James Basset, under the bishop of Winchester's former protestations, produced Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, upon the IVth and VIth positions additional; John Bourne, clerk, on the 1st article of the same additionals; Owen Oglethorp, doctor, on the articles III. IV. and XXXVII. of the first matter or matter justificatory, the Vth article of the additionals, and the Xth article against the exhibits; whom the said judges did admit and onerate with an oath, to say the truth and the whole truth upon those articles, and such interrogatories as should be ministered in behalf of the office, in the presence of David Clapham, one of the promoters; approving the person of the said bishop of Durham: protesting, nevertheless, to say against his depositions, and the persons and sayings of the other witnesses, in case they deposed any thing prejudicial against the office; and repeating the interrogatories afore ministered, requiring the witnesses to be examined upon the same.

THE EIGHTEENTH SESSION AGAINST GARDINER.

The same Friday they also met in the Marshalsea in Southwark, master doctor Oliver and Thomas Argall being present, on the cause of Winchester.

James Basset, under the bishop of Winchester's former protestations, produced master Edmund Steward, clerk, on articles I. II. III. VIII. IX. XV. of the matter justificatory; and on articles II. III. V. VI. VII. XIV. XV. XVI. and XVIII. of the matter against the exhibits; whom the said master doctor Oliver, at the petition of the same James Basset, did admit and onerate with an oath upon the premises, in the presence of David Clapham, one of the promoters aforesaid, protesting to say against the said witness and his testimony, in case he deposed against the office, and repeating these interrogatories afore ministered.

The same Friday, in the Fleet [before] Henry, bishop of Lincoln, in the presence of Thomas Argall, etc. the said James Basset, under the former protestations, produced Nicholas, bishop of Worcester, in his chamber where he lieth there, and George, bishop of Chichester, in another chamber where he lieth, of and upon the IVth and VIth articles of the positions additional; when the bishop of Lincoln, them and either of them, did respectively onerate with an oath, to depose the whole truth that they and either of them knew, upon the said articles, and all such interrogatories as should be ministered unto them, in presence of David Clapham; protesting to say against them and their sayings, in case they deposed against the office.

THE NINETEENTH SESSION AGAINST GARDINER.

Saturday, the last day of January, 1551, there was a session in the house of Thomas Argall, before master John Oliver; the said Argall being present.

James Basset, proctor, etc. under the bishop's former protestations, did produce John Cooke, a witness before sworn, upon articles II. III. V. VI. and XIV. of the matter against the exhibits; whom the said master Oliver did admit and swear, at the petition of the said Basset, in the presence of David Clapham, one of the promoters; protesting, etc. and repeating the interrogatories afore ministered.

THE TWENTIETH SESSION AGAINST GARDINER.

The twentieth session or action upon the cause of Winchester, with his appearance at Lambeth before the archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the commissioners, (master Gosnall[1] only absent,

(1) 'Gosnall' alias Gosnald.—Ed.

Edward VI. A. D. 1551.

Thomas Argall and William Say being present), was on Tuesday, the 3d day of February, anno 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

The term probatory assigned to the bishop of Winchester, was prorogued to this day by nine of the clock afore noon; and, by the same time, it was assigned to transmit the examination of Dr. Redman.[1] And it was also assigned to the said bishop of Winchester, to see further process, in this cause, between the hours of ten and eleven afore noon of this day. The said day, one Paul Hampcoats, on the behalf of master Edward Leedes, and master Michael Dunning, presented the process of the examination of master doctor Redman, at Cambridge, being sealed, and in authentical form, in the presence of the bishop of Winchester; under his former protestations, protesting that he intended not to revoke his proctors exhibiting the same process, as far as it made for him, and not otherwise; the promoters protesting to say against the said process, in case and as far as it should seem to make against the office.

Then the bishop, under his former protestations alleging master James Basset and master Jacques Wingfield to be necessary witnesses for proof of certain articles by him purposed, desired that they might be admitted and sworn; at whose requiring the judge admitted them as far as the law would them to be admitted, and not else: whom they did then and there onerate with a corporal oath, to depose the truth, as they knew, upon such articles as they should be examined upon; the promoters protesting of the nullity of their production, for that they were the said bishop's proctors, and had exercised in this cause for him; and, in case the production were of force in law, protesting to say against them and their sayings, in case and as far as the same should make against the office, and to repeat the interrogatories heretofore ministered against the other witnesses produced by the said bishop. And the said bishop, under his said protestations, for further satisfaction of the term assigned him to prove, did exhibit these writings ensuing; videlicet first, an original letter from the king's majesty that dead is; and another original letter from the king's majesty that now is,[2] as much as the same did make for his intent, and not otherwise; the promoter accepting the contents of the same letters as far as they made for the office; and none otherwise.

The tenor and words of these two letters, sent to Gardiner from the aforesaid kings, albeit they seem to me not much to make for the bishop, yet, forasmuch as he doth here allege them, I thought not to omit them; the copies whereof thus ensue:—

Copy of a Letter sent from King Henry the Eighth to the Bishop of Winchester.

Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Understanding, by your letters of the 2d of this instant, your mind touching such matter as hath lately, on our behalf, been opened to you by certain of our council, we have thought good, for answer, to signify that if your doings heretofore in this matter, had been agreeable to such fair words as ye have now written, neither you should have cause to write this excuse, nor we any occasion to answer the same; and we cannot but marvel at this part of your letter, that you never said nay, to any request made unto you for those lands, considering that this matter being propounded, and, at good length, debated with you, as well by our chancellor and secretary, as also by the chancellor of our Court of Augmentations, both jointly and apart you utterly refused to grow to any conformity in the same, saying, That you would make your answer to our own person: which, as we can be well contented to receive, and will not deny you audience at any meet time, when you shall make suit to be heard for your said answer, so we must, in the mean time, think, that if the remembrance of our benefits towards you had earnestly remained in your

Page 802.

(1) The process of this Dr. Redman is not yet come to our hands. If it do, thou shalt find it among our other additions, in the supplement of this history.

(2) As concerning the second letter above mentioned, sent from king Edward the Sixth, look in page 80, where you shall have the true copy thereof.

heart indeed, as you have now touched the same in words, you would not have been so precise in such a matter, wherein a great number of our subjects, and, amongst others, many of your own coat (although they have not had so good cause as you), have yet, without indenting, dealt both more lovingly, and more friendly with us. And, as touching you, our opinion was, that if our request had been for a free surrender, as it was for an exchange only, your duty had been to have done otherwise in this matter than you have: wherein, if you be yet disposed to show that conformity you write of, we see no cause why you should molest us any further therewith, being the same of such sort as may well enough be passed without officers there.

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

Given under our signet, at our manor of Oatlands, the 4th of December, the thirty-eighth year of our reign.

Also, then and there the said bishop did, under his said protestations, exhibit a letter written from Louvain by one Francis Driander, the contents whereof are hereunder expressed in Latin[1] as he wrote it, and the English whereof, as much as to the present purpose appertaineth, here followeth translated:

Part of a Letter of Francis Driander

Before my departure from the city of Paris, I wrote unto you by our friend the Englishman, etc. Now the narration of your bishop of Winchester, shall satisfy and content you. He (the said bishop) as appertained to the ambassador of so noble a prince, came to Louvain with a great rout and bravery, and was there, at a private man's house called Jeremy's, most honourably entertained and received; where the faculty of divines, for honour's sake, presented him wine in the name of the whole university. But our famous doctors, and learned masters, for that they would more deeply search and understand the learning and excellency of the prelate, perused and scanned a certain oration made by him, and now extant, entitled 'De Vera Obedientia,' which is as much as to say, Page 803.

(1) *Doctissimo Viro, Edmundo Crispino amico integerrimo, Oxoniæ.*

Ante meam ex Lutetiâ profectionem dedi literas ad te per Anglum illum, communem amicum nostrum. Nunc tantùm tibi scribo, ut mearum fortunarum cursum tibi indicem. Interim dum Lutetiæ expedio negotiola quædam perierunt mihi dies quindecim: Louvanii decem amicis pristinis libenter dedi, tum ut ab itineris labore paulisper refocillarer et res ad meam profectionem necessarias componerem, tum etiam ut ad ingenium jucundæ consuetudinis inter dulces sodales et fideles fratres redirem, et linguæ rubiginem, quam non mediocrem inter lutulentos illos homines contraxi, mutuis eloquentium hominum colloquiis abstergerem. Heri vesperi, nocte intempestâ, Antwerpiam perveni: Hodie mane fidem meam apud bibliopolam nomine Garbrandi nostri liberavi. Quod dudum fecissem, nisi Lutetiæ negotia, et literarum scribendarum et aliarum rerum, quæ mihi molesta juxta et infrugifera fuerunt, et Louvanii suavis amicorum consuetudo, detinuissent. Verum sat cito, quando sat bene. Literas, quas ad Garbrandum his inclusas mitto, trades: quibus etiam syngrapham persolutæ pecuniæ adjunxi. Et tibi et illi pro istoc beneficio gratias ago, relaturus haud duble luculentas, si quando casus aliquis ferat: et ita relaturus, ut plane agnoscatis in hominem et memorem, et gratum, hoc quicquid fuit officii (quod certe Christianum fuit) contulisse. Quum eò quod destinavi pervenero, quam peregrinationem perendie (volente Deo) auspicabor, lætissimè de rebus omnibus, tum publicis tum privatis, ad te scribam. Nunc unica episcopi vestri Wintoniensis narratiuncula contentus eris. Pervenit magno cum strepitu Louvanium, ut tanti regis legatum decebat; quâ in urbe humanissimè apud Jeremiam privato hospitio fuit exceptus. Facultas theologica, universitatis nomine, vinum illi honoris gratiâ propinavit. Venerandi verò magistri nostri, ut altius dignitatem et eruditionem hominis rimarentur, animadverterunt orationem quandam 'De Vera Obedientia' ab eodem compositam extare, in quo auctoritatem Romani pontificis labefactabat, regiam potestatem supra sanctæ sedis apostolicæ, ut illi loquuntur, statuebat. At eâ periectâ, non solum honoris exhibiti eos pœnituit, sed etiam palinodiam recantare decreverunt; et quantum primùm honoris tribuerunt, tantundem rursùs contumeliæ illi erogare homines impudentes non dubitaverunt. Richardus Lathomus, terminorum interpres, et cæteri hujus sodalitii satellites ecclesiæque nutantis Atlantes aggressi sunt hominem. Disputatum est de primatu Papæ: episcopus orationem suam scriter defendebat. Theologi suam sententiam pertinaciter tuebantur, et, episcopum excommunicatum [et] schismaticum manifestè vocitantes, summam contumeliam nomini Anglicano inferebant. Hic non referam argumenta quæ utrinque in tutelam propriæ sententiæ producebantur, atque fortasse viris doctis Achillea non viderentur, et utriusque partis honorem sanctum tutumque retineri æquum est. Volenti igitur episcopo missare in templo divi Petri ornamenta ad missificationem necessaria, tanquam homini excommunicato, denegata sunt. Is, offensus inopinato casu, illicò profectionem maturat. Decanus postridie elaboratâ oratione famam hominis pro concione misere proscindit. Doleo vehementer istorum vicem, qui tam inconsultè seipsos apud probos et cordatos viros deridendos propinent. Habes itaque (mi Edmunde) historiam verissimam; nam doctor noster totius tragœdiæ spectator fuit. Nunc te valere jubeo, si prius orem, ut amicis omnibus quàm potes officiosissime meo nomine salutem dicas: ad quos privatim sum scripturus, cum primùm per otium et opportunitatem liceat. Vale.

Antwerpiæ, vicesimo secundo Septembr. A. D. 1541.

Tuus ex animo, Franciscus Driander.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

in our English tongue, 'Of True Obedience;' in the which his oration he did greatly impair and subvert the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and preferred his lord and king's authority before the holy apostolic see, as they were wont to term it: which being read and considered by them, they did not only repent them, for attributing such their honour unto him, but also recanted what they had done before; and, like impudent persons, did not so much honour him afore, but now twice so much, with many obloquies and derisions, disabled and dishonoured his person. But, in conclusion, Richard Lathomus, interpreter of the Terms, with the favourers of this fraternity, and other the champions of the falling church, boldly enterprised to dispute with him concerning the pope's supremacy. The bishop stoutly defended his said oration. The divines, contrary, did stiffly maintain their opinion, and, divers times openly, with exclamation, called the said bishop an excommunicate person, and a schismatic; to the no little reproach and infamy of the English nation.

I will not here repeat the arguments and reasons which were alleged on both parts, for the defence of the opinions of each side, for that lest, perhaps, to learned men, they shall not seem all of the strongest; and also, because it becometh me to save and preserve the estimation of either party. The bishop not long after, minding to say mass in St. Peter's church, they did deny unto him, as to an excommunicate person, the ornaments and vestments meet for the same; wherewith being highly offended, he suddenly hastened his journey from thence. The dean, the next day after, made an eloquent oration, wherein he openly disgraced and defamed his person. I lament greatly their case, who so rashly, without any advisement, gave themselves to be mocked among grave and witty men. You have heard now a true story, for our doctor was the chief and principal doer of that tragedy.

After this, the said bishop also exhibited a minute of a letter, sent by the said bishop out of the Fleet, to the duke of Somerset, the copy whereof ensueth:

A Letter of Gardiner to the Lord Protector, out of the Fleet.

After my most humble commendations to your good grace: This day I received your grace's letters, with many sentences in them, whereof in some I take much comfort, and especially, in sending a physician; and for the rest that might grieve me, do so understand them as they grieve me not at all. If I have done amiss, the fault is mine; and I perceive your grace would not be grieved with me, unless I had offended. As for the council, I contend not with their doings, no more than he that pleadeth 'not guilty' doth blame the judge and quest that hath indicted him, and requireth on him. I acknowledge authority: I honour them and speak reverendly of them; and yet, if my conscience so telleth me, I must plead 'not guilty,' as I am not guilty of this imprisonment. And so must I say, unless I would accuse myself wrongfully; for I intended ever well. Howsoever I have written or spoken, I have spoken as I thought; and I have spoken it in place where I should speak it; at which time I was sorry at your grace's absence, unto whom I had used like boldness, the rather upon warranty of your grace's letter. But I have written truth, without any affection other than to the truth, and could answer the particularities of your grace's letter shortly, were it not that I will not contend with your grace's letters; unto whom I wrote simply for no such purposes as they be taken (not by your grace, but by others); for I trust your grace will not require of me to believe, that all the contents of your grace's letter proceed specially from yourself, and, in the mean time, I can flatter myself otherwise than to take them so. Whereupon, if it shall further be applied unto me, that I do your grace wrong, being in the place ye represent, not to take your grace's letters as though every syllable were of your grace's device, being your hand set to them, I will be sorry for it. Thus I take the sum of your grace's writing: that I should not, for any respect, withstand truth; and of that conformity I am. And to agree against the truth can do your grace no pleasure, for truth will continue, and untruth cannot endure; in the discerning whereof if I err, and, when all the rest were agreed if that were so, I only then cannot agree, yet I am out of the case of hatred: for I say as I think. And, if I think like

a fool, and cannot say otherwise, then it shall be accounted as my punishment, and I to be reckoned among the indurate, who, nevertheless, heretofore had used myself (when no man impeached me for religion) as friend to friends; and although I were not (as is of some now thought) a good christian man, yet I was no evil civil man; and your grace, at our being with the emperor, had ever experience of me, that I was a good Englishman.

Now I perceive I am noted to have two faults: one, not to like Erasmus's Paraphrase; another, not to like my lord of Canterbury's Homily of Salvation. Herein if I mislike that all the realm liketh, and, when I have been heard speak in open audience what I can say, can show no cause of my so doing, or else it cannot so be taken, yet should it be taken for no wonder, seeing the like hath been seen heretofore. And, though your grace will be sorry for it, I am sure you will love men never the worse: for I adventure as much as any man hath done, to save my conscience. And I do it, if it may be so taken, in the best fashion I can devise: for I accuse not the council, which I confess ought to be honoured; and yet it is not always necessary for those which be committed by the council to prison, ever more to appear guilty; for then should every prisoner plead guilty, for the avoiding of contention with the council. And, howsoever your grace be informed, I never gave advice, nor ever knew man committed to prison, for disagreeing to any doctrine, unless the same doctrine were established by a law of the realm before. And yet now it might be, that the council, in your grace's absence, fearing all things, as rulers do in a commonwealth, might, upon a cause to them suspected, and without any blame, commit me to prison; with whom I have not striven in it, but humbly declared the matter with mine innocency, as one who never had conference in this matter with any man but such as came to me; and with them thus—to will them to say nothing. Because I thought myself, if I spake, would speak temperately, and I mistrusted others; being very loth of any trouble to ensue in your grace's absence, and specially such absence as I feared in vain, (thanks be to God!) as the success hath showed: but not altogether without cause, seeing war is dangerous in the common sense of man, and the stronger hath had ever more the victory.

I allege, in my letter to your grace, worldly respects, to avoid worldly reasons against me; but I make not my foundation of them. The world is mere vanity, which I may learn in mine own case, being now destitute of all such help as friendship, service, familiarity, or gentleness, seemed to have gotten me in this world. And if I had travailed my wit in consideration of it since I came hither (as, I thank God, I have not), it might have made me past reasoning ere this time.

I reserve to myself a good opinion of your grace, being nothing diminished by these letters; in remembrance of whose advancement to honour, when I spake of chance, if I spake 'ethnically,' as you termed in your grace's letters, then is the English Paraphrase to be condemned for that cause besides all other, wherein that word 'chance' is over common in my judgment. And yet, writing to your grace, I would not (being in this case) counterfeit a holiness in writing otherwise than my speech hath been heretofore, to call all that comes to pass, God's doings; without whose work and permission nothing indeed is, and from whom is all virtue. And yet, in common speech, wherein I have been brought up, the names 'fortune,' and 'chance' have been used to be spoken in the advancement to nobility, and commended when virtue is joined with them. Wherein, me thinketh, it is greater praise, and more rare, to add virtue to fortune (as your grace hath done), than to have virtue go before fortune; which I wrote, not to flatter your grace, but to put you in remembrance what a thing it were, that, bearing in hand of such as might have credit with you, should cause you to enterprise that which might indirectly work what your grace mindeth not, and, by error in a virtuous pretence to the truth, advance that which is not truth: wherein I ask no further credit than that I can show shall persuade, which is one of the matters I kept in store to show against the Paraphrase, intending only to say truth, with suit to be heard, and instant request rather to be used, to utter that I can say, than to be here wasted after this sort. I can a great deal, and a great deal further than I have written to your grace; and yet am so assured of that I have already written, as I know I cannot therein be convicted of untruth. As for Erasmus himself, I wrote unto your

Page 804.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

grace what he writeth in his latter days, only to show you the man thoroughly. And [how] in speaking of the state of the church in his old days, [he] doth not so much further the bishop of Rome's matters, as he did in his young days, being wanton; which Paraphrase if I can, with expense of my life, let from going abroad, I have done as good a deed, in my opinion, as ever was done in this realm, in the let of an enterprise: in which book I am now so well learned, and can show the matters I shall allege so plainly, as I fear no reproach in my so doing. And as for the English, either my lord of Canterbury shall say, for his defence, that he hath not read over the English, or confess more of himself than I will charge him with. Therefore I call that, the fault of inferior ministers whom my lord trusteth. The matter itself is over far out of the way, and the translating, also. In a long work (as your grace toucheth) a slumber is pardonable; but this translator was asleep when he began, having such faults.

I cannot now write long letters, though I would; but, to conclude, I think there was never man had more plain evident matter to allege than I have, without winches, or arguments, or devices of wit. I mean plainly, and am furnished with plain matter, intending only plainness, and destitute of all man's help, such as the world, in man's judgment, should minister. I make my foundation only on the truth, which to hear, serveth for your grace's purpose towards God, and the world also; and, being that, I shall say truth in deed and apparent. I doubt not your grace will regard it accordingly, for *that* only will maintain that your grace hath attained; *that* will uphold all things, and prosper all enterprises: wherein if I may have liberty to show that I know, I shall gladly do it; and, otherwise, abide that [which], by authority shall be determined of me, as patiently and quietly, as ever did man; continuing your grace's bead-man, during my life, unto Almighty God; who have your grace in his tuition!

And thus have ye the aforesaid letter sent from the Fleet to the lord protector. After this the said bishop did also exhibit another minute of a letter by him sent to the said duke from Winchester. Also another minute of a letter to the said duke from Winchester. Also another minute of a letter sent to the said duke from the said bishop when he was prisoner in his house, as he affirmed; the copy of which letters we have above specified, page 24. Also another minute of a letter in Latin, by him sent to master Cecil. And also a minute of a letter written from Ratisbon, to the king's majesty that dead is, by the said bishop, subscribed with the hand of sir Henry Knivet, as he affirmed; which two last letters here mentioned be not yet come to our hands. All these letters abovesaid, he, under his former protestations, did exhibit as far as they made for his intent, and not otherwise; and required the same to be registered, and the originals to be to him delivered: which was decreed in presence of the promoters, protesting of the nullity of the exhibition of these letters, and of the same exhibits; alleging the same to be private writings, and not authentic, and such whereunto there ought no faith to be given in law; and accepting the contents of the said exhibits as much as they made for the office, and not otherwise. The said bishop, also, under like protestation as before, exhibited a book of Statutes of Parliament, of the first year of the king's majesty's reign that then was, concerning his general pardon. And, lastly, two papers of articles,[1] which the bishop affirmed were sent to him to preach, which likewise he did exhibit inasmuch as they made for his intent, and not otherwise, the promoters accepting the contents thereof, as far as they made for the office, and not otherwise.

(1) The contents of these two papers we have also expressed before.

After all this, the judges, at the request of the said promoters, did publish the sayings and depositions of the witnesses examined in this cause, reserving the examinations of the two witnesses lastly sworn as afore; the bishop, under his former protestations, dissenting to the said publication.

And now—forasmuch as we are come to the publication of the witnesses being in the acts before produced—here to perform what we have so oft promised before, it remaineth now to declare and bring forth, all such the aforesaid witnesses in order as they were examined. But yet before (to make the matter more plain and sensible to the reader, concerning the production and publication of these witnesses), first, here is to be noted and understood, that as these witnesses were not all produced and sworn at one time (as in the acts doth appear), nor for one part alone, but some *against* him, and some *with* him; so the cause and matter whereupon they were produced, was not one, but divers. For some were only produced upon the Articles by the office ministered against the bishop of Winchester: others were produced upon the Matters Justificatory, laid in by the bishop: certain upon the Positions Additional laid in by the said bishop: and, lastly, divers upon the Matter against the Exhibits laid in on the behalf of the office against him, according as here in order followeth:

THE ATTESTATIONS OF ALL SUCH WITNESSES AS WERE PRODUCED, SWORN, AND EXAMINED, UPON THE ARTICLES MINISTERED BY THE OFFICE, AGAINST STEPHEN, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.[1]

Sir Anthony Wingfield.

Sir Anthony Wingfield, knight of the most honourable order of the garter, comptroller of the king's most honourable household, and one of the king's most honourable privy council, being sworn and examined, saith as followeth:

To articles I. II. and III. he saith the contents thereof are true.

To the IVth: he believeth the same to be true.

To the Vth: he believeth the contents thereof to be true.

To the VIth he saith, that he knoweth, that there have been divers complaints made against the said bishop, for his sayings, doings, and preachings, against the king's majesty's proceedings; for he, being one of the king's majesty's privy council, heard certain of the complaints made to the council, whereof part, he remembereth, was for being against the king's majesty's visitors at the time of his grace's visitation in his diocese, in setting forth of the king's majesty's proceedings.

To the VIIth: he thinketh that the lords of the council have, often times, admonished him according to the said article. Page 805.

To the VIIIth article he saith, that after the said admonitions in the month of June, in the year articulate, the said bishop was called before the king's most honourable council, at the king's palace of Westminster; and then and there, on his majesty's behalf, commanded to preach a sermon before his grace, on a certain day shortly after following; and therein to declare his conformity in declaring and setting forth the king's majesty's father's, and his majesty's, just and godly proceedings in matters of religion: and, to the intent he should do it the better, they delivered him the articles in writing, containing the effect as in the articles specified, which he should so declare; which he, receiving then and there, promised to declare and set forth. Nevertheless he (saying that he had been some time one of them, and that he was then a man of years, and not

(1) These articles you shall find in the first session before expressed.

Edward VI. A.D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

meet, then, to be set to school, to read, as it were, a lesson out of a book), required that he might not be commanded to read or declare them on the book; for he promised, in his sermon he would so set forth and declare them; that it should be much better than if he did read the said writing. And this he knoweth, for that he, the said deponent, was present with the said council at the said commandment given, and the articles' delivering, and the promise by the said bishop made as afore.

To the IXth he saith, that he (the said deponent) was at the said bishop's sermon from the beginning to the end, and heard the same; and thereby perceived, that the said bishop did not set forth in his said sermon the said articles, neither according to the said commandment to him given, neither according to his own promise.

To the Xth article: he cannot certainly depose upon the contents thereof.

To the XIth article: he cannot certainly depose thereof.

To articles XII. XIII. and XIV.: he cannot depose.

To the XVth article he saith, that the said 19th day of July, in the year articulate, this deponent was present with the rest of the privy council at Westminster, when the said bishop, being personally present, and having a submission and articles openly and distinctly read unto him, and required to subscribe the same, refused so to subscribe, because certain of the said articles did, as he then affirmed, mislike him; which this deponent cannot now specify.

To the XVIth and XVIIth he saith, he doth not now remember the sequestration made, but he was present, and heard the intimation read unto him, according as in the XVIIth article is contained.

To the XVIIIth he saith, the contents be true.

To the XIXth he saith, the contents are true as far as he knoweth.

Upon the Interrogatories.[1]—To the 1st he saith, he remembereth no such words spoken by the said bishop.

To the 2d he saith, he remembereth no such words spoken by the bishop.

To the 3d he saith, he remembereth no such request, nor words spoken.

Anthony Wingfield.

Master Secretary Cecil.

Master William Cecil esquire, one of the two principal secretaries to the king's majesty, of the age of twenty-seven years, sworn and examined.

To articles I. II. and III. he saith, that they are true.

To the IVth: he believeth it to be true.

To the Vth: he believeth it to be true.

To the VIth he saith, that of the bishop's doings and sayings at the king's majesty's visitation, he can nothing depose; but at other times, since the said visitation, this deponent knoweth, that the said bishop had been often complained upon, for not doing his duty in furtherance of the king's proceedings, of his certain knowledge; for that he (the said deponent), being attendant on the duke's grace of Somerset, then protector, hath seen and heard the said complaints brought and presented in writing, and by mouth, to the said duke.

To articles VII. and VIII. he saith, that it is true, that in the month and year articulate, the said bishop was called before the king's majesty's council, at the palace of Westminster; and there, in the queen's closet (as he now remembereth), was charged with his disobedience in not conforming himself to the king's majesty's proceedings. And thereupon the said bishop, offering to show his conformity therein all ways possible that he might, was commanded to preach a sermon before his majesty, on a certain day about a fortnight thence ensuing, and therein to declare and set forth the effect of the articles specified in the said VIIth position. And this he knoweth to be true, for that master Smith, then secretary, made this deponent then privy to the said articles, and was present and attendant on the council at the time of the delivery of them, and charge given to the said bishop. At which time he heard the said bishop, in the taking of them, require that he might be trusted to set them forth, not

(1) These interrogatories, ministered by the bishop to sir A. Wingfield, as well as to all the other witnesses against him produced, ye sh ll find in the second session or act.

like a scholar to read them upon the book, but to handle them more largely, as his matter should serve him; promising that, that ways, he would set them forth better than they were penned to him. And as touching the first article, of the king's supremacy, promised to set it forth much better than it was conceived in writing.

To the IXth article he saith, that he was at the said bishop's said sermon, having a copy of the said articles then with him; and gave good heed to conceive the said sermon from the beginning to the end, and how therein the bishop accomplished his said promise and duty; and, as he said, omitted divers things that he was commanded, as afore, to set forth: and divers other things he handled in such doubtful sort, as at that time this examinate thought it had been better he had never spoken of them; and namely the king's supremacy, and of the bishop of Rome's authority.

To the Xth article he saith, that the contents of the said article were true, for, he said, that he, the said deponent, was sent to the said bishop by the lord protector, in the king's name, to declare unto him great inconveniences risen among the people for an evil opinion of the king's authority in his young years; namely, in the county of Cornwall, where the people had, a little before, slain one Body in executing certain injunctions of the king; and held then opinion, that the commandments of the king were of no force during his young years otherwise than they did agree with his father's proceedings. Wherefore he required him, in the king's name, at his next sermon, preached on St. Peter's day, as afore, to teach the people the truth in that matter. Whereunto the bishop made answer, that he was very glad to be desired to speak in that matter, because he could speak as well, and as much in it, as any one in this realm; declaring, that he had treated, in the king's days that dead is, upon that matter for the defence of the young queen of Scots' authority, to make a pact of marriage with the king's majesty, now our sovereign, in her young years. After which talk the said deponent entered into the other part of his message, which was, to require him that he would in no wise meddle with any matter in his sermon being in controversy for the mass or the sacrament; declaring unto him at length divers inconveniences that might follow thereupon. Whereunto the said bishop made answer, that he could not, in his conscience, refrain to speak thereof as he thought, and prayed that he might not be straited therein like a child: but, in the end, resolved to do so well therein, as the said lord protector and the council should be well pleased with him. Whereupon this examinate, returning his answer to the said lord protector, the latter part of the same was much misliked. And therefore this examinate was, by the said lord protector, commanded to take a letter unto him from the lord protector, in the king's majesty's name, the day before his said sermon, among other things commanding him expressly, not to treat of any matter in controversy touching the said mass, for causes and considerations thereof contained in the said letter; which letter the said lord protector signed at Sion, and sent it unto the said bishop by a special messenger, who, returning that night, declared the deliverance thereof; the very and true copy of which letter remaineth with this deponent, as he said. And he said, that, notwithstanding the premises, the said bishop did, in his said sermon, declare his private opinion in the said matters, forbidden him as afore.

Page 806.

To the other articles he saith, he could not certainly depose upon the contents of the said articles.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answered, that he did not remember that the said bishop spake anything of the first part (of the interrogatory touching his agreement with the rulers), but, for the finding fault with the lower part, he remembereth that the bishop did entreat thereof.

By me, William Cecil.

Sir Ralph Sadler.

Sir Ralph Sadler knight, one of the king's majesty's most honourable privy council, of the age of 43 years, sworn and examined.

To articles I. II. and III. he saith, they are true.

To the IVth: he thinketh it is true; but he cannot certainly depose.

Edward VI.

A.D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

To the Vth: he believeth the same to be true.

To the VIth he saith, that he, being present with the council, in the council-chamber, had sundry times heard the said bishop named and noted to be no favourer of the king's majesty's proceedings; and reported, also, that men abroad did marvel that he was so suffered to do and preach as he did, contrary to the king's proceedings.

To the VIIth he saith, it is true of his certain knowledge; for he was then one of the council, and present when the said admonition was given unto him.

To the VIIIth he saith, the said article is true; for he (the said deponent) was present with the said council at Westminster, in the month articulate, when the articles mentioned in this position were delivered unto him, and *he* commanded to set them forth accordingly, in a sermon to be made before the king; who, then and there, promised to set forth the matters contained in this article, and the justness of the king's majesty's proceedings concerning those matters, more amply and in better sort, than was contained in the said writing delivered unto him: requiring that he might not be constrained to read them upon the book, but to set them forth by mouth, in his said sermon; which he promised to do more amply, and much better, than was contained in the articles, praying my lords of the council to credit him therein; saying these, or like words: 'Why should you mistrust me, for, if I do not as you command me, I remain still in your hands.'

To the IXth he saith, that the contents thereof are true, for this deponent was present at his sermon from the beginning to the end, and understood that he did not declare the said matters in such sort as he was commanded, and as he afore promised to do; insomuch that this deponent, and divers others (as well of the council as others), such as he conferred withal upon his said sermon, were much offended for the same.

To the Xth article he saith, the said article is true, for he knoweth he was both sent unto, and written unto, to forbear to speak of these two matters: contrary to which commandment he heard the said bishop, in his said sermon, speak of both the said matters.

To articles XI. XII. XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. and XIX: he knoweth nothing certainly of the contents therein.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st interrogatory he saith, that he doth remember no such thing.

To the 2d and 3d he answereth, that he remembereth not that the said bishop spake those very words contained in the interrogatories; but well he remembereth the bishop had long talk with him tending much to the same effect.

By me, Ralph Sadler.

Sir Thomas Chaloner.

Sir Thomas Chaloner knight, one of the clerks of the king's most honourable council, of the age of 30 years, sworn and examined.

To articles I. II. and III. he saith, the same contain truth.

To the IVth: he believeth it is true.

To the Vth: he believeth the same to be true.

To the VIth he saith, that the said bishop had been sundry times complained upon to the king's majesty's council, for the causes expressed in this article, of this deponent's certain knowledge; for he was personally present and attendant on the said council, when he heard such complaint made.

To the VIIth he saith, it is true, for he hath been present, as afore, when he hath heard the said council admonish the said bishop, as in this article is contained.

To the VIIIth he saith, that upon the said bishop's imprisonment in the Fleet, and his often suit to be delivered, at the last (after sundry conferences had with the said bishop of the privy council, and their report of the hope they conceived that he would be conformable to the king's majesty's proceedings in those things whereupon his said imprisonment ensued), the whole council thought good he should be released out of prison. And furthermore concluded, that for evident demonstration of his reformation, the bishop should preach a sermon before the king's majesty, at the time in this article expressed. Also this deponent saith, that the lords, and others of the council, debated among

themselves what points he should treat of in his said sermon. Whereupon, either sir Thomas Smith (then one of the king's majesty's secretaries), or master Cecil, was commanded to pen certain articles by the lords agreed upon, which this deponent supposeth to be those which in this article are set forth; but he cannot now certainly remember which thing particularly, and therefore cannot certainly affirm them to be in each point the same. But this he remembereth, that upon the penning and digesting of those articles in writing, and reading the same to the council, they appointed either sir Thomas Smith, or some other (whom he certainly remembereth not), to exhibit them unto the said bishop, on the council's behalf, accordingly: which delivery or receiving of them by the bishop, this deponent can no otherwise depose of; saving that, afterwards, he well doth remember that those of the council who in this behalf had travailed, and had conference with the said bishop, declared to the rest of the council assembled together (this deponent standing by), that they had spoken with the bishop, and exhibited those articles unto him to read, telling him thereupon, that it was the king's majesty's pleasure, by the council's advice, that at the day of his preaching prefixed, he should, in his sermon, peculiarly set forth and preach and treat upon those articles contained in that writing. Whereupon the bishop required them (as they say) to be means for him unto the king's majesty, that he should not, like a scholar, be set as it were to his task, to be taught his lesson by book; adding, that those articles, as they were penned, were not so ample as he would enlarge them in his sermon, but rather too scant; and that, in his sermon, he would do more than was required of him: with such like words. So that upon this report of the said bishop's words, the whole council there assembled, conceived such hope of the bishop's conformity, as they resolved to permit to the bishop's choice, to treat of the aforesaid articles, in his sermon, after what sort he thought best; the substance of the matter always reserved. Now whether aught were afterwards altered of this the council's order and determination, this deponent cannot depose, not being used for any minister in that affair.

To the IXth article he saith, he cannot depose, for that he was not present at the whole sermon.

To the Xth he saith, and well remembereth, that it was by the lords, for certain respects, thought not expedient that the bishop should, in his sermon, treat and touch any part of the matter then in controversy concerning the Sacrament of the Altar; and therefore concluded among themselves, that he should be Page 807. commanded, from the king's majesty, not to meddle aught in his sermon on that point; which commandment, like as he believeth, was delivered unto him at the time of the delivery of the said articles before mentioned, or at some other time before his sermon; [but] so he cannot specially affirm the same, because he was not present thereat.

To the XIth: he remembereth that certain lords, and others of the council, were sent unto the bishop, to travail with him for his reducement to a conformity; but the particulars he cannot depose of.

To the XIIth: he remembereth such a letter sent, signed by the king's majesty, was read before the council, and that certain were assigned to deliver the same to the bishop; and more he cannot depose.

To the XIIIth: he can no further depose than as before.

To the XIVth: he remembereth that another submission was also read at the council-board, before them, to be sent also to the bishop; the particularities whereof he doth not remember, nor more can he depose.

To the XVth: he remembereth it well, that he refused the said subscription, this deponent being then present.

To the XVIth and XVIIth: he doth remember well, for he was present, and saw it entered into the register-book of the council.

To the XVIIIth: it is true.

To the last: he cannot tell.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 13th interrogatory he answered, that he was not throughly present at the bishop's sermon, and therefore heard no such thing as, in the said interrogatory, is mentioned.

The 2d and 3d do not concern the said respondent.

By me, Thomas Chaloner.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

Master Nicholas Throgmorton.

Master Nicholas Throgmorton esquire, one of the gentlemen of the king's majesty's privy chamber, of the age of 35 years, sworn and examined, saith as ensueth.

To articles I. II. and III. he saith, those articles be true.

To the IVth he cannot depose.

To the Vth he saith, that he thinketh this article containeth truth.

To the VIth he cannot depose.

To the VIIth he cannot depose.

To the VIIIth he saith, he cannot depose anything on this article.

To the IXth: that he was not privy what commandment was given to the bishop of Winchester, nor what he promised to do; and therefore cannot depose, of his own knowledge, whether he did break the said commandment and promise, or not. And besides, this examinate was present at the sermon made in the day mentioned in these articles; but, he saith, he stood so far off, and in such a thrust of the people, as he could not well hear, at all times, what was said by the said bishop in the time of his said sermon.

To the Xth article, and to all the rest of the articles, he saith, he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st interrogatory, he saith, he can nothing depose, nor answer certainly thereof, for causes afore by him deposed.

Nicholas Throgmorton.

Sir Thomas Wrothe.

Sir Thomas Wrothe knight, one of the king's majesty's privy chamber, of the age of 32 years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, answereth.

To articles I. II. and III. he saith, they be true.

To the IVth: he cannot depose thereof.

To the Vth he saith, that all the king's subjects disobeying his majesty's laws, injunctions, and ordinances, ought to be punished.

To the VIth he saith, he cannot depose thereof of his certain knowledge, but only that he hath so [heard] reported.

To the VIIth: he hath heard so reported; and, otherwise, he knoweth not.

To the VIIIth he saith, that he heard say the bishop had a commandment given him, to set forth certain articles touching the king's proceedings; but what they were, certainly he cannot depose.

To the IXth he saith, that he was present at his [the bishop's] sermon from the beginning to the end, in the day mentioned in the article, and in a place where he might, and as he thinketh did, hear all that the said bishop then said. And saith, that he heard not the said bishop speak any word that the king's majesty's authority was, and should be, as great now, in his grace's young years, as if his grace were of many more years; for, if he had, this deponent saith, he should have heard it. For, hearing afore that the said bishop should preach thereof, he gave more heed to hear and note if he spake thereof, as he doubteth not he did not. As for the rest of the matters mentioned in the VIIIth article afore, what and how he spake of them, he doth not now perfectly remember.

To the Xth article he saith, that he cannot tell whether the said bishop were inhibited to speak of the mass and communion articulate, then commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, or not; but he is assured that he heard speak of both in his said sermon.

To the other articles he saith, he knoweth not of the contents thereof of his own knowledge; but that he hath heard so reported.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he saith, he doth not presently remember whether the said bishop, in his said sermon, spake according as in the interrogatories is contained, or no.

Thomas Wrothe.

Master John Cheke.

Master John Cheke esquire, of the age of 36 years; a witness sworn and examined.

To the articles I. II. and III. he saith, the same do contain truth.

To the IVth article: he thinketh the same to be true.

To the Vth he saith, it is true.

To the VIth and VIIth he saith, he believeth the contents thereof to be true, and so, he saith, he hath heard reported: but otherwise he cannot depose of his certain knowledge.

To the VIIIth article he saith, that he (the said deponent), being at the king's palace at Westminster, in June articulate, saw the said bishop of Winchester attendant upon the council; and then and there heard it credibly reported, that the said bishop had in commandment to preach a sermon afore the king's highness, and therein to declare the effect of the articles mentioned in this position. And otherwise, he cannot certainly depose.

To the IXth he saith, that he (the said examinate) was personally present at the said bishop's sermon preached before the king's majesty the day and year articulate, standing beside the king's majesty's person, where he might and did perfectly hear the said bishop from the beginning to the end of the said sermon: in which the said bishop spake nothing of the king's majesty's authority to be of like force now, in his young years, as when his grace is of more years; for, if he had, this deponent (for the causes aforesaid) must needs have heard it. And for that also—because he heard say, that that article was among others specially enjoined to the said bishop—this deponent was the more attentive to hear him set forth the same, which, he saith, he did not. And Page 308. saith also, that the said bishop, entreating in his said sermon of the bishop of Rome, and [of] other articles the specialties of which he doth not now remember, handled them in [such] doubtful sort, that this deponent, at that time, judged it much better that the said bishop had not spoken of them at all, than to do as he did.

To the Xth article he saith, that he cannot depose of the commandments given. But he heard the said bishop, in his said sermon, speak both of the mass, and of the communion (then commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar). To the residue, he saith, he cannot certainly depose; but that he hath heard so reported.

Upon the Interrogatories.—Examined also upon the 1st interrogatory ministered by the bishop, he saith, that he thinketh the said bishop did not speak particulate, nor the like; for he doth not remember he heard him speak so, or like.

John Cheke.

Sir Thomas Smith.

Sir Thomas Smith knight, of the age of 33 years, sworn and examined.

To the articles I. II. and III. he saith, that they contain truth.

To the IVth: he knoweth it not.

To the Vth: he believeth the same to be true.

To articles VI. and VII. he saith, that he thinks the contents of the same to be true; but, he saith, he hath no certain knowledge thereof.

To the VIIIth article he saith, it is true, so far as he shall hereafter consequently declare; for, he saith, that upon such complaints and admonitions as are there specified, as might appear in the proceedings of the council, my lord of Somerset, then protector, sent divers times this deponent to the said bishop, to travail with him to agree to certain of the king's majesty's proceedings, and to promise to set them forth in sermon, or otherwise. And so this deponent did travail, and master Cecil also. And hereupon certain articles, by commandment of the king's majesty's council, were drawn forth by this deponent, and master Cecil; to the which the said bishop should show his consent, and to agree to preach and set forth the same. And, after divers times of travailing with the said bishop (as well by this deponent, as by the said master Cecil), to bring the said bishop to a conformity herein, and upon some hope of conformity, the said bishop was sent for by the lords of the council to the palace at Westminster, into a chamber in the garden there; and there he had the articles (the effect whereof, he saith, is mentioned and contained in this article, written to him in a sheet of paper), to debate and deliberate with himself upon them. Then and there was sent to him the lord of Wiltshire, to travail with him, to bring him to a full agreement to set forth the said articles. And after

Edward VI.

A.D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

the said bishop had showed to the said lord (as the said lord reported to the council) some conformity therein, the said lord of Wiltshire, with this deponent to wait on him, was eftsoons sent to the said bishop, to take his final resolution; at whose coming the said bishop showed great conformity to be willing to set forth the said articles in his sermon, or otherwise, as it should seem meet to the council: only he required, not to have his lesson given unto him in writing, as a boy (for so he termed it), but that it might be put to his discretion; and so he would do it better than they looked for. Upon this relation to the lords of the council then sitting, the said bishop was sent for up to the council-chamber, and, then and there, before the lords of the council then present, he made the same request. And, at much entreaty of him, and great show of conformity to do it, made, a day was appointed unto him to preach a sermon, in the which he should declare all those articles. And he then and there [was] commanded to do it, and promised to do them much better, and more for their minds, than it was in the articles. Marry for order, he required to bring them in, as his matter served. And, the more to persuade the lords herein, he used these persuasions: That it was a shame for him, who had been noted for a learned man, to have his lesson taught him as a boy; and that he had been trusted with embassage, and greater matters than these. 'And,' said he, 'if I should deceive you, my lords, I am still in your hands: I am in your order.' Upon this he (the said bishop) had the said articles left with him, which contain in effect those matters which are mentioned in this article; and that the said deponent remembereth the better, for divers had copies then delivered of the articles, whereof one copy master doctor Coxe had, of this deponent's clerk's writing. Those articles the said bishop was commanded to preach. A day was given him, and he promised to do it; and so he was dismissed at that time. The next day, this deponent saith that he departed from the court, and took his journey towards Flanders; and, therefore, how the said bishop preached, he cannot tell.

Upon the other articles he saith, he cannot certainly depose upon the contents of them.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he saith, he was not at his sermon; and therefore cannot answer thereto.

To the 2d and 3d: he can nothing declare thereof.

Thomas Smith.

Dr. Richard Coxe.

Master Richard Coxe, doctor of divinity, almoner to the king's majesty, of the age of 51 years; sworn and examined of and upon certain articles ministered against the bishop of Winchester.

To articles I. II. and III. he saith, they are true.

To the IVth article he cannot depose.

To the Vth he saith, it is true.

To the VIth he answereth, that he was complained upon, as he heard say, by Dr. Ayre and Dr. Tonge unto the king's majesty's council, for the said Dr. Ayre and Dr. Tonge, being prebendaries of Winchester, were sent together by the king, to preach and set forth the king's proceedings, forasmuch as the bishop there had preached against his majesty's said proceedings, and that the said Dr. Ayre and Dr. Tonge showed unto this deponent, that the said bishop entered before them into the pulpit, and there said, 'I hear say, that there be preachers sent into my diocese to preach. I trust you will believe no doctrine but such as I have taught you: you will not believe them that you never heard before.' Whereupon the audience of the said preachers, Dr. Tonge and Dr. Ayre, was but very slender. Being demanded what time it was, he saith it was more than two years and a half now past, as far as he now remembereth.

To the VIIth article he saith, it containeth truth, as he heard say.

To the VIIIth article he answereth, that the contents therein are true, for so he heard certain of the king's majesty's council, videlicet, my lord of Somerset, my lord Paget, sir Thomas Smith, and others: and also he heard of the king's majesty himself. Being demanded about what time, he answered, that it was about the time articulate.

To the IXth, unto this place 'his highness's reign,' he answereth, and be-

lieveth, that that part is true, for that he heard it spoken of the king's majesty, and the duke of Somerset.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

And to the other part of the said articles he saith, that the said bishop—in his said sermon, made upon St. Peter's day, before the king's majesty at Westminster, was two years at Midsummer last past (at which sermon this deponent was present, hearing and observing the said sermon), said: 'Tu es Petrus, etc. The bishop of Rome could claim no superiority by this text: in case it made any thing for Peter, the bishop of Rome was not entailed thereby.'

Reprint from the First Edition.

The said bishop of Winchester brought no Scriptures, doctors, nor council against him. He compared him to a schoolmaster, a councillor, and to the head and fountain of waters: 'insomuch,' quoth he, 'that if in case the realm should fall into an ignorance and a barbarousness, then the king may take him to be a councillor, and to be ordered after him.' And as touching religious houses and monasteries, the said bishop, in his said sermon said, that religious men, for abusing their garments and cowls, and many other things, at length were evil served, and lost all together. And said there, that the vow of chastity was not taken away; but their vow of poverty was provided for meetly well, for many of them were become poor enough. And as concerning ceremonies and images, he said generally, that when they be misused, they may be taken away; as books, when they be abused, may also be taken away. And as concerning pilgrimages, relics, shrines, the superstitious going-about of St. Nicholas bishop, St. Edmund, St. Katherine, St. Clement, and such like, he spake nothing: and as concerning the taking-away of chantries, obits, and colleges, he saith, that he doth not remember that the same bishop spake of them in his said sermon; and as touching the setting-forth of the king's majesty's authority in his young years to be as great as if his highness were of many years, he spake nothing thereof, in his said sermon, nor of auricular confession. For, if the said bishop had treated of that matter, this deponent saith that he should have heard him, forasmuch as he was there hearing and observing, and partly noting such things as the said bishop did preach, from the beginning of his sermon, to the end thereof. For if he had, this deponent saith, that he should have heard him, and would have noted them, as he did other things. And as touching holy bread, holy water, holy candles, and ashes, palms, beads, and creeping to the cross, the procession, and common prayer in English, and other such like, the said bishop spake nothing specially of them, but generally, as of ceremonies. All which things he was commanded specially to touch in his said sermon, as it is contained in a bill of articles, which the council delivered unto this deponent; which bill of articles, at the time of this deponent's examination, he did show and present.

Page 809.

To the Xth article he saith, that the duke of Somerset showed this deponent, that the said bishop was commanded in the king's name, that he should not entreat or meddle of any matter being in controversy (as the Mass and the Sacrament of the Altar): which the said bishop did not obey, but did clean contrary, in speaking of the mass and sacrament, of this deponent's certain hearing; being at the said sermon, as before he hath deposed.

Upon articles XI. XII. XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. and the last articles he cannot depose.

By me, Richard Coxe.

Thomas Watson.

Thomas Watson, bachelor of divinity, of the age of 33 years, or thereabouts, produced for witness, sworn, and examined upon the aforesaid articles.

Upon articles I. II. and III. he saith, that they be true.

To the IVth article, he saith, that he cannot depose: howbeit he doth believe the said bishop was sworn.

To the Vth article: he supposeth the same to be true.

To the VIth article he saith, that he doth not know, that the said bishop was complained upon at any the king's visitations, nor of any information made against him for his preaching. Nevertheless this deponent saith, that before this deponent was committed to the Fleet, he was sent for, by a letter, to come to the council, before whom he then was: but what was objected to him, this deponent knoweth not; but he saith, that from thence he was sent unto the Fleet—for this deponent was then, and now is, his chaplain, and waited upon the said bishop, his master, unto the Fleet.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

To the VIIth article he saith, he cannot depose.

To the VIIIth article, unto these words, 'and for that,' he cannot depose. And to the other part of the article he saith, that in the month of June, in the second year of the king's majesty's reign (as this deponent doth now remember), master William Cecil came to my lord, this deponent's master, being then at his house at the Clink. Upon a Friday (as he now remembereth), after the said bishop of Winchester, this deponent's master, had been before the council, master Cecil came unto the said bishop from my lord of Somerset. And in opening to the said bishop the duke's pleasure (as this deponent heard say), and that the said bishop should preach before the king's majesty, and write his sermon, and in declaring of the said duke's pleasure, the said master Cecil noted the said bishop as an offender, declaring how the said duke of Somerset's grace had showed him favour, and not done extremity. Whereupon the said bishop, being somewhat moved with the said master Cecil's declaration, sent no answer to the said duke by master Cecil, but, the morrow after, sent this deponent to the said duke's grace, with a letter, and, besides that, a message by mouth, which was this: That this deponent should show his grace, that the said bishop, this deponent's master, was never so spoken to in all his life; and that this deponent thought master Cecil had misused his grace's message, in that he noted the said bishop an offender; while the said bishop said, he knew that he had not offended. And that the said bishop, his master, mistrusted so much the more the message was not rightfully done, because that his grace refused to speak with the bishop himself. And as touching the preaching, he (the said bishop) could well be content to preach, but not to write his sermon; for that were like an offender. And after those words spoken by this deponent to the said duke's grace in the king's majesty's garden, at the court at Westminster, master Cecil was called unto the said duke, in the presence of this deponent, to rehearse what he had said unto the said bishop; by whose rehearsal this deponent perceived, that the said master Cecil had said nothing but accordingly as the said duke's grace had commanded him to do; and not so much, in *all* points. And the said duke's grace willed this deponent to show to the said bishop his master, that he should not suspect the said duke's trusty servants, whom he used to send unto him; and that he did not refuse to speak with him of any displeasure or disdain; but that it was thought he favoured him over much; and that, if his grace had followed other men's advices, he should have sent him to the Tower, when he was last before the council; and willed this deponent to show the said bishop, that it was the said duke's pleasure, that he should preach; and, forasmuch as he refused to write his sermon, the said duke's grace would send him articles of the matter whereof he should preach.

And, within two days after, this deponent was present when the said master Cecil came to the said bishop in the Clink, and went with the said bishop into his study; and there, as this deponent supposeth, delivered the said bishop certain articles, which the said deponent saw in the said bishop's hand. And the bishop said unto this deponent (having the said articles in his hand), 'Here be the articles, that my lord of Somerset hath sent me to preach upon:' and so put up the articles, not reading nor declaring to this deponent the effect of them at that time; and otherwise he cannot depose. Yet, nevertheless, this deponent saith, that the said bishop, before his said sermon upon St. Peter's day, before the king's majesty, did commune with this deponent of certain of those articles, which he doth not remember.

Page 810. To the IXth article he saith, that upon a certain day in the said month of June, after the delivery of the said articles by the said master Cecil to the said bishop, the same bishop was sent for to the court; and, as he came from thence in his barge homeward, asked, when should be the next holy-day. Then this examinate, after the said bishop's coming home (suspecting that he should preach), asked of him, whether he should preach those articles afore to him delivered, in the same form as they were written. And then the said bishop said, that he, being in the lord great master's chamber in the court, asked of master secretary Smith, what law he had to compel him to speak their form of words (meaning the article to him delivered); who answered, it was not meant he should preach in that form, but that he should speak of those matters. And, moreover, he saith that he (this deponent) waited upon the said bishop at such time as he went to preach before the king's majesty, the said St. Peter's day,

and was there present at the sermon-time among the throng, so that conveniently he could not hear the sermon. And otherwise this deponent cannot depose upon the said article.

Upon the Xth article being examined, he saith, that on St. Peter's Even, before the said bishop preached, a servant of the duke of Somerset (as this deponent heard say) brought a letter from the duke's grace to the said bishop; whereupon the said bishop, shortly after, sent for this deponent, and, after his coming to him, showed how that the duke had sent him a letter. Whereunto the said bishop said, he would write an answer, which this deponent should carry to his grace. And thereupon, the said bishop began to write; and, before he had written two lines, he stayed and said, he would send answer by word of mouth by this deponent. And beginning to tell this deponent a tale, what he should say for his message, [he] stayed before he made a perfect tale, and so this deponent withdrew himself. And shortly, the said bishop sent for this deponent again, and said to him, 'You shall not go. I will do well enough, I warrant you.' And, further, this deponent saith, that he doth know, that the said bishop had provided to have spoken much of the Sacrament of the Altar in that sermon; and thereof, to this deponent's remembrance, spake something in his sermon; but what it was, this deponent remembereth not. And further he can say nothing to the matter.

Upon articles XI. XII. XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. and XIX. being examined, he saith, that he cannot depose of and upon the contents thereof.

To the Interrogatories.—Upon the 1st interrogatory being examined, he saith, that he heard the said bishop, in his said sermon, after that he had spoken particularly of divers matters, say in a general sentence, in this sense: that he (the said bishop) agreed with the superior magistrates, and only found fault with the lower sort, and namely the preachers that were then abroad: likening them to posts, which carried truth in their letters, and lies in their mouths.

Upon the 2d and 3d articles he was not examined, because they did not touch him. Thomas Watson.

Master William Honing.

Master William Honing esquire, of the age of 31 years, or thereabouts; sworn and examined, etc.

To articles I. II. and III. he saith, that they be true.

To the IVth article: he believeth it to be true.

To the Vth: he believeth it to be true.

To the VIth he saith, that he cannot certainly depose thereupon. Nevertheless, he saith, that he was present at the court in the council-chamber at Hampton-court, at such time as the duke of Somerset's grace was in Scotland, when the bishop of Winchester was committed to the Fleet, for certain complaints made unto the council against him, which this deponent now remembereth not.

To the VIIth he cannot depose.

To the VIIIth article, he saith, that in the month of June, in the second year of the king's majesty's reign, this deponent, upon a certain day of the said month, was present in the council-chamber at Westminster, when there were certain articles read and spoken of in the council-chamber there, partly by writing and partly by mouth, containing the effect of all the matters contained in this article, to his remembrance; which things the said bishop was commanded to entreat and speak of in his sermon, and he was appointed to preach before the king's majesty. And, as this deponent remembereth, the articles in writing were offered unto him. And that article touching the king's majesty's authority in his tender age, was treated of with him the last matter before the bishop's departure from the council; whereunto he made answer by these, or like words: 'My lords, *that* should be as a child should take his lesson. Trust me with them, and I shall do them more fully, than I should do them by prescribed words.' And otherwise he cannot depose but as before, in the article that goeth before; being then writing, as he remembereth, in the council-chamber.

Edward VI.

A.D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

To the IXth article he saith as he said to the VIIIth before.

To the Xth article he cannot depose. Howbeit he saith, that master Cecil was sent to the said bishop, with what commission he remembereth not; and likewise the bishop had a letter sent unto him.

To articles XI. XII. XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. and XIX. examined, he saith, that he cannot depose of and upon the contents thereof.

Upon the Interrogatories.—Upon the said interrogatories examined, he saith, that he cannot otherwise depose than afore he hath deposed.

William Honing.

Dr. Giles Ayre.

Master Giles Ayre, doctor of divinity, dean of the cathedral church of Chichester, of the age of 42 years, or thereabouts, produced for witness, sworn and examined of and upon the articles above said.

Upon articles I. II. and III. he being examined, saith, that it is true.

Upon the IVth article, being examined, he believeth the same to be true.

Upon the Vth being examined, he believeth the same to be true.

Upon the VIth, being examined, he saith that he (this deponent himself) and master doctor Tonge, now deceased, did complain upon the said bishop unto my lord of Somerset, then being protector; for this deponent, and master doctor Tonge, were sent by the said duke of Somerset to preach at Winchester. And when they came thither, they desired the bishop, that they might preach accordingly, as they were sent to declare the king's majesty's proceedings. To whom the said bishop said, that he would occupy the place himself that day; whereby he stayed them from preaching on a Sunday before-noon, which was the second Sunday after Easter, in the second year of the king's majesty's reign. And upon the said second Sunday the bishop did preach, and, in his sermon in the cathedral church of Winchester, did inveigh against new preachers which were there come down to preach; saying, 'I understand there be new preachers sent down: but I suppose there is none of my flock so mad to believe them that they never saw before, neither that doctrine that they never heard before.' Whereupon the people being at the said bishop's sermon, turned their eyes towards the said Dr. Tonge and this deponent. And the said Sunday in the afternoon, Dr. Tonge preached in the said cathedral church; and, the Tuesday following, this deponent did preach there. And the Sunday after that, Watson, the bishop's chaplain, did preach in the said church, and inveighed against the said Dr. Tonge and this deponent, as this deponent heard say. For which causes this deponent and the said Tonge, as before he hath deposed, did complain to my lord of Somerset's grace; and this deponent gathered certain articles touching the misordering of the said Dr. Tonge and this deponent, by the bishop and his said chaplain; which articles this said deponent delivered, within these three days, to master secretary Cecil. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Winchester stayeth the preachers sent by the king from preaching.

Page 811. To the VIIth article the examinate saith, that he knoweth nothing concerning the contents of the same.

To the VIIIth the examinate saith, that he was not privy to any commandment given to the said bishop to preach according to the effect of the said articles: nevertheless he heard say, he was commanded so to do. And moreover he saith, that he (this deponent) was present at the sermon which the said bishop made before the king's majesty at Westminster, upon St. Peter's day, in the second year of his majesty's reign, as he supposeth; in which sermon this deponent [was] standing in a convenient place where he heard him very well, and noted certain things which the bishop entreated of. The said bishop did not treat so fully of the abolishing and taking away of the bishop of Rome's authority, as he should have done: but referred him unto a book that he had set forth, touching the bishop of Rome's usurped authority. And as touching the suppressing and taking away of monasteries, images, [and] chantry-masses, he spake, in his said sermon, but very coldly. And as for shrines, going-about with St. Nicholas, obits, colleges, hallowing of candles, holy water, ashes, palms, holy bread, beads, creeping to the cross, setting-forth of the king's majesty's authority in his young years, auricular confession, or common prayer in English, the said bishop did not entreat upon [them], as far as he now remembereth:

nevertheless he did attentively hearken to his sayings and preaching, and heard him not speak of them; for, if he had, he should have heard him, as he saith.

To the IXth article he answereth and saith, that it is truth; for the said bishop spake doubtfully, in declaring the supremacy of the king's majesty; and for images, he spake in such sort as though they might stand still. And touching the monasteries, he found no fault but in the persons; making no mention of their superstitiousness, and enormities of the religion and living. And in his so doubtful declaring of those things this deponent was offended therein, and so, he supposeth, likewise others of the audience were. And as touching the mass, he said, that the king had established the same in his book: meaning (as he supposeth) the book set out by king Henry the Eighth.

Being demanded concerning such things as, he said, the king might take away, whether he said, the king had done godly in taking the same away, this deponent saith, that the said bishop said no such thing, to his remembrance; for if he had so spoken, this deponent supposeth that he should have heard it, and noted it; because he was there from the beginning to the ending of his sermon, and gave attentive ear and noting, as before he hath said.

To the Xth he saith, that the said bishop spake of the Sacrament of the Altar in his said sermon; and said, that Christ did consecrate himself in the mass. But whether he were inhibited to speak of it or no, this deponent knoweth not.

To articles XI. XII. XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. and XIX. the examinate saith, that he can nothing say of the contents therein, saving that this deponent saith, the said bishop yet is disobedient, as appeareth.

Upon the Interrogatories.—Upon the 1st interrogatory he being examined saith, that he remembereth no such words that the said bishop then did speak.

Upon the other interrogatories he, being examined, saith, that they concern not him, and upon them he cannot depose.

Giles Ayre.

Dr. Robert Record.

Master Robert Record, doctor of physic, of the age of 38 years or thereabout, was produced and sworn, etc.; and upon articles I. II. and III. being examined, he saith, that the contents thereof are true.

Upon the IVth article being examined, he saith, that he supposeth the said bishop hath made an oath to the king's majesty, of his grace's supremacy.

Upon the Vth being examined, he believeth the same to be true.

Upon the VIth being examined, he saith that he hath heard say, that the said bishop was complained on for maintenance of Hobberdine and Wigge, being evil preachers.

Upon the VIIth being examined, he saith, that he hath heard say, that the said bishop was commanded to conform himself to the king's majesty's proceedings within a certain time, which this deponent remembereth not.

Upon the VIIIth being examined, he saith, that upon a certain day in the month of June, in the second year of the king's majesty's reign, and before the day that the said bishop should preach before the king's majesty at Westminster, this deponent saw certain articles in writing, containing the effect of the matter contained in the VIIIth article, whereof one of them was concerning the king's authority in his tender age. And further, that there was certain communication among the king's servants, of certain things that the said bishop was forbidden to entreat of or meddle with in his sermon, as the sacrament of the altar and the mass. Otherwise he cannot depose on this article.

To the IXth article he saith, he was present at the said bishop's sermon, made upon St. Peter's day, before the king's majesty, at the court, and noted certain things in the said sermon; in the which sermon he did omit to entreat of certain articles before by this deponent specified, and which the said bishop was commanded (as he heard say) to declare and set forth. And specially he did omit to entreat of the authority of the king's majesty in his tender age, and did not speak thereof: for this deponent was present at the said sermon from the beginning unto the ending, in such place as he might well hear and understand the said bishop; and gave attentive ear unto his preaching. And if he had, at that time, declared the same, this deponent should have heard it;

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

because he was desirous to hear it spoken of the said bishop's mouth. And said, that the said bishop, in the confuting of the bishop of Rome's authority, spake in such doubtful sort, as this deponent and divers other of the audience, were much offended thereat.

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And concerning the suppression of monasteries and religious houses the said bishop said, it was not prejudicial unto the mass, for so much as the efficacy of the mass stood not in the multitude of them. But, that the king did godly in the taking away the monasteries, this deponent saith, he doth not now remember that the bishop spoke any such words in his sermon; but the said bishop excused the king in taking away the monasteries, in such sort that he did thereby nothing prejudicial to the mass. But he spake nothing in commendation of the king therein; for if he had, this deponent thinketh surely he should have heard, and marked it, because he gave himself very studiously to hear his said sermon.

And as concerning pilgrimages, relics, shrines, St. Nicholas bishop, St. Edmund, St. Katherine, St. Clement, holy bread, holy water, ashes, palms, beads, creeping to the cross, auricular confession, procession, and common prayer in English; this deponent heard not the said bishop speak of any of them in his sermon: for he should surely have heard them, and noted them; for he purposely went to hear and mark what the bishop would say.

Upon the Xth article being examined, he saith, that the said bishop, in his sermon, spake both of the sacrament of the altar, and also of the mass; and commended the king's majesty in retaining the mass. And, touching the sacrament of the altar, the said bishop spake much, and said, that Christ consecrated himself, and left himself to be a memorial of himself: and that it was the same Christ that was offered then, and is now either sacrificed, or else remembered in the mass. Which words touching the sacrament were an offence to this deponent, and other auditors there. And otherwise this deponent cannot depose.

Upon articles XI. XII. XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. and the last article nevertheless he saith, that the said bishop, as this deponent saith, remaineth yet disobedient.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st interrogatory he saith, that the said bishop, in his said sermon said, that he liked certain things in the king's majesty, and the higher powers; which he then named specially. But, that he thoroughly did agree, this deponent heard him not say so. And that he found in the lower part fault, in that they took upon them to alter any thing in the religion without the king's authority. But that *all* the fault was in them, videlicet, the lower part, he heard him not say. And otherwise he cannot depose.

The 2d and 3d concern him nothing.

Robert Record.

Sir George Blage.

Page 812. Sir George Blage knight, of the age of 38 years, produced, sworn, and examined upon the aforesaid articles.

Upon articles I. II. and III. he saith, they do contain the truth in every part.

To the IVth article he cannot depose.

To the Vth he saith, it is true.

To the VIth he saith, he cannot depose.

To the VIIth he saith, he cannot depose.

To the VIIIth he saith, he cannot depose, whether the said bishop of Winchester was commanded to treat of any such things as is contained in the said article.

To the IXth he saith, that he was present at the sermon made on St. Peter's day, in the second year of the reign of king Edward the Sixth; at which time this deponent heard the said bishop preach upon the sacrament and the mass: wherewith this deponent, and divers others (as he saith), were then offended. But what specially the bishop spake of the sacrament and the mass, this deponent doth not now certainly remember.

To the Xth he saith, as before he hath deposed to the XIXth article; and otherwise cannot depose.

Being examined upon the rest of the said articles, he saith, he cannot depose of any the contents in them specified.

George Blage.

Nicholas Udall.

Nicholas Udall, master of arts, of the age of 44 years or thereabouts; a witness produced, sworn, and examined of and upon the aforesaid articles.

To articles I. II. and III. he saith, they do contain the truth.

To the IVth article, he saith, he cannot depose.

To the Vth: he believeth the same to be true.

To the VIth he saith, that he hath heard say, that the bishop of Winchester was complained upon to the council.

To the VIIth he cannot depose.

To articles VIII. IX. and X. he saith, that upon St. Peter's day, in the month of June, in the second year of the reign of king Edward the Sixth, this deponent, at the request of a noble personage of this realm, was, the same day, at the bishop of Winchester's sermon made before the king's majesty, at the court, the said St. Peter's day, and diligently noted in writing the said bishop's sermon; which writing, being by him conceived (containing the effect of the said bishop's sermon), this deponent, at the time of his examination, did read and exhibit. And of other things not mentioned in the said book by this deponent exhibited, the said bishop, in his said sermon, did not treat of or speak of, to this deponent's remembrance: for if he had, he thinketh he should have noted the same, for he was there, in the pulpit, diligently noting and marking the said sermon. And otherwise this deponent cannot depose upon the said articles.

To the rest of the articles, he saith, he cannot depose but by the report of others.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st interrogatory he answereth, that otherwise he cannot depose, than he hath before deposed.

The 2d and 3d interrogatories concern not him.

By me, N. Udall.

Sir Edward North.

Sir Edward North, knight, one of the king's privy council, of the age of 47 years or thereabout; a witness produced, sworn, and examined of and upon the aforesaid articles.

To articles I. II. and III. he saith, they do contain the truth.

To the IVth he cannot depose.

To the Vth article he saith, it containeth the truth.

To the VIth article he cannot depose.

To the VIIth article this deponent saith, that he was present in the council, when the said bishop of Winchester was so monished and advised.

To articles VIII. IX. and X. he saith, that he (this deponent) was present in the council at Westminster, when the bishop of Winchester was there, before the lords of the king's most honourable council; and when certain articles in writing, containing much of the effect of those things specified in the said articles, as this deponent remembereth, were delivered to him; of which things he should entreat in his sermon, which he was commanded to preach before the king's majesty. At the delivery of which articles, he required the council, that he should not be constrained to read them on the book, as a child should; but that they should refer it to his discretion: and that he would do them effectually. And so he then promised. But whether he declared those articles according to his promise, or omitted any of them, this deponent cannot tell; for he was not present at all his sermon, but a part thereof. Yet, afterwards, this deponent heard say of certain of the council, that the bishop did omit to entreat of certain of those matters; and after, the duke of Somerset's grace declared to the council, in the presence of this deponent, that he had willed the said bishop not to entreat of certain matters, in his said sermon, touching the sacrament of the altar and the mass, which, notwithstanding, he did. And this deponent saith moreover, that, afore that time, sundry times it was declared in the council (this deponent being there present), of the disorder of the said bishop; where divers times it was devised and consulted by the council, how and by what

Edward VI. means the said bishop might be brought to conform himself to such orders as they had devised.

A. D. 1551. To the XIth article this deponent saith, that the said bishop was sent unto (but what time he remembereth not) to know his opinion and conformity touching the Book of Common Prayer, and, as this deponent remembereth, my lord chancellor, my lord of Wiltshire, and sir William Peter, went to him; and, at their return they said, that the bishop said, 'he, being discharged of those things that he was committed to ward for, would show his mind therein, and in any other thing, without delay.'

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To articles XII. XIII. and XIV. he saith, that sundry articles, with a submission, were sent to the said bishop of Winchester by certain of the lords of the council, by him to be subscribed. For this deponent was then present in the council, when it was determined that the said lords, and master secretary Peter, should go to the said bishop of Winchester.

To the XVth article this deponent saith, that he was present in the council when the said bishop was before the said council, when certain articles, with a submission, were exhibited to the said bishop of Winchester, by him to be subscribed; which he refused to subscribe at that time.

To the XVIth this deponent saith, that he was present in the council, when the fruits of the bishopric were sequestered.

To the XVIIth this deponent saith, that he was likewise present after the said sequestration, when the said bishop was admonished to conform himself within three months then next following, under pain of deprivation.

To the XVIIIth he saith, that the said three months are past, as this deponent supposeth.

To the last article he saith, that the said bishop, as yet, hath not conformed himself, as far as this deponent knoweth.

Upon the Interrogatories.—Upon the said interrogatories he saith, that he remembereth no part contained in the said first interrogatory: whether he spake of it or not, he remembereth not; for he was not at all the sermon, as afore he hath deposed. And as touching the interrogatory concerning sir Anthony Wingfield and sir Ralph Sadler, he cannot depose any thing of them.

By me, Edward North.

Edward, Duke of Somerset.

Edward, duke of Somerset, examined upon the articles objected against the bishop of Winchester, saith as here ensueth:

To articles I. II. and III. his grace saith, they be true.

To the IVth: his grace cannot certainly depose thereof.

To the Vth: his grace thinketh the same to be true.

To the VIth and VIIth articles his grace saith, that the said bishop hath been sundry times complained on to his grace, and sundry informations made against him, that he was not conformable to the king's proceedings in matters of religion. Whereupon the said bishop hath been sundry times admonished by his grace to conform himself to the king's said proceedings, as to his duty appertained.

Page 813.

To the VIIIth his grace saith, that the article containeth truth, for touching, first, the bishop of Rome's authority, his grace well remembereth, that of himself he required the said bishop to treat of that matter according to that article. Who replied, 'He thought it not necessary now, for that the same was long ago established in the king's days that dead is; and that he also had written thereon before: and that he thought men were satisfied therein; and therefore better it were not to stir that matter now, than to speak thereof.' Whereunto his grace replied, that it was more need to speak thereof now, than in the late king's time; for that the said late king being a notable wise prince, and greatly loved and dreaded in his realm, it might of some be thought, that the laws of the realm, touching the supremacy and the abolishing of the bishop of Rome's pretended authority, were rather done of power and will, than for justness of the cause. For which cause, thinking nothing more necessary to be spoken of than that article, the bishop was commanded to preach thereof, according as in the article is contained.

And touching the king's majesty's authority in his young years; because that some had not that just opinion of his majesty's authority in those years as they ought to have, and thereupon showed themselves not so obedient to the laws and orders set forth by his majesty's authority as their duty required, the said bishop was also willed to speak of that matter, and to set forth to the people, that his majesty's authority was as great in these his majesty's young years, as if his grace were of many more years. But whether this one point were contained among the written articles, or no, his grace remembereth not. But his grace is well assured, that the bishop had commandment to set forth that point, for causes aforesaid; and, for the other particulars of the articles, his grace thinketh that those were contained in the written articles, commanded to the said bishop to preach.

To the IXth article his grace saith, the same containeth truth, for his grace was there present, and heard the sermon. And upon hearing thereof, his grace conceived that the bishop had not done the things aforesaid according to the commandment given to him as afore.

To the Xth his grace saith, it is true; for the commandment was given to the bishop in writing, as in his grace's letters, that time written, more fully appeareth. And the breach of the said commandment was notorious in the presence of the king's majesty's grace, the council, and the whole audience there. Whereupon, as his grace was credibly informed, much tumult and strife arose in the city of London, and more was like to have risen, in case the said bishop had not been committed to prison; as his grace hath afore more amply declared.

To the XIth his grace saith, that the bishop was sent unto, about the time articulate; with whom such order was taken, as his grace hath more fully declared in his depositions upon the LVIIth, and other articles ministered by the bishop.

To the XIIth his grace saith, that it is true.

To the XIIIth his grace saith, it is also true; as it appeareth by the report of them that were sent to the bishop the same time.

To the XIVth his grace saith, that he is certain of the sending the same time to the bishop; and that the bishop refused to subscribe, as appeareth by report of them that were sent to the bishop at that time.

To the XVth and XVIth his grace deposeth as afore, in his depositions to the bishop's articles.

To articles XVII. XVIII. and XIX. his grace saith, that the bishop had such intimation and peremptory monition given, as is contained in this article; and that the said three months are long ago expired. And his grace saith, that the bishop hath not hitherto reformed nor reconciled himself, but still remaineth in his disobedience as before; as far forth as his grace doth know.

Edward Somerset.

William, Earl of Wiltshire.

The right honourable William, earl of Wiltshire, etc., examined upon the aforesaid articles, saith as ensueth:

To articles I. II. and III. his lordship saith, they contain truth.

To the IVth: his lordship thinketh this article is true, but the certainty thereof he knoweth not.

To the Vth his lordship saith, it is true.

To the VIth his lordship saith, that he himself hath been present in the council, when the said bishop hath been complained upon, sundry times, for want of conformity in setting forth of the king's majesty's proceedings in religion.

To the VIIth his lordship saith, that he himself, of good-will, hath oftentimes required and exhorted the said bishop to conform himself: and, besides that, knoweth that he hath been likewise, by the whole council, sundry times admonished, and required to use himself conformably in the premises.

To the VIIIth his lordship saith, that that article is true; for his lordship was present, among others of the council, when he was commanded to preach and make a sermon before the king's majesty, and in the same to set forth sincerely his highness's proceedings [according] to such instructions as were then

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

given him in writing. Marry (his lordship saith) that the bishop, at that time, made suit, that he might not be forced to read the said instructions as they were upon the book, like a scholar; but that he might be credited in the setting-forth of them: promising that he would so open them as they should have good cause to be contented with him. And what the matters were particularly, that were given to the said bishop to treat upon in his said sermon, his lordship now thoroughly remembereth not.

To the IXth his lordship saith, that the said article is true, and remembereth well that as well the king's majesty, and all others of the council that were present at the said sermon, as all the rest of the audience that he could talk withal, were much offended with his said sermon, insomuch as in the next session after, in council order was given, that for his evil behaviour in the said sermon, he should be committed to the Tower; as indeed he was.

To the Xth his lordship saith, he remembereth nothing touching this article of his own knowledge; but he hath heard say, it is as is contained in this article.

To the XIth his lordship saith, that about the time articulate, the lord Rich lord chancellor, this examinate, and master secretary Peter, were with the bishop, by order of the council, to know his conformity touching the Book of Common Prayer, which they had then with them to show unto him: but for any persuasions that could then be made to him, he would not show his opinion therein, nor look upon the said book, during the time of his imprisonment; alleging, that it should be slanderous both to the council and him also, to have him show his opinion, being in prison.

To the XIIth his lordship saith, that the said article is true; for his lordship was present at the delivery of the said letters and submission and articles: at which time the bishop refused to acknowledge the submission; but, to the articles, he subscribed his name.

To the XIIIth his lordship saith, this article is true, as he heard by report of those that were sent at that time.

To the XIVth his lordship saith, it is true; for at the time mentioned in this article, the bishop of London, the master of the horse, sir William Peter, and Master Goodrick, were sent to the said bishop, to the Tower, with the said submission and articles; where the bishop refused to subscribe, as they reported at their return.

To the XVth his lordship saith, the article is true; for he was present in the council at the same time.

To the XVIth and XVIIth his lordship saith, the articles be true; for he was present in the council at the giving of the said sequestration, and also the admonitions, intimation, and communication, mentioned in these articles.

To the XVIIIth his lordship saith, the article is true.

To the XIXth his lordship saith, that he doth not know that he hath submitted himself; but hath heard that he persisteth in his former obstinacy.

William Wiltshire.

William, Lord Marquis of Northampton.

William, lord marquis, examined upon the articles of office objected against the bishop of Winchester, saith as followeth:

Page 314. To articles I. II. and III. he saith, they be true.

To the IVth he can say nothing.

To the Vth his lordship saith, the article is true.

To the VIth his lordship saith, the said article containeth truth; for he remembereth well, that in summer, in the first year of the king's majesty's reign, the said bishop, upon sundry informations and complaints made against him, was sent for to the council, the king being then at Hampton-court, where, in the presence of his lordship and others of the council, he (the said bishop) found fault with the homilies (and specially with the homily of justification), which were set forth before by special injunction of the king's majesty. And at the same time found, also, fault with Erasmus's paraphrase upon this text of Paul, 'Nemini quicquam debeatis;' [which paraphrase was likely ordered to be set up in every church by injunction before that time.][1] And for his want of conformity at that time, and at other times, whereof advertisement had been

(1) This passage appears to be an interpolation.—Ed.

given by the council, and for refusal to set forth the said homilies and paraphrase for the cause aforesaid, he was then committed to the Fleet.

Edward VI.

A.D. 1551.

To the VIIth his lordship saith, he can say nothing: but that two several times in the Tower, and once at Westminster, he was seriously advised and commanded to conform himself; his lordship being present and hearing the same.

Reprint from the First Edition.

To the VIIIth and IXth his lordship saith, Of the commandment given him to preach and set forth matters contained in the VIIIth article, in such sort as is there mentioned, this examinate can nothing say of his own knowledge. But, touching the sermon, whereat his lordship was present, he saith, that in the matters of the supremacy, and taking away of abbeys, chantries, and such like, which, he heard say, was part of the said bishop's instructions to preach upon, he (the said bishop) used himself in his sermon in such cold and doubtful sort, as both his lordship, and as many others as stood by him, were much offended withal; insomuch that immediately after the said sermon, as many as his lordship spake with, thought him worthy to be committed to ward for the same.

To the Xth his lordship saith, he was not privy to the inhibition; but of the matters articulate he heard the bishop speak in his said sermon.

To the XIth his lordship saith, the same is true, as he hath heard by credible report.

To articles XII. XIII. and XIV. his lordship saith, that there were certain of the council sent to the said bishop for the purposes mentioned in the said articles. And that, by the report of such of the council as were sent, it appeared that the said bishop was, at every of the said times, not conformable.

To the XVth his lordship saith, the same article is true; for he was present with others of the council, in the council-chamber at Westminster at the same time.

To the XVIth his lordship saith, that it is true; for he was then present, and one of the council at the making of the said sequestration; and also when the king's majesty gave commission to the whole council to that effect.

To the XVIIth his lordship saith, it is true, as appeareth more fully by the decree remaining in the council books of record.

To the XVIIIth he deposeth it to be true.

To the XIXth his lordship saith, as far as he knoweth it is true.

William, lord marquis of Northampton.

John, Earl of Bedford.

The right honourable John earl of Bedford, lord privy seal, examined upon the articles ministered of office against the bishop of Winchester, saith, upon his fidelity to God and the king's majesty, and upon his honour, as ensueth:

To articles I. II. and III. his lordship saith, that the same be true.

To the IVth his lordship saith, that he thinketh it is true.

To the Vth his lordship saith, that it is true.

To the VIth his lordship saith, it is true; for his lordship hath been present in the council when the said bishop hath been oftentimes complained of, for neglecting his office, and for lack of conformity to the setting forth of the king's majesty's proceedings in reformation of abuses in religion.

To the VIIth his lordship saith, it is true; for he hath heard, when he hath been so spoken unto and admonished by the council as is deduced in this article.

To the VIIIth his lordship saith, he hath heard, that he was so commanded to do as is contained in this article; and otherwise he knoweth not.

To the IXth his lordship saith, that the said bishop used himself, in his said sermon, very evil, in the hearing of the king's majesty, the council, and a great many besides; and so evil, that if the king's majesty and the council had not been present, his lordship thinketh, that the people would have pulled him out of the pulpit, they were so much offended with him.

To the Xth his lordship saith, that he was present at the said bishop's sermon with others of the council; at which time the said bishop did commend the use of private masses, and did teach the presence of the very body of Christ in the sacrament; of which two points he was before commanded by the duke of Somerset then [protector], in the king's majesty's name, not to meddle withal nor in anywise to speak thereof; as his lordship heard.

Edward VI.

A.D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

To the XIth his lordship hath heard, as is contained in this article; but otherwise he knoweth not.

To articles XII. XIII. and XIV. his lordship hath heard by report of those that were sent, at every time, as is contained in these articles.

To articles XV. XVI. and XVII. his lordship saith, that he remembereth not perfectly whether he was present in the council at the same time, or no: but, he saith, he thinketh it is true; for he hath heard it so many times credibly to be reported.

To the XVIIIth his lordship saith, that this article containeth manifest truth.

To the XIXth his lordship saith, that it is true; for the said bishop persisteth still in his former obstinacy, as his lordship daily heareth.

Bedford.

The Lord Paget.

The answer of the lord Paget to the articles ministered to the bishop of Winchester was as followeth:

To articles I. II. III. IV. and V.: the said lord Paget thinketh them to be true.

To the VIth article he saith, that he hath heard, that at the king's majesty's visitation in Winchester diocese, there was complaint made, that the said bishop was against the king's majesty's injunctions and proceedings in religion, as appeareth more plainly by the answer to the next article.

To the VIIth he answereth, that in the summer, in the first year of the king's majesty's reign, our sovereign lord that now is,—as well upon occasion of letters sent from sir John Mason knight, then one of the king's majesty's visitors, and other letters from the said bishop to him, before the arrival of the said sir John Mason at Winchester, as upon the complaint of divers gentlemen and others of that diocese of Winchester, whereby it appeared, that the said bishop bent himself against the king's majesty's and his council's proceedings in religion,—the said bishop was sent to appear before the said council at Hampton-court; and, at his coming thither, being much moved to conformity by the whole council then present, and by every man apart by himself, he (the said bishop) would in no wise relent, but stood wilfully in his obstinacy; and thereupon was committed to the Fleet.

To the VIIIth he answereth, that after the said bishop's coming out of the Fleet, about Whitsunday, in the second year of the king's majesty's reign, the said bishop (upon sundry new complaints of his doings and sayings against the king's majesty's proceedings) was sent for up again unto the duke of Somerset and others of the king's majesty's council. And, at his coming up—being charged with the said complaints, and denying the same; pretending, also, that no man desired more the setting-forth of the king's proceedings than he, and that no man could do it better than he, with other good words of conformity—the said duke and council thought meeter to accept his conformity, than to go about to undo him with proof, by witnesses of his obstinacy. And further the said lord Paget saith, that the said duke and council gave order, that the said bishop should preach and set forth certain articles before the king's majesty, concerning (as far forth as he remembereth) the just taking away of the usurped authority
Page 815. of the bishop of Rome:—item, to the just taking away of abbeys and other superstitious things mentioned in the said article:—item, of the maintenance of the king's authority in his young years.

To the IXth he answereth, that the said bishop, in his sermon before the king's majesty, spake not of the king's majesty's authority in his young years, neither, as he remembereth, of any ceremonies by name; but handled the king's majesty's authority in such sort, as he seemed rather to take away authority from his council, than to set forth the authority of a king in young age.

To the Xth he saith, that the aforesaid duke and council, having before been informed that divers men did diversely talk of the mass, of the sacrament of the altar, of the holy communion—some calling it one thing, and some another; some affirming transubstantiation, some the contrary; some the real, some the bodily, some the fleshly presence of Christ; and minding, as much as they could, to stay all things that might engender courage to one or other to dispute in that matter, till it were resolved upon by learned men to be for that purpose called together by the king's majesty's authority—thought good (the said duke) to send to inhibit the said bishop to preach thereof: who, nevertheless, preached

much of the mass; of the maintenance of it: of the manner of Christ's consecration; proving thereby a carnal presence, a transubstantiation: that private masses were good and godly; animating the king's majesty (as far as the same lord Paget remembereth) to continue them still—that the audience was so much offended with him, that they were in great uproar; and, if it had not been for the presence of the king's majesty and his council, would (as the said lord Paget heard say) have plucked the said bishop out of the pulpit.

To the XIth he answereth, that he heard certain of the lords, and others of the king's majesty's council, who were sent to the said bishop to the Tower, on the king's majesty's behalf, report the said bishop's refusal to do, in some things, as they required him to do, for declaration of conformity to the king's majesty's proceedings.

To the articles XII. XIII. and XIV. he answereth, that he knoweth that, at the time mentioned in the articles, or thereabout, a letter of the king's majesty, with a certain submission to be subscribed by the said bishop, was sent by certain of the king's majesty's council to the said bishop; and that certain of the council were sent unto him, at three sundry times, to require his conformity, and subscription to the said submission and certain articles: whereunto he, nevertheless, as the said councillors declared at their return, refused to subscribe as they required him. Which report he (the said lord Paget) heard them make, and was present when the commission was given them to go to the bishop, and to require his submission, as afore is said.

To the articles XV. XVI. XVIII. and XIX. he answereth, they be true; for he was present, as the bishop himself knoweth. By me, W. Paget.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To articles I. II. and III. he answereth, that he believeth verily, the late king of most worthy memory had the said bishop in suspicion of misliking his highness's proceedings in some things of religion; for he hath heard him say so, upon sundry occasions. And that his majesty thought him (the said bishop) too wilful in his opinion, and much bent to the popish party. And, for that cause, he hath heard say, that his majesty left him out of the number of those, which his highness appointed to compile the last book of religion.

To the IVth and Vth he answereth, that he knoweth, that the said late king of most worthy memory, misliked the said bishop ever the longer the worse; and that, in his conscience, if the said king had lived any while longer than he did, he would have used extremity against the said bishop, so far forth as the law would have borne; his majesty thinking to have just and sore matter of old, against the said bishop, in store, not taken away by any pardon. And at divers times asked the said lord Paget for a certain writing, touching the said bishop; commanding him to keep it, save that he might have it when he called for it. And touching the putting of the said bishop out of his testament, it is true that upon St. Stephen's day at night, four years now past, his majesty having been very sick, and in some peril, after his recovery forthwith called for the duke of Somerset's grace, for the lord privy seal, for my lord of Warwick, for the late master of the horse, for master Denny, for the master of the horse that now is, and for the said lord Paget, at that time his secretary; and then willed master Denny to fetch his testament, who bringeth forth, first, a form of a testament which his majesty liked not after he heard [it], saying, 'that was not it, but there was another, of a later making, written with the hand of the lord Wriothesley, being secretary.' Which, when master Denny had fetched, and he heard it, he seemed to marvel that some were left out unnamed in it, whom, he said, he meant to have in, and some in, whom he meant to have out. And so bade the said lord Paget, in the presence of the aforesaid lords, to put in some that were not named before, and to put out the bishop of Winchester's name; which was done. And then (after his pleasure declared in sundry things, which he caused to be altered, and entered in the will), his majesty came to the naming of councillors, assistants to his executors; whereupon the said lord Paget, and the others, beginning to name my lord marquis of Northampton, my lord of Arundel and the rest of the council not before named as executors—when it came to the bishop of Winchester, he had him put out, saying, 'He was a wilful man, and not meet to be about his son' (the king's majesty that now is). Whereupon we passed over to the bishop of Westminster, whom his majesty bade put out also, saying, 'he was schooled,' or such like term, 'by the bishop

Edward VI. A.D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

of Winchester.' And so passing unto the rest, he admitted all the council without stop, saving one other man, at whom he made some stick; but, nevertheless, upon our suits relented, and so he was named as a councillor. This all done, the said lord Paget read over to his majesty what was written, and [when] he came to the place of councillors, reading their names, he began to move the king again for the bishop of Winchester; and the rest then present set foot in with him, and did earnestly sue to his majesty, for placing the said bishop among the councillors. But he would in no wise be entreated, saying, 'He marvelled what we meant, and that all we knew him [the bishop] to be a wilful man.' And bade us be contented, 'for he should not be about his son, nor trouble his council any more.' The said lord Paget, and the others, were in hand, also, for the bishop of Westminster: but he would in no wise be entreated, alleging only against him, that he was 'of Winchester's schooling,' or such a like term.

To the VIth and VIIth articles, the said lord Paget answereth, that no doubt he heard the said bishop of Winchester, divers times, to be against the reformation of religion, and to mislike such as were furtherers of it both in the court, and in his diocese. And that they, likewise, had been offended with him, and thought that he did much let, both in his diocese and elsewhere, the setting-forth of such things as the king's majesty went about, for the reformation of religion; and for such a one he hath been always taken. And he believeth, that the said bishop himself hath thought, that he hath been so taken and reputed, and hath misliked himself nothing for it.

To the VIIth and VIIIth he hath answered before in the Xth article; and yet nevertheless saith further, that he cannot remember any one point in religion to have been so much in controversy and disputation, as the matters of the mass, of the private mass, of the manner of consecration, and the manner of presence, and the transubstantiation, were, at that time that the said bishop preached; of all the which (as he remembereth) the said bishop preached in his sermon before the king's majesty. William Paget.

The Answer of the Lord Paget to certain Interrogatories ministered severally unto him on the behalf of the Bishop of Winchester, as appeareth in the Thirteenth Session, page 133.

To the Ist the said lord Paget saith, that he was present at one time, when the said bishop appeared before the duke of Somerset, then protector, and others of the king's majesty's council, about the time (as far as he remembereth) expressed in the article.

Page 816. To articles II. III. and IV. he answereth, that the said bishop, being charged by the said duke and council, with such matters as moved the calling-up of him before them, used then such manner of excuses and declarations of his meanings, and of his good will to the advancement of the king's majesty's proceedings, as the said duke and council were rather contented to accept the same, than to enter to further extremities with him by proof of the matters laid against him. Marry, whether the said bishop answered in those words mentioned in the IId article, the said lord Paget remembereth not; but well he wotteth, it was thought then convenient, that the said bishop should not return to his diocese. And therefore order was given him to tarry at his house in London, with refusal of his request to have Esher, whereof the said lord Paget was then keeper: but the cause of the said bishop's request to have Esher, the said lord Paget remembereth not; nor yet the cause then alleged by the said duke and council, whereby they refused his request.

To the Vth and VIth articles the said lord Paget answereth, that after the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, as he remembereth, in the upper and nether house of the parliament, the late king of most worthy memory willed him (the said lord Paget) to require the said bishop's grant of the hundred pounds mentioned in the articles: but in such sort his majesty willed it to be required, as he looked for it rather of duty, than of any gratuity at the bishop's hand; to whom, the said lord Paget saith, of certain knowledge, as men may know things, he (the said king) would have made request for nothing; being (the said bishop) the man, at that time, whom the said lord Paget believeth his majesty abhorred more than any man in his realm: which he declared grievously, at

sundry times, to the said lord, against the said bishop; ever naming him with such terms as the said lord Paget is sorry to name. And the said lord Paget thinketh that divers of the gentlemen of the privy chamber are able to depose the same. Nevertheless it may be, that he (the said lord Paget) did use another form of request to the said bishop than the said king would have liked, if he had known it; which if he did, he did it rather for dexterity, to obtain the thing for his friend, than for that he had such special charge of the said king so to do. And also the said lord Paget saith, that afterwards it might be, that he used such comfortable words of the king's favourable and thankful acceptation of the thing at the said bishop's hand, as in the article is mentioned; which if he did, it was rather for quiet of the said bishop, than for that it was a thing indeed.

To the VIIth article the said lord Paget saith, that it may be, that the said bishop was used, at the time mentioned in the article, with the ambassadors, for the council's mouth; because that none other of the council that sat above him, were so well languaged as he in the French tongue. But the said lord Paget believeth, that if the said king that dead is, had known it, the council would have had little thanks for their labour. W. Paget.

Andrew Beynton.

Received by the office to the information of the judges and commissioners' minds at Greenwich, Andrew Beynton of Wiltshire esquire, of the age of 35 years, upon an oath to him referred by master secretary Peter, saith as followeth:

About eleven years past a Diet or Council was holden at Ratisbon, whither were appointed in legacy for this realm, the bishop of Winton, and sir Henry Knivet; upon the which sir Henry Knivet, sir John Bartley, sir William Blunt, and I, Andrew Beynton, the king's majesty's servants, were commanded to give attendance. Towards the latter end of the council, it chanced one Wolfe, then servant to sir Henry Knivet, walking toward the emperor's palace, to hearken some news (as his custom was often to do), met with a certain merchant-mercer, an exchanger, whose name, at this present, I do not remember; who required of Wolfe, for the familiar acquaintance he had of him, he would do him a pleasure, which the other granted. Then began the merchant to say on this wise: 'Sir, the truth is that the pope's ambassador departed yesterday towards Rome; and for that he had no leisure to end his business here himself, he hath put me in credit for the accomplishment of it. And, among all other things, he hath charged me especially, that I should repair to the ambassador of England, and to require of him an answer to the letter which he received of the pope: and that I should, with all speed, send it after him. And forasmuch as I have no acquaintance, I do desire you, that you would help me to speak with him or else his secretary.' Wherein this Wolfe granted him friendship, and so departed for that time. Wolfe, at his coming home, opened this matter privily unto master Chalenor, then being secretary to sir Henry Knivet; and desired him that, in the afternoon, he would go with him to the merchant, to hear him rehearse the whole matter again, to the intent they would make report the more assured: which thing they did; and according as you have before, the merchant repeated his tale. And after that, they opened the treason to master Knivet their master, who immediately made master Bartley, master Blunt, and me, privy to it; and forthwith determined, upon the morrow following, to send for the merchant, under colour to buy some silks, and cause him, eftsoons, to make rehearsal of the matter before him and us. The next day, being holy day, at afternoon, this merchant brought velvet and satin, which after master Knivet had awhile perused, Wolfe said unto the merchant, in presence of his master, and all the company, 'Seignior, is this the lord ambassador, of whom you demand to have an answer of the letter sent from the pope?' The merchant made answer, 'No, it is a bishop that I must repair unto; for I know no other ambassador.' With that master Knivet, dissimuling the matter, turned unto the merchant, and asked him the matter: where he once again rehearsed the former tale. Which done, the merchant was directed to the bishop's house, and commanded to require his answer there. Incontinent master Knivet prepared his letters, in which he made just and true declaration unto the king's majesty lately deceased, willing master Bartley and me, to set our hands to the letter as witnesses to the same; which, as our duty was

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

to do, we did. And, for my part, I am and will be record, that the premises be true, while the breath is in my body. Now to write how the merchant declared his message to the bishop, and his cruelty showed unto the merchant; his crafty handling of the matter to make it to seem no truth; and also the answer made to the king's majesty for his accusation; the king's answer back to master Knivet, how he should proceed in the matter; how by friendship the matter was forgotten for a time, and afterward called to memory again,—I cannot well pen it: wherefore I humbly desire your pardon. But, if your pleasures be, I shall, as near as I can, rehearse it by mouth unto you, not failing the truth thereof as nigh as I can.

Your orator, Andrew Beynton.

Hereafter followeth the above-named master Chaloner's answer (then secretary to sir Henry Knivet) to certain interrogatories agreeing with the said master Beynton's tale.

Master Chaloner's Deposition.

As touching the 3d and 6th interrogatories, the time so long since, and the small thought I had then, that the matter now at me demanded, should have required this special declaration, must needs in many points cause me not so ripely, nor exactly, to repeat the circumstance of each part of that, which, for the substance thereof, as I now yet remember, is this in effect:—

What time the bishop of Winchester, and sir Henry Knivet (whose soul God have), joint ambassadors for the late king's majesty with the emperor, were at Ratisbon in Germany, a good while after the Diet there kept, it chanced, as I learned afterwards, that one William Wolfe, servant and steward of the household to the said sir Henry Knivet, for the acquaintance he had with divers strangers of the emperor's court (having been afore times steward also to sir Thomas Wyat, the king's former ambassador there), to meet and fall in communication with an Italian merchant, a banker following that court, whose name, to my remembrance, was Ludovico; and what more I remember not. But, in process of their talk, as the said Wolfe did afterwards disclose to sir Henry Knivet, the said Ludovico required of him, when my lord ambassador, Page 817. his master, would make ready his packet for Rome. 'Wherefore?' quoth Wolfe. 'Marry!' quoth Ludovico, 'to answer those letters which the legate (the legate then with the emperor was cardinal Contarene) did late send unto him, addressed to him from Rome. So that if he will make answer by this courier, it is time ye may tell him; for he departeth away within a day or two.' At this tale Wolfe, being abashed, and well guessing which ambassador he meant, thought not meet to tell him whose servant he was; but by other soothing talk ministered, perceived that he meant the bishop of Winchester. So, to the end that Ludovico should nothing suspect, he gave him answer, 'that he, not being his secretary, could yield him small answer; but he would not miss to put his secretary in remembrance thereof.' And so then they departed.

This matter seeming to Wolfe of importance, he strait revealed it to sir Henry Knivet, his master; who, weighing also the greatness of the case, and the disadvantage it were, upon one man's so bare a report, to attempt aught in a place and time, whereby such a person was to be touched, charged Wolfe to advise himself well, that no effect of hate, displeasure, or other passion, did move him this to disclose; but truth only. Wolfe replied, 'that he weighed well the weightiness of the case, meeter, as to his own respect, to be passed over in silence, for avoiding of his private displeasure; if duty of allegiance bound him not otherwise.'

'But,' quoth Wolfe, 'if ye think not my hearing thereof, one to one, be sufficient, I warrant you to devise means, that some other of your servants shall hear the like words of Ludovico's mouth, as well as I.' Sir Henry devised whom he might send, and lastly rested upon me, then being his secretary; for that I could speak a little Italian. And this being past upon a Saturday, early upon the next Sunday Wolfe called me out of my bed, not telling me one jot of this former matter (for so it was concluded between sir Henry Knivet and him), to the end, in case I noted what Wolfe afore noted, not being afore made privy thereunto, it might then appear to sir Henry Knivet of more likelihood. So,

therefore, when Wolfe had me called up familiarly, as he was wonted, having been of long acquaintance with me, and I with him, he prayed me to walk forth with him to the Piazza, or Merchanstede, before the emperor's own lodging; over against the which, on the other side of the street, the Romish legate was also lodged.

Here (to let pass other things, and circumstances of other bye-matters, superfluous and impertinent to the point) it chanced, as Wolfe and I walked up and down, that Ludovico (the banker aforesaid) came also into the Piazza, and saluted Wolfe. And they two (I standing by), fell in talk of matters of exchange, which because they touched me not, I smally passed of; till at last (whether it were by Wolfe's motion or the other's, I do not well remember), Ludovico said, 'The post departed on the morrow for Rome:' and prayed Wolfe to remember our ambassador's secretary. Hereat I began to give better ear, nothing witting (as God help) of any further purpose. 'Yea, marry!' quoth Wolfe, 'I am partly in doubt which ambassador of ours ye mean; for here be presently two, the one being the bishop of Winchester, the other a gentleman of the king's privy chamber.' 'No,' quoth Ludovico, 'I mean not him; but the bishop.' 'Well,' quoth Wolfe, 'I will not fail to put his secretary in remembrance.' 'Do so,' quoth Ludovico.

And, by other talk that he then uttered to Wolfe, in my hearing—tending to this effect: That the bishop had, at the legate's hands, received letters from Rome; and by him was solicited to send other letters for answer—I so much did mislike the matter, that when Ludovico was gone, I said to Wolfe, 'that Ludovico had had but homely talk with him, to be passed over lightly.' 'Why,' quoth Wolfe, 'what note you in it?' 'Marry! I note,' quoth I, 'so much in it, that I will tell my master of it.' 'Do as ye list,' quoth Wolfe, 'if ye think any matter therein.' So Wolfe, nothing disclosing to me what he had opened the day before to sir Henry Knivet, let me alone; and I, forthwith returning to sir Henry Knivet's lodgings, told him apart, what I had heard of Ludovico's mouth; whereupon sir Henry Knivet communicated this thing with sir John Bartley. And (to omit many parts of the circumstance, which I cannot all remember, and though I could remember it, were here too long a process to recite) it was thought best between them, that Wolfe, under colour of cheapening of silks, should procure Ludovico to come with certain sorts of velvet, to sir Henry Knivet's lodging, to see, by that train, whether occasion might be taken to make Ludovico cough out as much as he had uttered before, to Wolfe and me. To be brief: the same Sunday at afternoon, Wolfe brought Ludovico to sir Henry Knivet's lodgings, who, not only to master Bartley, but also to master Blunt, and master Andrew Beynton, the king's servants, opened the case; to the end that they, also, upon occasion, might be as witnesses of that which Ludovico should say. [They] began to look upon the silks, and finding means, after what sort I remember not (whether it were by Wolfe or himself), to move Ludovico of the former matter, Ludovico in all their presences declared, that the letters sent from Rome, were not to his seignior (meaning sir Henry Knivet), but to the bishop, calling him 'Reverendissimo;' whereby it was easy to perceive whom he meant, and therewithal perceiving that both sir Henry and the other gentlemen beheld him somewhat fixedly, as I remember, he stayed; and sir Henry Knivet, to dissemble the matter, as though he noted nothing in it, prayed him, when he had received the bishop's letters, to repair also to him for a packet, which he intended to send to a gentleman of England, being at Milan; which Ludovico promised to do; and so departed.

The next morning (being Monday), as sir Henry Knivet was making ready a letter to signify this much to the king's majesty, the bishop of Winchester sent in haste for him to come to his lodgings. For a little before, the same morning, Ludovico himself had been at the bishop's, to demand, on the legate's behalf, his letters to Rome. And how Ludovico used his tale to the bishop, I cannot tell; but the bishop perceived, that in mistaking one for another (supposing Wolfe to be the bishop's servant), he had uttered his message from the legate to Wolfe. Whereupon strait he caused Ludovico to be stayed in his house; and went himself to Granuella, by whose order Ludovico was committed to the ward and keeping of one of the emperor's marshals. So when sir Henry Knivet, upon the bishop's sending, came to his lodging strait (the bishop,

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

falling into hot words, and saying that he had 'poison in his dish,' and that 'a knave was suborned to be his destruction,' with other like words) sir Henry prayed him that Ludovico might, face to face, be examined in both their presences. 'No,' quoth the bishop, 'I have declared so the case to Granuella (being indifferent to us both), that I will not meddle with Ludovico, nor speak with him: but the emperor's council shall examine him, and try what he is, for me.

Thus far forth, as I remember, this matter then proceeded, with great words and objections made to the bishop by sir Henry—'that, in a matter touching the king their master, the bishop would use the aid or means of Granuella, a foreign prince's minister, to make him privy to their question.' But never since could sir Henry speak with Ludovico; and I ween a fortnight or twenty days' controversy passed in this contention, till, at last, by letters from the king's majesty, both the bishop and sir Henry were commanded to lay all things under foot, and to cease that matter; joining together in service, as before. And so they did, without further outward demonstration of any grudge or variance about this matter.

And within a two months after, it chanced [that] Wolfe, having been long sick of a cough of the lungs, died of phthisic, who, in his death-bed, in presence of sir Henry Knivet and divers of his servants, making his last will, took it on his death, that the matter aforesaid, by him first revealed to sir Henry Knivet, was true, as he had declared it; and not sought, nor by him procured by Ludovico's hands; nor invented by him, for any malice or displeasure borne
Page 818. to the bishop; but only for discharge of his faith and duty to the king's majesty. And therefore [he] willed in the end of his will, this his protestation to be inserted, as, according to his request, it was: whereunto (when he had read it) he subscribed it with his hand.—And thus much for the answer of master Chaloner to the 3d and 6th interrogatories.

Thomas Chaloner.

And now hereafter follow all the depositions of all such as were produced, sworn, and examined, upon the Matter Justificatory laid in by the bishop; which matter is to be seen afore, in the fourth session, page 105.

Edward, Duke of Somerset.

The right honourable lord Edward duke of Somerset, being examined upon the articles ensuing, saith as followeth:

To the Ist article his grace saith, that it hath oftentimes appeared to his grace, by sundry complaints and informations made against the said bishop, that he hath not done his duty in setting forth the king's majesty's proceedings, in matters of religion, in such ample sort as his duty required. And as for his chancellor, his grace can little testify therein otherwise than that there hath been of late in him no towardness of conformity; for which he doth now remain in prison. And his grace, also, saith, that touching the bishop's preaching against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, he remembereth not of any sermon by him so made, saving one, whereof fuller mention is made in his depositions upon the articles, ministered against the said bishop, of office in this behalf. And as for the book mentioned in this article, his grace saith, he hath heard of such a book by him made; but to what effect it weigheth, his grace knoweth not, nor also of his defence made in the university of Louvain.

To the IId his grace saith, that he hath heard say, that certain the bishop's doings were not best liked in the king's majesty's days that dead is: but whether the bishop were called to answer thereunto, or not, his grace cannot tell.

To the IIId his grace saith, that the bishop hath been called before the council, and in trouble, before his committing to the Tower: but touching the rest of the article, his grace knoweth not.

To the IVth his grace thinketh, that he was used sometimes to answer the ambassadors because he had the languages, more than for any other respect.

To the Xth his grace saith, that his grace, upon promise by him (the said bishop) made to be from thenceforth a good subject, and conformable to the

king's proceedings, delivered him out of the Fleet: but whether by force of the pardon, or not, his grace remembereth not.

To the XVIIth his grace saith, that the said bishop, upon complaint made, was sent for to his grace and the council; and, after his coming, because it was thought that his being in his diocese might be hinderance to the king's majesty's proceedings, he was willed by the council to tarry about London; at which time his grace remembereth that the bishop desired to borrow a house in the country nigh London.

To the XXIId article: his grace remembereth there was a consultation of certain men learned in the civil laws, tending to this effect: that a bishop, or other minister of the church, disobeying any injunction of the king's majesty, might, after certain circumstances and admonitions, be deprived. Which consultation his grace showed to the bishop of good will; to the intent that he might be thereby the rather induced to do his duty obediently, and so avoid the danger which he might otherwise, by his disobedience, incur.

To the XXIIId his grace saith, that the said bishop said and promised, before his grace and the lord treasurer, that he would speak of the matters set forth in the said papers; praying his grace to trust him therein, and that he would so use him therein, as he would deserve his thanks. But as for the day hereof, his grace remembereth not.

To the XXIVth his grace saith, that he remembereth nothing of the contents thereof, otherwise than is contained in the XXIId article.

To the XXVth his grace saith, that the said bishop was sent to the lord great master's chamber then being; for what cause specially, his grace remembereth not.

To the XXVIth article: his grace knoweth nothing thereof.

To the XXVIIth his grace saith, that the commandment first given generally to the bishop, to set forth the said article, was given before the whole council: but, in the end, upon his promise to do and set forth as is aforesaid, his grace thinks the bishop departed in such gentle sort as is mentioned in this article.

To the XXVIIIth his grace saith, that he can say nothing thereof.

To the XLVth article: his grace remembereth that the bishop's servants made suit divers times for their master's deliverance, to whom his grace answered, that when that time came, so that he would be a conformable subject, his grace would do the best therein that he could.

To articles LVII. LVIII. LIX. LX. LXI. and LXII. his grace saith, that it is true, that his grace, and others mentioned in this article, had the bishop before them in the Tower, declaring unto him in effect, as his grace now remembereth, that they had been means unto the king's grace for him; and trusted, that his majesty would be his good lord, and forget things past—so as he would submit himself, set forth all the king's proceedings, and become a conformable subject to his majesty. And his grace remembereth, that the bishop was, the same time, required to show his opinion upon the book (set forth by parliament) of Common Prayer, and Ordering of Bishops and Priests, which, after some talk had therein, he promised to do. And thereupon order was taken, that the lieutenant should bring him the said books; and thereupon time was taken to hear his conformity therein. And this is the effect, as his grace remembereth, touching the contents of these articles.

To articles LXIII. LXIV. LXV. LXVI. and LXVII. his grace saith, that to the book of Common Service the bishop said, that as he would not have given his consent to the making thereof, so, it being now made, he was contented both to keep it himself, and cause it to be kept of others: which his sayings being written, he, nevertheless, refused to subscribe; for that (as he said) he should thereby seem to yield himself an offender. And as to the other book (of Orders), he showed himself to mislike the same for such causes, in effect, as are mentioned in these articles. And, as his grace remembereth, the same bishop being the same time willed to submit himself to the king's majesty, he refused so to do, and required justice.

Upon the LXXth article his grace remembereth, that there was special commission given to the whole council, by the king's majesty, to call the said bishop before them about the time articulate, and to require him to subscribe a submission, and certain other articles as appear in the Council Book; and, if he refused to subscribe to the same, then to proceed to the sequestration of his

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.* Page 119.

bishopric; according to the which commission, the said bishop was before them, in the queen's great chamber at Westminster, and the said commission declared unto him, and he required to subscribe the same submission and articles, which he refused to do: saying nevertheless, that, as many of the said articles as were set forth by any law or proclamation, he would set forth. Marry, he said, touching divers things in the said articles, there was no law, nor other order for [them]: as for the submission, he refused to subscribe.

His grace saith also, that he thinketh the bishop required to have a copy of the articles with him into the Tower, to peruse them there, and to answer thereunto as he should see cause, and think convenient; which, forasmuch as the same articles were showed to him afore in the Tower, were not delivered unto him.

Upon the Interrogatories.[1]—To the 1st his grace saith, it is true; for, a little before the death of the said late king, he, being then 'in extremis,' and then motioned by sir Anthony Brown to be one of his executors, and to be named, amongst others, to be of council to the king's majesty that now is, refused expressly to have him so named; and for no respect he would be entreated therein, saying expressly these, or like words in effect: 'That the said bishop was a troublesome man; and that he would trouble all the rest, if he were named among them:' the duke his grace, the earl of Warwick, the lord privy seal, the lord Paget, master Harbert, and others, being present.

To the 2d his grace saith, that interrogatory is true; for, upon suspicion conceived by the late king, that the bishop did not favour his grace's proceedings in matters of religion, he refused to have him named amongst other learned men for devising the said book.

To the 3d, his grace can say nothing.

To the 4th and 5th his grace can say nothing.

To the 6th his grace saith, that touching the bishop of Rome, his grace can say nothing; but, touching the opinion conceived of him in not favouring the king's majesty's proceedings in matters of religion, his grace saith, that the said bishop is commonly reported in the Court, not to favour the same: and that such is the talk and common saying, in the Court, of him.

To the 7th his grace saith, that he hath heard the said bishop so commonly reported.

To the 8th his grace saith, that the said bishop was commanded, first, by message from his grace by master Cecil, and after, by letters from his grace in the king's majesty's name, not to treat of any matter in controversy touching the sacrament and the mass; as by his grace's said letters more fully appeareth: which commandment was given as well for conservation of quiet and peace in the realm, and avoiding of tumult and strife, as for divers other great considerations and respects. Contrary whereunto, the said bishop spake in his sermon of them, both before the king's majesty, in presence of his grace, and of divers others of the council, and a great assembly of people. But in what words, his grace saith, he remembereth not.

To the 9th his grace saith, that there was, before his said sermon, and at the time thereof, great controversy and much strife, both in London and elsewhere in the realm, touching the matters mentioned in this interrogatory. And his grace was further probably informed, at that same time, that by reason of the said bishop's preaching in such sort, there was much business and contention in London, so that it was thought that, if he had not been committed to the Tower, he should have been plucked out of his house.

Edward Somerset.

The Earl of Wiltshire.

The right honourable the earl of Wiltshire, high treasurer of England (examined upon the aforesaid matter) upon his fidelity to God, and to the king's majesty, and upon his honour, deposeth as followeth:—

To the Ist article his lordship saith, that he hath heard fault found with him (the said bishop) as well in the king's majesty's time that dead is, as also since, for want of conformity to the king's majesty's proceedings in religion; and, if he had been so conformable in setting forth of such things as this article purporteth, he should not have needed to have come to this trouble he presently is in. And, touching his chancellor, his lordship hath heard him, also, complained

(1) These ye shall find at page 123.

upon, for not doing his duty in certain things concerning the king's majesty's proceedings in matters of religion. Whereupon he was of late sent for to the council, and by them, for his deservings, was committed to the Marshalsea, where he yet remaineth prisoner. And as for the bishop's book, and his disputation in Louvain, mentioned in this article, his lordship knoweth nothing of it. And this is all that his lordship remembereth touching the said article.

To the IId and IIId his lordship saith, that for his ill affection towards the reformation of abuses in religion, and for his doings and speakings against the same, fault hath been found with him sundry times; and especially once, his lordship remembereth, he was sent for to the council, then being at Hampton-court, for the same causes; and from thence, by the said council, committed to the Fleet, before his coming to the Tower, at the time mentioned in this article.

To the IVth his lordship saith, that because the said bishop could better speak the French tongue than many of the lords, and for that also he was learned in the civil laws, he was sometimes used to speak with the ambassadors, as is mentioned in this article. And this is all that his lordship knoweth, touching this article.

To the Xth his lordship saith, that the said bishop was delivered out of the Fleet about that time; but whether by the king's majesty's pardon, or otherwise, he remembereth not.

To the XVIIth his lordship saith, that at the coming up of the said bishop to the council about the time articulated, divers things were objected to him touching his want of conformity to the king's majesty's proceedings; whereunto the bishop said many things for his excuse (the particularities his lordship now remembereth not). And yet in the end, for that he remained suspected in the matters laid unto him, it was thought good he should tarry in London, and not return unto his diocese. And so was he ordered by the council, to remain at his house in London; at which time, his lordship remembereth, the said bishop desired to borrow a house in the country; but none was granted him.

To the XXIId his lordship saith, he can say nothing touching that article.

To articles XXIII. XXIV. XXV. and XXVI. his lordship saith, that about the time mentioned in these articles, the said bishop, being sent for to the council, came to the same to Westminster; where the said bishop was moved and required to preach and set forth, in a sermon to be by him made, sundry matters contained in certain articles then showed unto him before the said council. And finding the said bishop not thoroughly inclined to do what was required of him, the duke of Somerset, then protector, minding to induce the bishop willingly to do the same, took the said bishop from the council-chamber to his own lodging, and this examinate with him, for the better inducement of the said bishop to conformity: where, after much talk, for that the said bishop did not yet thoroughly conform himself, he was sent from thence to the examinate's chamber to dine: whither, after dinner, repaired to the said bishop sir Thomas Smith, and what talk passed betwixt them his lordship remembereth not. And this is all that his lordship remembereth, touching the said articles.

To the XXVIIth his lordship saith, that he remembereth well, and was present, when the bishop, upon commandment given unto him, did promise to set forth the matters contained in the articles delivered him better than the same were there set forth; praying that he might be trusted so to do. And, further, the said bishop said, that he was loth to read them upon the book, like a scholar; promising (as aforesaid) that he would do it of himself, in such sort as the whole council should have good cause to be contented with it. And this is all that his lordship remembereth touching that article.

To the XXVIIIth his lordship answereth as to the next before; and other thing remembereth not.

To articles XLVI. XLVII. XLVIII. XLIX. L. LI. LII. LIII. and LIV. his lordship saith, that he remembereth very well, that about the time mentioned in these articles, the lord Rich, lord chancellor, this examinate, and sir William Peter, were sent from the duke of Somerset, then protector, and the rest of the lords of the council, to the said bishop, to travail with him, and feel his conformity to the Book of Common Prayer set forth by authority of parliament a little before. Whereupon, repairing to the Tower according to their commission, they travailed with the said bishop a good space, and offered to show him the said book of Common Prayer, which they had then there with

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition. Page 320.

them. But all their persuasions notwithstanding, the said bishop refused to look upon the said book, or to say his opinion of the same, notwithstanding that he was required thereunto. And his lordship further saith, that upon occasion of talk of a pain limited for the not observing of the said book, the said bishop said, that if he were abroad, and kept it not, he required to be punished as the act appointeth in that case. And his lordship further remembereth, that there was much more talk by the said bishop of his long imprisonment, and that there had been divers breaches of commandments and injunctions in the realm, which, as he [the bishop] said, had not been so severely punished as he was in this case; the particularities of which talk his lordship remembereth not more than is before expressed.

To the LVth his lordship saith, that the said bishop, being demanded of the lord chancellor how he would conform himself, he answered that he would be sorry but to conform himself like an obedient subject, as far forth as reason and the laws required him. And thereupon his lordship thinketh it was promised him, that he should hear from the council again shortly.

To the articles from LVII. to LXVII. inclusive, his lordship saith, that the duke of Somerset, and this examinate, with others mentioned in those articles, being sent from the council to know the bishop's conformity touching the Book of Common Prayer, travailed with him in the Tower, about the time mentioned in those articles, to that effect: wherein the bishop a good while refused to show his opinion as long as he was in prison; saying, that it should be slanderous both to the council, and himself also: to the council, for that it should seem to the world, that they, by long imprisonment of him, might seem to cause him to say that which otherwise he would not, and to himself, for that it might seem that he redeemed his imprisonment by conforming himself. And therefore he desired that he might be at liberty, and if he kept not the law as others did, he was contented to suffer the pain appointed for the breach thereof. But, in the end, after much talk, the said bishop was content to say his opinion touching the said book, if it were sent unto him. Whereupon it was agreed, that the said book should be brought unto him by the lieutenant of the Tower; who, within a day or two, by order of the whole council, brought the said bishop not only that book of Common Prayer, but also the book for making of bishops, priests, and deacons. And after that, the said lords before specified, and with them the lord Cobham, came again to the Tower, to receive the said bishop's answer touching the said books. At which time the said bishop, being called before them, said, that albeit at the beginning he would not give his assent to the making of the said book in such form as it is made, yet the same being now set forth as it is, he would both observe the same himself, and cause all others to do the like in all his diocese, and punish all such as should offend therein according to the laws. And being required, at that instant, to write his said answers himself, he refused so to do. And likewise, after the same was written by master secretary Peter, he refused to put his hand to it, although he confessed it was truly written as he had spoken the words: which thing was much misliked in him, at that time. And touching the Book of Ordering of Priests, etc., he saith, he misliked the same; alleging such causes as be contained in the sixty-six articles. And for the rest of the said bishop's bye-talk, forasmuch as the same was not much material, this examinate remembereth not any more than is before said. And this is the effect, that his lordship remembereth, touching those articles.

To the articles from LXIX. to LXXIII. inclusive, his lordship saith, that this examinate, the earl of Warwick, sir William Harbert, and master secretary Peter, being sent again to the Tower to the said bishop, about the time articulate, delivered to the said bishop the king's majesty's letters, which he received upon his knees, and read the same; and afterward, nevertheless, refused to submit himself according to the commandment given to him by his majesty; writing upon the margin of the first article that contained his submission, such words, in effect, as be mentioned in these articles. And to the rest of the articles then sent unto him, he subscribed his name, as by the original thereof more plainly appeareth. And further this examinate cannot say touching the said articles.

To the LXXVIth and LXXVIIth his lordship saith, that about the time mentioned in these articles, for that the said bishop had showed himself dis-

obedient sundry times before, he was sent for to the council, being then at Westminster, and there required to subscribe to certain articles, which, before that time, had been showed unto him in the Tower, and were there read unto him again; which he refused to subscribe. And yet nevertheless he said, if he might have them in the Tower with him, he would at leisure make answer unto them. Which delay, for sundry considerations, was not admitted, but he was expressly required even then to subscribe; which forasmuch as he refused, and for sundry other his contempts and disobediences, he was then again sent to the Tower, and the fruits of his bishopric sequestered; and further, commandment given unto him, to conform himself within three months, upon pain of deprivation, as in the acts of the council book more fully appeareth.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st his lordship saith, that he hath heard the late king of famous memory, king Henry the Eighth, declare his misliking of the said bishop of Winchester sundry times.

To the 2d his lordship saith, he remembereth well the said bishop was left out, and not named among other bishops and learned men appointed for the making of the said book mentioned in this article.

To the 3d his lordship saith, that he hath heard the said late king declare, that he suspected the said bishop to be a favourer of the bishop of Rome's proceedings.

To the 4th and 5th his lordship saith, that he hath heard divers of the council say as is contained in these articles; but he is able to say nothing of his own knowledge. And further his lordship saith, that he was present at the opening of the said late king's majesty's will, and found him not named there either among the executors or councillors.

To the 6th his lordship saith, that he commonly heard it reported and spoken, that the said bishop did not favour the king's majesty's proceedings for reformation of abuses in religion.

To the 7th his lordship saith, that he thinketh those of his diocese that favour the king's majesty's proceedings, have been and be offended with the said bishop, and think him a great hinderance of the said proceedings.

To the 8th his lordship saith, he hath heard that, for the considerations specified in this article, the said bishop was commanded not to treat of the mass or sacrament in his sermon: but what he said thereof in his said sermon, his lordship now remembereth not particularly.

To the 9th his lordship saith, that it is true that much contention there was, both in London and elsewhere through the realm, touching the matters contained in this article, as well before the time of the said sermon, and at the very selfsame time, as also after the same; and that, his lordship knoweth, by the common fame and talk of men. William Wiltshire.

The Marquis of Northampton.

The right honourable lord William, marquis of Northampton, lord great chamberlain of England, examined upon the aforesaid matter, upon his truth and fidelity to God, and to the king's majesty, and upon his honour deposeth as followeth:

To the Ist his lordship saith, that he hath heard the said bishop complained upon, before the time of his committing, sundry times, for want of good will to set forth the king's majesty's proceedings; and that, of most men, he hath been suspected for not favouring the same. As for his chancellor, his lordship saith, that he hath been noted of the same fault, and [his lordship] of late was present, when the said chancellor was before the whole council, upon complaint made against him for not doing his duty in setting forth the king's majesty's proceedings within the diocese of Winchester; and for those causes, and contemptuous behaviour at that time, he was committed to the Marshalsea, where he yet remaineth prisoner. As touching the said bishop's book, and disputation in Louvain, his lordship knoweth nothing thereof.

To the IId: his lordship cannot say anything therein, saving that his lordship thinketh that, if the contents of this article were true, he (the said bishop) should have been in better credit with the king's majesty that dead is, than he knew he was; and that the said king, who best knew his doings, would not have Page 821. given express commandment, that in no wise he should remain a councillor to

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

the king's majesty our sovereign lord that now is, nor have put him out of his own will and testament (as his majesty did a little before his death), if he had been in such credit with him, as in this article is deduced.

To the IIId his lordship saith, he hath not been much acquainted with his doings, and therefore, touching this article, he can neither excuse him nor condemn him—otherwise than that the said bishop hath been suspected, and reported, not to favour the king's majesty's proceedings in religion—upon complaint and trial whereof he was in some trouble, and committed to the Fleet, before his committing to the Tower.

To the IVth his lordship saith, that he never knew him have that credit, nor so used otherwise than for the tongue's sake, wherein no other, peradventure, could supply so well as he, at such time as others, having languages, were absent.

To the articles from LVII. to LXII. inclusive, his lordship saith, that he cannot call to remembrance all particular talks that passed between them at that time, the bishop having so much superfluous and vain talk beside the matter. But this he remembereth very well, that the bishop spent many words in justifying himself, and had many words at the same time touching his long imprisonment; and that 'it would purge a man as well as the new diet,' with such other words as were nothing to the purpose. But, that the said bishop should be moved to let all things bye-past be forgotten, or any such like motion, his lordship remembereth not. And this is all, in effect, that his lordship remembereth, touching the said articles.

To the LXIVth and LXVth his lordship saith, that touching the Book of Common Prayer, his answer and communication was much, in effect, as is deduced in these articles: whereupon he was moved to write the effect thereof himself; which he refused. And likewise after the same being written by master secretary Peter, the said bishop refused to subscribe his name thereunto, which his refusal was, by his lordship and others of the council then present, very much misliked.

To the LXVIth and LXVIIth his lordship saith, that he remembereth that the said bishop misliked and would not allow the said book mentioned in those articles for the causes specified in the same. And as for any promise for discharge or enlargement out of prison, there was none made at that time, nor any likelihood of conformity that might give occasion thereunto; but rather the contrary. And thereupon only concluded with him to make report to the rest of the council, of his sayings and doings at that time.

To the LXXVIth and LXXVIIth his lordship saith, that he doth remember well, that, in the time articulate, the whole council (whereof his lordship was one) having special commission from the king's majesty to that purpose, did, for disobedience and want of conformity in the said bishop at that time, proceed to sequestration of the fruits of his bishopric, with commination within three months to proceed to deprivation, as in the decrees thereof, remaining of record in the council-book, more plainly appeareth. And his lordship further saith, that he thinketh it to be true, that the said bishop required to have the copy of the articles with him to the Tower; and that he would there make answer. But, because he had been so often travailed withal before, and for that the very same articles had been showed unto him in the Tower before, and were then eftsoons read unto him in the council-chamber, he was moved and required, even then immediately, to subscribe the said articles; which he refused to do.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st his lordship saith, that he remembereth not to have heard of the late king himself, any word spoken of misliking of the said bishop; but he hath heard of others, that were wont to have more secret conference with the said late king than his lordship was, that the said late king misliked the said bishop: but, for what cause specially, his lordship knoweth not, saving that his majesty took him to be a wilful and heady man, and specially in matters of religion set forth by his majesty.

To the 2d his lordship saith, that he thinketh the said late king took the said bishop to be a wilful and heady man; and that, when matters of religion did occur, his majesty did not use to commit any of them to the said bishop, as far as his lordship could perceive.

To the 3d: his lordship knoweth not thereof.

To the 4th and 5th his lordship saith, that he hath heard divers times reported for truth, by them that were privy to the said late king's determination therein, that he expressly refused to have the said bishop to be any of the council with the king's majesty that now is, or to have him named one of the executors of his testament.

To the 6th his lordship saith, that he hath heard it reported of the said bishop in the court, among very many, that the said bishop was suspected to favour the bishop of Rome in his proceedings, and to mislike the proceedings of this realm in matters of religion. And his lordship also saith, that by private talk with the said bishop, he knoweth that the said bishop hath been of contrary opinion in matters of religion to things set forth by the common orders of the realm: and further saith, that he is sure, that the said bishop hath most kept company with such persons as be noted and suspected not to favour the king's proceedings; which also doth appear by choice of his own officers, both spiritual and temporal.

To the 7th his lordship saith, that he hath heard several gentlemen of Hampshire say and report so of the said bishop as is contained in this interrogatory.

To the 8th his lordship saith, that he well remembereth that the bishop, in his sermon, spake those words contained in the interrogatory; videlicet, that Christ consecrated himself to be a memorial of himself: and besides so spake both of the sacrament and the mass, as he was misliked of as many as favour the king's proceedings.

To the 9th his lordship saith, that it is most true, for his lordship hath been present when the matters mentioned in this interrogatory have been in controversy, and diversely talked and contended upon in the city of London, in the court, and elsewhere. William Northampton.

The Lord Chancellor Riche.

Sir Richard Riche knight, lord Riche, lord chancellor of England, of the age of 54, and above; examined upon articles I. to IV.; also upon articles XXV. to LV. inclusive, of the said matter justificatory.

To the Ist article this deponent saith, upon his honour and allegiance, as touching the diligence and endeavour of the said bishop for the setting-forth of the supremacy, and for the abolishing of the usurped authority and power of the bishop of Rome, that he knoweth not the certainty, whether the said bishop were diligent or endeavoured himself to set forth the supremacy, or the abolishment of the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome; for this deponent saith, that he never heard the said bishop do the one, or do the other: but by report he hath heard say, that the said bishop did set forth the same beyond the seas; but in what place and country this deponent knoweth not. And whether the said bishop hath under him a circumspect learned chancellor, for the setting-forth of the king's proceedings that now is, this deponent cannot tell; for he never heard the one, or the other. Also this deponent never heard the said bishop set forth the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome in any sermon, forsomuch as this deponent never heard the said bishop preach any sermon: but this deponent hath heard say (of whom he remembereth not), that the said bishop did set forth a book in maintenance of supremacy to be in the king that dead is, his heirs and successors. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the IId article this deponent saith, that he never knew any dishonesty by the said bishop, until such time as he was committed to ward for his offences.

To the IIId he deposeth that, to his knowledge, he hath been counted a man just of his promise, until such time as he thinketh that the said bishop brake promise in not setting forth such things as he was commanded: and otherwise he cannot depose, saving that this deponent was present at Hampton-court, at such time as the said bishop, for certain offences laid unto him, was committed to the Fleet.

To the IVth he saith, that the bishop of Winton, for that he was skilled in the language, was appointed by the council to make answer and commune with the said ambassadors; but at what time and how often he hath been so appointed, he cannot now certainly depose. And otherwise he cannot depose. Page 822.

To the XLVth he saith, that the bishop of Winchester's servant took him in a bill, to be put into the parliament house, on the behalf of the said bishop; unto whom this deponent made answer, that he thought it not convenient to put in such a bill, seeing that he was a prisoner, and the king the party, until he

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition*

had made the king and his council privy thereof: which said bill was delivered to the lords of the council then sitting at Somerset-place; at which time some of the council (whom he remembereth not), declared that they had the like bill: and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XLVIth he saith, that the contents of this article are true.

To the XLVIIth he saith, that the said bishop spake the words contained in this article, or the like in effect.

To the XLVIIIth he saith, that the contents of this article are true.

To the XLIXth he saith, that this article is true.

To the Lth he saith, that the said article is true; and saith, that he made answer to the said bishop, that if he would stand to the trial of the matter, and therein be condemned, he were not worthy to have mercy. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the LIst he saith, that the contents of the said article are true; and saith, that he replied again, and said again to the said bishop, 'Now, I perceive, you know the act as well as I.'

To the LIId he saith and deposeth, that the contents of this article are true.

To the LIIId he deposeth, that the said article is true.

To the LIVth he saith, the contents of this article also are true.

To the LVth he saith, that the said bishop was demanded whether he would submit himself to the king and council. And the said bishop said, he would be ordered by the laws; this deponent saying, that was no submission: and that at the request of the said bishop, alleging one to be sick near him, this deponent, and the other his colleagues, promised that they would procure license that he might go to the gallery. And, according to their promise, they made suit for him so to do: and otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st this deponent saith, that he hath heard divers times of sundry persons whose names he remembereth not, that king Henry the Eighth did think the said bishop not to be well pleased with the proceedings of the realm in matters of religion; and therefore this deponent hath heard say, that the said late king did mislike the said bishop.

To the 2d this deponent saith and affirmeth it to be true, as he thinketh; because it was so commonly reported.

To the 3d this deponent affirmeth, that he thinketh that the late king Henry the Eighth did take the said bishop to be vehemently suspected to favour the bishop of Rome.

To the 4th this deponent saith, that he hath heard it sundry times reported by the duke of Somerset, the earl of Warwick, master Denny, and others, that king Henry the Eighth would in no wise have the said bishop after his death to be of the council of the king our sovereign lord that now is.

To the 5th he saith, that he can tell nothing thereof.

To the 6th this deponent saith, that by common bruit and fame (as well of certain of the council, as others whose names he remembereth not), the said bishop was taken to be such a one as favoureth not the king's proceedings.

To the 7th he knoweth no more than he before, in the interrogatories, hath deposed.

To the 8th he saith, that he hath heard divers say and report, that the said bishop was commanded to do as in the said interrogatory is mentioned. But *what* he said or published in that behalf he knoweth not, because he was not at the sermon, but at that time was at Lees: and there it was reported, by one of this deponent's servants, that the said bishop was committed to the Tower for the breaking of the king's commandment which he was enjoined and commanded to do in his said sermon.

To the 9th he saith, that he heard that there was such contention within the realm, and that, as well before the said sermon as since; and upon the presence of the body of Christ in the sacrament. And otherwise he cannot answer. Richard Riche.

The Earl of Warwick.

The right honourable lord John, earl of Warwick, examined upon the articles under mentioned, ministered by the bishop of Winchester, saith, upon his

fidelity to God and to the king's majesty, and upon his honour, as followeth: *Edward VI.*

To the Ist article the said earl saith, that whether the said articles be of efficacy, virtue, and strength, he knoweth not; nor is he able to say any thing therein, for that he is not learned in the law. And therefore, whether they be of effect and prejudicial against the said bishop, or not, he referreth to the wisdom, learning, and dexterity, of the judges appointed by the king's majesty to hear the bishop's cause. But, if the bishop have no other matter to allege for the disallowing the said articles, than such as he allegeth, for justifying of himself, as in the same article doth follow (all which is most untrue in most points), then the said earl thinketh, that the said articles be good and effectual. A.D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

To the IId the said earl saith, that he hath heard, that the said bishop was sundry times charged and commanded by our late sovereign lord, to execute and set forth divers things devised by his majesty and his clergy for the uniting and establishing of godly religion among his people; wherein the said bishop, of all others, was most vehemently suspected by his highness to be a chief and principal hinderer. And [he] never did hear that the said bishop at any time did advance his grace's proceedings; but rather to be a manifest and stout disturber and hinderer of the same. And so our late sovereign lord did report him, and take him, as in the IVth article (confessed by the said earl) more plainly shall appear.

To the IIId the said earl saith, that whether the said bishop hath always kept his word and promise with any his private creditors, bankers, factors, or such like, he knoweth not; but he marvelleth not a little that the said bishop, without shame, doth advance himself to have been hitherto always reputed, esteemed, and taken, and yet is, to be a man so just of his doing, that he was never called, troubled, or vexed until the time he was sent to the Tower the morrow after he preached before the king's majesty, at his palace at Westminster; seeing that all men know, that not fully a year before he so preached, he was, for other like offences, called before the council at Hampton-court, the duke of Somerset and he (the said earl) being then in Scotland; and was at that time, by the said council, committed to prison, to the Fleet, where he remained a good space after; so that it may appear by the said article, that the said bishop is forgetful and shameless.

To the IVth: whereas the said bishop saith, that he was in such reputation and estimation with the councillors of our late sovereign lord that dead is, that commonly they committed unto him the speech and answer to all ambassadors, as well those of Scotland, of France, as of the emperor's; and that within fourteen days before the death of our late sovereign lord, they did so use him, the said earl saith, that forasmuch as the answers to ambassadors commonly required to be done by a man learned in the civil law, and specially when it was to be done in the Latin tongue, the said council did use the said bishop's speech; and not for any other credit or estimation that they had of him. And the said earl further saith, that more than three weeks before the death of the late king, his grace, then being very sick, did send for divers of his privy council, whereof the said earl was one, the duke of Somerset (then earl of Hertford) another, the lord privy seal, the master of the horse (that dead is) and the lord Paget, then one of the secretaries—all they five were present at the establishing of his last will; and, when the bishop of Winchester was named to be one of his executors, he did put him out, and would in no wise have him named in his will. And at that present time he gave us strait charge and commandment, that he [the said bishop] should never be of his son's council—meaning of our sovereign lord that now is: 'For,' said his majesty, 'he is so wilful and contentious, you shall never be quiet, if he be among you;' with such like words. Such was the opinion that his highness had of the bishop at that time and long before; whereof the said earl taketh record of those lords before named, and also of the master of the horse that now is; for he and master Denny were present at the same. And after this commandment, the said earl doth not remember that the council did use him in any matters of council. Page 323.

To the LXIXth article the said earl saith, that within ten or twelve days after Midsummer last, or thereabouts, the treasurer and he (the said earl), the master of the horse, and master secretary Peter, were, by the appointment of the king's majesty and the rest of the council, willed to repair to the Tower,

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

and there to call before them the bishop of Winchester, and to deliver unto him the king's majesty's letters, which imported (as the said earl remembereth) an express commandment, that he should subscribe certain articles, which, in the king's majesty's name, together with the said letters, they delivered unto him, and used him with as gentle persuasions and exhortations as they could; to the intent he should the rather have showed himself conformable and obedient. But, when he had read the letter, and perused the articles, he seemed to be much disquieted; and specially with the Ist article. And after a little pausing he began to say,—'My lords, I will never say otherwise of myself than my conscience will suffer me:'—'and would rather tumble himself desperate into the Thames,' or such like words; and there refused to subscribe to the Ist article, the king's majesty's letter of commandment, or any thing that they could say in his highness's name notwithstanding.

To the LXXth article the said earl saith, that after the said bishop had thus stormed with himself, and that by no means he would subscribe to his submission, perceiving also that they should but consume the time in vain with him, the said earl (as he remembereth), demanded of him, what he would say to the other articles following. Whereunto he answered, saying; 'That is another matter, my lord;' and with little difficulty subscribed his name to them, saying, 'Lo, my lords, this you have won of me now,' or such like words; as though he seemed to have done that which was worthy of thanks: whereupon it was said unto him, 'My lord, we mistrust not, but this which you have done (meaning by subscribing his name), you have done willingly, and without grudge of conscience.' 'Yea, my lords, assure yourselves; or else I would not have done it.' And after some other bye-talk, which he, at that time, used very much, it was demanded of him what he thought touching the king's majesty's authority in his young and tender years. 'Marry,' said he, 'as to that, I can say as much as any man in England; for,' said he, 'my lord chancellor that now is [then master Riche] and I, with the lord Wriothesley, were commanded to confer together on that matter. And, after deliberation and good advice taken with other learned men in the realm, the said lord Wriothesley and I made report to the late king.' Then it was said to him again, 'Whatsoever report or advice they then made, it was certain, by the laws of the realm, that the king's majesty is of as ample authority, and his acts as good to all purposes, as though his highness were of many more years, or as the doings of his father, or any other king, how old soever he were.' 'Yea,' said the bishop, 'I grant he is a full king; and as much a king at a day's age as at forty years old. Marry if he shall pass anything now, which his highness shall see prejudicial to him, he may use therein the benefit of his young years.' And here the bishop said, that master secretary Peter would say as he said; whose answer, as the earl remembereth, was this: 'My lord, I must say that your saying, in a common person, is true; but, in a person of a king, I never read any such law. And my opinion is,' said he, 'except a king, in his tender and young years, be bound to his doings, as well as at full man's estate, it would be impossible to have that realm and state well governed.' Whereupon the bishop said little.

To the LXXIst article the said earl saith as he hath said in the beginning of LXXth article.

To the LXXIId article he saith, that a little before their departing from the bishop, the said bishop, after his accustomed gesture, bare them all in hand that he took them all to be his very familiar friends, and thought to find great friendship at their hands: 'But yet,' said he, 'I remain still in prison.' And said further, that, by his faith, at the late being of the duke of Somerset and others of the council with him, he thought by the gentle handling of him, he should have been discharged out of prison the next day: 'Whereupon,' said he, 'I did make my jubilee.' And from this talk he fell into other communications, as touching divers things wherein it seemed he could give advice; and said, that 'he knew some of our near neighbours, that misliked our doings.' And here the master of the horse would fain have known, what he meant by those words: but thereto he made no answer. And thereupon it was said to him, 'My lord, if you will follow counsel, you should show yourself first to be an obedient subject, and then you may the better find faults with others.' These or such like words, as the earl remembereth, were said unto him.

To the LXXIIId the said earl saith, he can say no more than is comprehended in the last article before written; nor remembereth that any of the council, being then with him, willed him to come into the gallery for any such intent as the bishop allegeth: neither was there any such occasion given on his part, that they should so use him, for he remained still as a wilful and disobedient subject. And so they left him, being sorry they could do no more good to him. And this is all the said earl remembereth.

To the LXXVIth article he saith, that about the time related in the same article, he remembereth that the said bishop was brought before the council to the king's palace of Westminster, they sitting then in the queen's great chamber. And then and there it was declared unto him, that by special commission from the king's majesty, they were all appointed to be his judges in the matter for which he was at that time called before them; and there commanded him, in the king's majesty's name, to subscribe certain articles, being then read unto him, which he refused to do; like as at sundry times before he had done to others, being sent by the king's majesty and the council to him into the Tower, only for that purpose.

To the LXXVIIth article, the said bishop—being, eftsoons, commanded by the council to make peremptory answers whether he would subscribe the said articles or no—said, that the said articles were of sundry natures, and that if he should subscribe them without declaring what he meant in them, it might be dangerous: but, if they would deliver him a copy of them, to have in the Tower with him, he would make particular answer to them. The which his request the said council, for divers good considerations, and having commission only of the king's majesty to proceed to his indelayed answer, did deny; whereupon the said bishop, eftsoons, denied to subscribe them, showing himself thereby, (as it appeared to him and others then conning of his demeanour) rather to be obstinate and wilful, than conformable and obedient. Whereupon the council then and there proceeded to his sequestration, according to such commandment as they had received of the king's majesty in that behalf.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st the said earl answereth as is more fully contained in the depositions to the matters justificatory of the said bishop; and further saith, that about three or four years before the late king's death, his highness—being advertised that certain of his privy chamber were secretly indicted of heresies (that is to say, master Carden and others), whereunto his majesty was not made privy, and suspecting the said bishop to be one of the greatest workers therein—commanded the earl of Hertford, the lord privy seal, and him (the said earl, then lord admiral), and the lord Paget, to examine the matter. Upon the examination thereof it was found, that the said bishop had been a secret worker; and therewith the said late king was much offended.

To the 2d his lordship saith, that he heard it so reported of divers; but, of his own knowledge, he can say nothing therein.

To the 3d the said earl saith, that he (the late king) had the said bishop much suspected to favour the bishop of Rome's authority and proceedings, as well for that one Gardiner, nearest about the said bishop, of his own bringing up, and most in favour with him, was attainted of high treason, and suffered death for maintaining the said bishop of Rome's authority. And also, for that the said late king was informed before, of a certain secret practice between the said bishop of Winchester and the bishop of Rome's legate at Ratisbon in Almain, at such time as sir Henry Knivet was there ambassador joined with the said bishop. Upon which suspicions, and for other secret informations that the said late king had touching the said bishop's favour to the bishop of Rome, his grace caused, in all pardons afterwards, all treasons committed beyond the seas to be exempted; which was meant most for the bishop's cause, to the intent the said bishop should take no benefit by any of the said pardons.

Page 824.

To the 4th and 5th: his lordship referreth himself to his sayings upon the matter justificatory of the bishop of Winchester.

To the 6th his lordship saith, he heard many times, of very many men so reported, and commonly said, that the bishop was, in the late king's days, and since, commonly among most men, reputed for a man much favouring the bishop of Rome, and an adversary to the king's proceedings for reformation of abuses in religion in this realm.

Edward VI.

A.D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

To the 7th his lordship answereth as to the 6th interrogatory.

To the 8th his lordship saith, he was not present at the bishop's sermon, and therefore can say nothing of this interrogatory, of his own knowledge.

To the 9th his lordship saith, that before the said sermon, at the time thereof, and long after, there was much controversy and variance in London, and many other places of the realm, for the matters mentioned in this interrogatory. And that his lordship knoweth to be true, by the common report of most men that he spake with about that time; and also for that the council were many times troubled with complaints about those matters. And his lordship further saith, that the contention was so great, that (as he heard of very credible persons) if the king's majesty and lords of the council had not been present, the people would have plucked the said bishop out of the pulpit; they were so much offended with him.

By me, John Warwick.

The Earl of Bedford.

The right honourable John earl of Bedford, lord privy seal, examined upon the said matter, deposeth as followeth:

To the Ist [article] his lordship saith, that like as the said bishop was complained of to the council for those matters, whereof he justifieth himself to be willingly inclined, and also to have chosen his chancellor for the better setting-forth of the king's majesty's proceedings, at all times, as well as in those points his duty required; even so the said bishop, and also his chancellor, contrary, were not so forward, but otherwise stiff and contrary; and specially since the reign of our sovereign lord that now is. And the said bishop, of all such men as truly favoured the king's proceedings, was much noted to be of no good disposition towards the same.—Touching the book made by the said bishop, and his disputations at Louvain, they are unknown to his lordship. And for his chancellor, upon information given to the council, of sundry things done by him in his own parish-church, contrary to the king's proceedings, he was sent for to the council, and by them, for his offences and disobediences, committed to the Marshalsea, where he yet remaineth. And this is all that his lordship remembereth touching that article.

To the IId his lordship saith, that his estimation with the king's majesty that dead is (when he had fully perceived his evil inclination towards the abolishing of certain enormities in the church), was not so good as he speaketh of, insomuch that sir Anthony Brown, late master of the horse, desiring his grace, with some commendation of the bishop, that he might be in his testament, utterly refused to have him in his will, or to be named one of his executors; saying, 'that the said bishop should be a disturber to the whole council, if he were:' further commanding, that in no wise should he remain a councillor with this king's majesty; which also others of the council can further declare in that behalf, as his lordship saith, as well as he.

To the IIId his lordship saith, he can say nothing to the contrary against him, nor any thing with him; for that there were no occasions to prove him then, as since hath proceeded, by the king's authority and by his high court of parliament: whose zeal and judgment hath been of late much more suspected, not without good cause, of his own declarations before the whole council; and the greatest blame reported by divers, in the lack of his conformity, to the encouraging of many to bear out in the like manner, without consideration of their duty to God or the king's majesty. And touching the bishop's trouble, his lordship remembereth that he was in trouble before his committing to the Tower, for he was in the Fleet before that time. And his lordship further saith, that upon complaint made to the council, in the first year of the king's majesty's reign (his grace being at Hampton-court), that the said bishop favoured not the king's proceedings, he, being sent for thither by the said council which were there present, the said bishop found fault with the Homilies, and specially that of Justification: likewise with the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the text of Paul, as his lordship remembereth, which is 'nemini quicquam debeatis:' and a little before, as well the said Paraphrase, as also the said Homilies, were set forth, by the king's majesty's injunctions, to be read in every church. Where-

upon, for want of conformity as well then, as divers other times before reported of him, it was then, by the whole council, thought meet, upon those considerations, to commit him (the said bishop) forthwith to the Fleet.

Edward VI. A.D. 1551.

To the IVth his lordship saith, that albeit the councillors of the king's majesty that dead is, used the said bishop sometimes, for the tongue's sake, when others were absent, yet they did not best like his doings in matters of religion: which also the late king himself did disclose to his lordship once at Greenwich, as the same bishop can partly of himself call to remembrance, if he will.

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To articles LVII. to LIX. his lordship remembereth not divers of the matters in those contained, for that the said bishop was more occupied with other superfluous talk, than with those things that were objected against him; spending many words of his long imprisonment; saying, 'that it would purge a man as well as the new diet;' with such like matters and taunts, clean out of purpose.—Touching his conformity, whereof their coming to the Tower was purposely to see at that time, his lordship perceived not much towardness thereof in him.

To articles LX. to LXIV. inclusive, being asked how he liked the Book of Common Prayer, his lordship remembereth the said bishop said, 'if he should have made it, he would have otherwise done it than it was. But, seeing it is made, if he were out of prison he would both keep it himself, and cause it to be kept of others:' which his saying he both refused to write himself, and afterwards, the same being written by master secretary Peter, he refused to subscribe his name to it, upon certain pretensed excuses of no importance, which were much misliked of the lords then present there. As for any words of bye-past, or such like, to his lordship's remembrance there were none.

To articles LXV. and LXVI. his lordship saith, that the bishop, being demanded how he liked the Book of Making Priests, said, 'he did not like it;' and alleged the same reason in effect, that is mentioned in these articles; videlicet, 'Cessabit unctio vestra:' meaning, and also declaring in his words, that unction was necessary both to be used in priesthood, and in the consecration of kings: speaking more words thereof. And [that he] did mislike the said book; which his misliking, considering that the said book was set forth by the learned men of the realm, by authority of parliament, the lords thought it to proceed of great wilfulness, and were offended for the same.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st his lordship saith, it is true, for he hath so heard sundry times declared by the said king of famous memory.

To the 2d his lordship saith, he well remembereth that the said late king would in no wise have the said bishop named among the bishops and learned men appointed for making the said book. Page 325.

To the 3d his lordship saith, that he can say nothing touching this article, saving that he hath heard the said bishop was somewhat suspected concerning that point, at his being in Germany with sir Henry Knivet.

To the 4th and 5th his lordship saith, that the said late king, in the hearing of his lordship and divers other of the council, said expressly, that he would not have the said bishop either to be one of his executors, or to be of the council with the king's majesty that now is. And albeit that sir Anthony Brown, then being present, moved the king for the said bishop, yet his highness (expressly refusing to have the said bishop either executor or councillor, as is aforesaid), commanded the said executors and councillors then present, that in no wise should they admit him in again to the council, saying, 'he is a wilful heady man, and will disturb and trouble you all.'

To the 6th his lordship saith, that for the suspicions conceived of the said bishop to favour the bishop of Rome, his lordship can say no more than he hath before said; but, touching the common opinion of him not to favour the king's majesty's proceedings in matters of religion, his lordship saith, that he is of many men commonly so reported and taken.

To the 7th his lordship saith, that he thinketh so as is contained in this interrogatory.

To the 8th his lordship saith, that the said bishop, contrary to the commandment given by the duke of Somerset, then protector, in the king's majesty's name, did openly speak, in his sermon, both of the mass and sacrament; but what were the particulars of his sayings in those matters, his lordship now remembereth not.

Edward VI.
A.D. 1551.
Reprint from the First Edition.

To the 9th his lordship saith, that there was great strife, controversy, and contention, both in London, and in other sundry parts of the realm, as well at the time articulate of this interrogatory as before and after, about the use of private masses, and whether that they might stand with God's law or no; also, whether the very body of Christ was present in the sacrament or no.

John Bedford.

George, Lord Cobham.

George, lord Cobham, examined upon the articles LXIII. to LXVII. inclusive, of the aforesaid matter, deposeth as followeth:

To the LXIIId and LXIVth articles the lord Cobham saith, that although he doth well remember how he was present with the duke of Somerset, and my lord marquis of Northampton, at such time as they talked with the bishop, whose particular sayings and conference of matters he is not able wholly to express, yet, among other things, he saith, that he remembereth well the bishop's answer for the Book of Common Prayer to be such, or like in effect, as the article saith; that is to say, how he would keep it, and cause it of others to be kept: which answer was accepted. And he, being required to write it, refused to do it, but was contented that master secretary should write it, who then wrote it faithfully: howbeit the bishop would not set his hand unto it; wherein the lords noted much obstinacy in him. And further, as touching the very presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar, the said lord remembereth the bishop's communication to be such as in the article appeareth, saying, moreover, how he never preached more for the confirmation of that parcel, than the same book doth make for it.

To the LXVth article he saith, that he remembereth not whether such, or the like answer, was then made by the bishop, or not.

To the LXVIth and LXVIIth articles he saith, how the bishop would by no means allow the Book for Making of Priests, alleging for his defence, as the article showeth. And in the end of that communication being moved with a little melancholy, he demanded justice; whereunto, as the lord marquis said, how they liked his sayings better at their other being there (of the new diet), so the lord Cobham remembereth how it was further said unto the bishop, that it was not the part of a wise man to ask the extremity of justice in that case, so as—notwithstanding the persuasions of the lords moving him to show himself conformable to the said book being allowed throughout the realm—yet by no means he would condescend or agree to it: wherein the lords took him to be very obstinate and wilful. And more the lord Cobham to these articles cannot say

By me, G. Cobham.

Sir William Harbert.

Sir William Harbert knight, examined upon the aforesaid matter, deposeth as followeth:

To the Ist article he saith, that whereas the bishop alleges himself always to have been ready to set forth the king's majesty's supremacy with all laws, injunctions, and proclamations concerning religion, this examinate hath always heard, by a common bruit, that the bishop had small affection to his highness's proceedings in religion; specially to those that have taken effect since the beginning of the king's majesty's reign that now is; insomuch that no man hath been more suspected than he, having so great charge and authority as he had. And as for the chancellor, whom he allegeth to have executed every thing, it should seem to be otherwise; for, when the same chancellor was of late called before the council, for permitting of certain particular things within both the church of Winton, and of other places under his charge, because he could not so excuse himself but that the things appeared manifestly to be suffered contrary to the king's proceedings, the whole council committed him to the Marshalsea for his disobedience, where he remaineth still in prison. What book or work the said bishop hath set forth against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, or defence he made in the university of Louvain, this examinate knoweth not.

To the IId article: he remembereth well that the said bishop, in the days of our late sovereign lord the king that dead is, was one of the privy council, and

many times had doings in matters; but what commandments or charges were given him, or whether he executed them well or evil, or how they were accepted or taken, this examinate knoweth not; but this he remembereth, that the said late king, a little before his death, put him out of his will.

To the IIId article he can say nothing, but thinketh that, as it is every man's part to deal justly, so, in men of honour and reputation, it were much more worthy of infamy, to deserve dishonour and reproach in their private doings, having no more power and ability to deal uprightly, than the meaner sort have. And where he allegeth never to be vexed before his sending to the Tower, this examinate remembereth, that he was in the Fleet before that, for matters of religion.

To the IVth article he saith, that he knoweth nothing either of his reputation or doings in the council at that time; but he thinketh that because of the tongues, it might be true that he oftentimes answered the ambassadors, not of office, but of the place and occasions, as many times meaner men do.

To the LXIXth article he saith, that the lord treasurer, [then] lord great master, this examinate, and master secretary Peter, being sent unto the said bishop with the king's majesty's letters, the same indeed were delivered unto him by the lord treasurer's hands, and that, as he thinketh, the bishop both received and read them on his knees; but when he had read them, he would not yield that he had offended, alleging, that he was no evil man; wherefore he would not condemn himself, but rather tumble into the Thames if he were bidden.

To the LXXth article he saith, that when the lords saw the bishop so precise and obstinate in the first point, concerning his justification, one of them (who, as he thinketh, was my lord of Warwick), asked him what answer he would make to the rest of the articles, willing him to write his answer to the first article in the margin; which he then did as in the same appeareth.

To the LXXIst article he saith, that it is true that the earl of Warwick entertained him very gently, and so did all the rest, in hope to bring him to some good conformity, and that pen, ink, and paper, were given him, with the which he wrote these words (that appear yet of his own hand) in the margin to the first article; and afterwards subscribed all the rest, his name indeed being so placed as he allegeth.

To the LXXIId article he saith, that the lords and others entreated the bishop well, and used him so familiarly that he burdened them with many requests, specially for his enlargement; bearing them in hand, that he took them for his friends, with many circumstances that seem to this examinate not much material: whether the lord treasurer promised he should not be forgotten, but should hear from them the next day, this examinate doth not remember, but, that the bishop was commanded to follow them out of the chamber, this examinate denieth. Indeed, as far as he can remember, the bishop followed them out of the chamber, and so took his leave. But that was not done of any purpose to persuade the world that the bishop and they were so great friends as is alleged. And where the bishop allegeth 'this is an argument of no contempt or disobedience,' the writing itself declareth the refusal; and this examinate never perceived so much conformity in the bishop, as of reason ought to move him to think he had made so clear a satisfaction as he pretended. Page 826.

To the LXXIIId article he saith, that he remembereth not that any such thing was spoken.

To the LXXIVth article he saith, that the morrow after the lords had been with the said bishop at the Tower, upon their report of proceeding with him to the council, because it appeared he sticked upon the commission, which was the principalest point—to the intent he should [have] no cause to say that he was not mercifully handled, the council commanded this examinate, and master secretary Peter, to repair to the bishop again with the same submission; exhorting him to look better upon it; and, in case the words seemed too sore, then to refer it to himself, in what sort, and with what words, he should devise to submit him; that, upon the acknowledgment of his fault, the king's highness might extend his mercy and liberality towards him. Accordingly this examinate, and master secretary Peter, repaired to the said bishop, and proceeded with him in manner and form as is rehearsed. But the bishop stood precisely in justifying of himself, affirming, that he had never offended the king's majesty, and therefore utterly refused to make any submission, but prayed he might

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

have justice, and so be tried. And for the long discourse the bishop maketh in this article, touching the condemning of himself, and his conscience, this examinate doth not precisely remember it; but the effect of his whole answer consisted of that which is rehearsed before.

To the LXXVth article he saith, that upon report made to the king's majesty's council by them, of their proceedings with the bishop, and of his answer, it was thought necessary, for the more surety of his refusal, and more authentic proceeding, that a new book of articles touching the king's majesty's proceedings should be devised, with which they two, and one divine, with one temporal lawyer, should soon repair to the bishop, to receive his direct and definitive answer. The bishop of London was appointed to be the divine, and master Goodrick the temporal lawyer. According to which order the said bishop of London, with this examinate, master secretary Peter, and master Goodrick, repaired to the said bishop of Winton, requiring him not only to submit himself in acknowledging his errors and faults, but also to subscribe these articles, containing matter already published and set forth by the king's majesty's authority, and by the advice of his highness's council, for many great and godly considerations; and, among others, for the common tranquillity and unity of the realm. Whereunto the said bishop of Winton made answer that, first, to the article of submission he would in no wise consent, affirming, as he had done before, that he had never offended the king's majesty in any such sort as should give him cause thus to submit himself; praying earnestly to be brought unto his trial, wherein he refused the king's mercy, and desired nothing but justice. And for the rest of the articles, he answered, that after he was past his trial in that first point, and were at liberty, then it should appear what he would do in them; not being reasonable (as he said) he should subscribe them in prison. Indeed with much ado he read the articles; but when he had done, and they persuaded him all that they could, he would make no other answer than is rehearsed.

To the LXXVIth article he saith, that the 19th day of July last, the council had access to the king's majesty; and, among other matters, declared unto his highness the circumstances of their proceedings with the bishop of Winton, who, the same day, was appointed to be brought before them. Whereon his majesty commanded them, that, in case he would this day also stand to his wonted obstinacy, they should proceed to the immediate sequestration of his bishopric, and, consequently, to the intimations. Whereupon the said bishop was brought before the council, not in the chapel of Westminster, but in the council-chamber there, commonly called the queen's Great Chamber, where the said articles were read unto him; to the which he made answer, as he did the other times before, refusing either to subscribe or consent unto them.

To the LXXVIIth article he saith, that because the bishop of Winton used many circumstances in answering to the council, therefore it was directly demanded of him, whether he would subscribe the said articles or no. Whereunto the effect of his answer was, that in all things that his majesty would lawfully command him, he was willing and most ready to obey; but, forasmuch as there were divers things required of him that his conscience would not bear, therefore he prayed them to have him excused. And, for these circumstances and words that he allegeth in this article, this examinate doth not remember; but the effect was and is here rehearsed.

William Harbert.

Sir John Baker.

Sir John Baker, knight, one of the king's majesty's council, of the age of 62, or thereabouts; sworn and examined upon articles I. to IV. of the matters justificatory, deposeth as followeth:

To the Ist article he saith, that he cannot depose on the contents of this article of his certain knowledge: howbeit, he saith, that he hath not heard that he hath spoken against the king's supremacy, nor with it, for he never heard him preach but one sermon, the which was at St. Mary Overy's, before the house was suppressed. And whether he treated of such matter, yea or no, he doth not remember.

To the IId he saith, that certain things have been commanded the said bishop of Winchester to be done in the king's time that dead is, as he hath

heard say, but whether the king found any fault in him of the doing of them, he cannot tell. And otherwise certainly he cannot depose.

To the IIId he saith, that he doth not know but that the said bishop hath been, and is, a just man of his promise, until such time as he was committed to the Fleet and Tower. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the IVth he saith, and thinketh, that he is not bound to make answer to the contents of this article, for that he was then attendant upon the king's council that dead is, and sworn not to disclose any thing that should be done in the same council. Nevertheless if he be further compelled to declare his knowledge, he is ready to do the same.

John Baker.

Sir Edward Carne.

Edward Carne, knight, of the age of 55 or 56, sworn and examined upon the Ist, IId, and XIIIth articles of the said matter first exhibited, deposeth as followeth:

To the Ist he deposeth, that in king Henry the Eighth's time, this deponent saith, that he never heard otherwise but that the said bishop did always to the uttermost of his endeavour, set forth the king's proceedings; as his supremacy, and the abolishment of the bishop of Rome, according to his bounden duty: also, in the king's majesty's time that now is, until such time as the said bishop's committing to the Fleet and Tower; at which time, and three years before and more, this deponent was resident ambassador in Flanders; and there being, was advertised by the lords of the council of the said bishop's contemptuous and seditious preaching. And as touching the said bishop's chancellor, he is a man that he knoweth; but what he hath done in his proceedings, he knoweth not. And to the rest he saith, that he heard say, that the said bishop did make a book for the king's supremacy, and against the bishop of Rome's authority. And further this deponent saith, that he, being ambassador in Flanders, heard say, that the said bishop of Winchester, going in an ambassade to the emperor of Germany through Louvain, communing with certain learned men, there offered to dispute openly touching the defence of the said book, upon occasion ministered by the said learned men against the said bishop, touching the said book. And otherwise he cannot depose. Page 827.

To the IId he saith, that touching this article, he never heard the contrary, till such time as he was committed to the Fleet and Tower. And, whether he be now faithful and just, and how he is reputed and taken now, he cannot tell. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the IIId article: he never heard that the said bishop was troubled in any court by any manner of means, until such time as he was committed to the Fleet and Tower; but that, until that time, he hath been well esteemed just of promise, and so reputed and taken, as far as ever he heard. And more than this he knoweth not, touching the contents of the said articles; for he was never much conversant with the said bishop, but at such time as he was appointed by commandment to confer with the said bishop, or in commission with him.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st interrogatory he answereth, that he cannot depose upon the contents.

To the 2d he answereth as afore; and otherwise he cannot depose, for he heard nothing of it.

To the 3d: he heard a talk at the time the said bishop of Winchester made the book afore deposed of, that he was loth to write against the said bishop of Rome; but, whether the talk was true, he cannot tell. And otherwise he cannot depose than before.

To the 4th: he heard say he was not named one of the king's executors: wherefore, he cannot tell.

To the 5th: he heard nor knoweth nothing thereof, for he was beyond the seas the same time.

To the 6th and 7th he answereth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the 8th he cannot depose otherwise than before.

To the 9th he saith, he heard nothing unto the time that he, being resident ambassador in Flanders, was advertised by the lords of the council's letters, that,

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

by reason of the said seditious sermon, made by the said bishop on St. Peter's day, the people were likely to draw to a tumult. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Edward Carne.

Sir Thomas Smith.

Thomas Smith, knight, a witness sworn and examined upon the said matter, deposeth as followeth:

To the XVIIth article he thinketh it to be true.

To the XXIId he saith, he procured no consultation otherwise; but, it being commanded to my lord Paget and to him, at that time, by the duke of Somerset (then protector), and the rest of the council, to know the opinion of the learned men in both laws, used in this realm, upon certain articles touching the king's majesty's authority in giving an injunction to an ecclesiastical person (to such as were seen in the ecclesiastical laws), he went himself; and (upon their view and examination) to articles for declaration of the said authority made, they set to their hands; as may appear by their writing, to which he referreth himself. And the learned men of the common law, were called to my lord Paget's chamber in the court, and there, in the presence of the said lord Paget, this deponent, and others, they agreed and set to their hands, likewise, to articles, as may appear by the said writing or copy thereof. The intent of this doing appeareth by the thing itself to be, to know what the king's majesty's authority were, in giving an injunction to any bishop in this realm, subject and obedient unto his majesty.

To the XXIIId he saith, he knoweth the said bishop was sent for; but of the day, he is not certain. But, he thinketh, it was about the same time mentioned in these articles. Touching that part of the article, that for just and lawful causes, and according as he ought to do, the said bishop refused to preach the said articles as they were then penned, he thinketh surely the said bishop had no just cause so to do.

To the XXIVth: he knoweth not of it, but by hearsay.

To the XXVth: he thinketh it true, that the said bishop was brought to my lord great master's chamber then; for there he spake with the said bishop. But, of the offering to dine, or of any threatening, he knoweth not; nor was any such thing spoken to the bishop in his presence.

To the XXVIth he answereth as before he hath deposed, in his answer at his first production; to the which he referreth himself: that is, that my lord treasurer, then being lord great master, and this deponent (to wait upon the said lord treasurer) were sent unto the said bishop, then in the said lord great master's chamber, from the lord protector, and the rest of the council to move him, if they could, to show himself conformable, and to do and preach as he was commanded. And so they did both together; the said lord great master, and this deponent waiting upon him to that part of the article,—which master Smith then defended not. He saith that, contrary, this deponent did both defend and contend, that the said bishop should preach the said articles as they were then penned unto him; and defended them to be true, laudable, good, and godly, as they were then propounded for him to do—and *that* to do, was the chief cause, why this deponent was sent unto him. And upon divers reasonings betwixt the said bishop and this deponent upon them, the said bishop seemed to condescend, that he would agree to the articles, and to preach all the effect of them. Marry, he required, that the said lord great master, and this deponent, should move my lord of Somerset and the rest of the council, to be content with him if he did declare and set forth, in a sermon, the effect and meaning of every of them, though he did not express the very form of the words; for, he saith, then he would do it much better. For, whereas in the Ist article it was contained, that the late king's majesty did, for just causes, abolish the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, although the same hath been received of the more part of all christian princes, and was confirmed by some general councils; the bishop said, 'he would not say so much of the bishop of Rome, for he would not grant him; that his authority was allowed of the most part of christian princes;' nor that he was received generally, he said, would he grant.

Then this deponent reasoned, how England, France, Germany, Spain, Hungary, Denmark, Sweden, and so forth—in manner, till now of late, all christian princes—have received his authority. And further, till the bishop of Rome had made an emperor in the West, the Eastland and Greece had received his authority, and were all deceived with his usurpation: and therefore he might well say so. And, touching general councils this deponent saith, that the general council at Constance (which was the greatest council that ever was, in number of bishops, abbots, and princes) did so establish his authority, that in the same council Huss and Jerome of Prague were condemned for denying such authority. And other and all general councils since that time, and also a good while before, did all to maintain that usurpation, so that he might well grant so much, and yet defend and affirm, that they were all deceived. And the bishop answered, that he would not grant the bishop of Rome so much, and he could take that away otherwise; and so showed himself very forward in that matter.

Likewise, where another article was, that monks and friars were justly abolished, he said, he never liked friars in his life; and he took them ever for flattering knaves; and, for monks, they were but belly-gods; he could well away with the taking away of them, and could say as much of those matters as needeth to be said.

And where there was an article of St. Nicholas, bishop, and St. Katherine, and St. Clement, he said it was children's toys; he said it needed not to speak of them; it would but make the auditors laugh.

And generally, in all the articles he showed himself very forward, as allowing them all; adding that men were much deceived in him, and had a worse opinion of him than he deserved. Only this he required, that my lord treasurer (then lord great master), and this deponent, would move my lord of Somerset Page 328. and the rest of the council, that he might not be enjoined to speak them word for word; but to set forth the sentence and meaning of them after his device, and as he should bring them into his sermon; that he should not seem to have his lesson taught him like a boy, or read it upon the book, as though it were a recantation. And this message had the said lord great master and this deponent from the said bishop to the lords of the council, and so made their report: whereat some of them did marvel that he should condescend to all, considering the opinion that else was spread of him. And it was debated whether he should be trusted, or no, to do it after that sort—the form of words not prescribed, but only the matter and article, whereof he should entreat in his sermon, to be those that were written; so that he did affirm and set forth the effect of them as they were written, though he did not speak the prescript words. For the one way, they might be sure what he should do, and have copied out the very words that he should say. The other way it should be doubtful, and come in controversy, whether he had performed his promise or not; he saying he had done all as he was commanded; others, peradventure, upon just occasion denying it: wherein he might have good cause to make controversy afterward, in that the manner of speaking the thing appointed, was committed to his discretion. In fine, it seemed to go that way, that he should be brought to the prescript words, if it could be: if not, then at the least to preach the effect. This deponent, seeing it would go that way, moved my lord of Somerset (then protector) in his ear, that his grace would be so good then as to call him (the said bishop) before all the lords of the council, lest that if it should chance the said lord bishop to swerve, it might be laid to this deponent's charge, as though the controversy did arise by the doubtful acceptation of this deponent of his words and promise to the said lord treasurer and him: and therefore he required that his answer of conformity should be heard by all the lords. So my lord of Somerset seemed then to like that motion, that he should then, before them all, affirm the same that he had promised to the said lord treasurer and this deponent. And he doth well remember, that the said bishop did use all those reasons before rehearsed, and others, to the said lord protector and others of the council, to move them to put it to his trust; videlicet, 'that he hath been trusted more in ambassade,' etc., and 'that he would do much better than they looked for; and, if he did not, he were in their power to order him as they thought good;' with other attestations [as]—'I pray you trust me:'—'When have I deceived you?'—and, 'If you mean not to deface me, but that I should help to

Edward VI. A.D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

set forward the opinion which you would have set out, let me alone; else I shall seem to set out your words, not mine:'—and, 'Find fault, I pray you, when I deceive you:'—'I will do it better than you look for; ye have known me a long while:'—'What! will you not trust me with so small a thing?'—and such other like, with so many reasons and arguments as he could devise, whereby to persuade them to commit it wholly to his discretion. So the matter was committed to his discretion, upon condition, that in effect he should, in his sermon, declare all the said articles; the which he promised to do. And upon this the day was appointed unto him to preach the said matters; he requiring a longer, but, in fine, concluding upon a certain day that he should preach.

To the XXVIIth he answereth, that the said bishop was brought, as he hath before declared. Into what chamber precisely he was brought, or who was more present than the said lord Somerset [then] lord treasurer, and this deponent, he cannot surely by name affirm; but he thinketh rather before the council yet sitting. But well he knoweth, to the duke's privy chamber he was not brought, but, if it were to any of the duke's chambers, it was to that that the whole council many times did use to sit in.—For the friendly departure, it was true he departed friendly upon the occasion of conformity showed as before is declared; and it is truth that the said bishop said, when he was required to give his sermon in writing, that he never wrote sermon. And therefore the said duke said, he would have it written after he had made it. The effect of the articles the which he should declare in his sermon were, the matters mentioned in the VIIIth article. Whether the article of the king's majesty's minority was one of them, or no, this deponent cannot tell, but, in that, he referreth him to the writing; of the which articles divers copies were given forth, as to Dr. Coxe and to others, who should view whether he preached them as he ought or no. To all the rest he hath answered sufficiently before, as he thinketh.

To the XXVIIIth he saith, as it lieth, it hath no sentence; nor he cannot understand it. But, he saith, he supposeth that the article should be, that the bishop reasoned thus with sir Thomas Smith (then being secretary): that if it were meant to defame the said bishop, then were it well done to enjoin, that he should, word by word, recite the said articles as they were written upon the book, so that it might seem to be either a recantation or satisfaction of some evil doing. But, if they would have men who doubted of his judgment, brought to their opinions which wrote the articles, then they should suffer him to do it, and to declare the said matters in his sermon of himself: and so it should appear as his own words and mind, and not a thing prescribed unto him. And if that be the meaning of the article, he saith it is true; for both that reason and that which followeth. And divers others the said bishop used, both to my lord treasurer, and this deponent, and to my lord of Somerset and those that then were present; to persuade that it might be permitted to his credit as it is here before declared. And so finally it was, upon condition before written.

Thomas Smith.

The Lord Bishop of Durham.

Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, one of the king's most honourable privy council, of the age of 76; examined upon the Ist, IId, IIId and IVth articles of the aforesaid matter, deposeth as followeth:

To the Ist the said bishop deposeth and saith, that the said bishop of Winchester, being with the cardinal in service, and being with him at such time as the French king was in captivity under the emperor, when the said cardinal, and the said bishop (being the cardinal's secretary), did pen a league of the treaty at Moret, which was then between the French queen's mother, and the king's majesty that dead is, for payment of great sums of money which the French king did owe to the king's majesty that dead is; by reason of which league, so penned by the said bishop of Winton, the king that dead is took the said bishop into his service before the deposing of the said cardinal. And when the bishopric of Winton was void, the king gave the same unto him. And afterward, and also somewhat before, he was of the said king's council, and so continued still during the king's life, and especially in matters concerning France.

And further this deponent saith, that the said bishop, being ambassador in France, hearing cardinal Pole then being come unto France to stir the French king to make war against the king that dead is, after advertisement given by the said bishop to the king, procured the said cardinal to be expelled out of France; and so was. Which said cardinal intended to stir war, for that the king had abolished the bishop of Rome, and his authority, out of this realm. And saith moreover, that in the king's time that dead is, the said bishop, as one of the council, did set forth, for his part, all such articles, statutes, injunctions, and proclamations, as were then decreed and determined; and did set forth at all times the same accordingly. And deposeth further, that the said bishop did make a book against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, and setting forth of the king's supremacy; which book this deponent hath seen. And all the premises before deposed, he saith, are true, notorious, and manifest to them that were of the council at that time; and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the IId he saith, that the said bishop of Winton, after he came out of France, was sent ambassador to the emperor, for certain articles in the league being in debate: which debate the bishop of Norwich that now is, and sir Edward Carne, being then there present, could not bring to the effect; but afterwards, the said bishop of Winton being sent thither, the matter was ended. And this deponent saith, that he never heard or knew, that any thing was objected unto the said bishop; but that he was always taken among the council Page 829. for a true, just, and painful man in the king's affairs, and served as becometh. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the IIId he saith, that the said article is true, as far as he ever knew or heard; for he hath been always taken for a true and just man, and he hath not heard the contrary. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the IVth he deposeth, that when anything was in contention or in debate between the French king, the emperor, and the king's majesty that dead is, for leagues, the said bishop, if he were present, was always called to make answer, because he had the French tongue perfectly, and knew the affairs that were between them and us. And saith, that before the king's majesty's death, David Panter and Otheborne, ambassadors of Scotland, bringing with them the ambassadors of France, came to the council, desiring the Scots to be comprehended in the league made between the French king, and the king that dead is; and likewise the Scots desired the same, offering no promise on their part to keep the said comprehension; unto which ambassadors the bishop of Winton was appointed to make answer, and did so. And, a little before the king's death, the ambassadors of France came unto the court, where the said bishop of Winchester and this deponent did accompany them, and brought them up to the king's outer chamber, the said ambassadors being conveyed unto the king where he lay; the said bishop and this deponent not being suffered to enter in. And the premises by this deponent declared, are true, as he saith, and are notorious; and otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st, he cannot answer otherwise than before.

To the 2d he doth neither know, nor yet hath heard as is contained in that interrogatory.

To the 3d he deposeth as before; and never knew that the king that dead is, suspected the said bishop for favouring of the bishop of Rome.

To the 4th he answereth as before; and that he did not know that he himself was named executor, until such time that the king was dead; nor did he know that the said bishop was left out, until he heard the testament read after the king's death. Nevertheless this deponent saith, that, shortly after the king's death, and before the coronation of the king's majesty that now is, the lord Wriothesley, then being lord chancellor, willed all the council to come in except the bishop of Winton. But upon what occasion the said lord chancellor spake the said words, he saith, he cannot tell. And the premises spoken by the lord chancellor were spoken in the Tower of London.

To the 5th he answereth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the 6th he answereth and saith, that he never knew that the said bishop was an adversary to the king's proceedings. And otherwise he cannot answer than he hath before.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

To the 7th he doth not know, nor yet hath heard say, as is contained in the said interrogatory.

To the 8th he cannot answer upon the contents of the same.

To the 9th he answereth, that since the time that the said bishop preached, he hath heard more of the said controversy, than before the same sermon made by him. Cuthbert Durham.

The Lord Bishop of Norwich.

Thomas, bishop of Norwich, of the age of 47 years or thereabouts, sworn and examined upon the articles from I. to IV. inclusive, of the matter justificatory, and to the fourth and sixth of the positions, saith as followeth:

To the Ist article: unto that part of the article, 'Because, etc.,' he referreth himself therein to the law, and to that that may be proved in the matters purposed; the whole contents whereof this deponent knoweth not. And to the rest of the article, he saith, that although the said bishop of Winchester (very loth to condescend to any innovations) was earnest against alterations as well concerning the bishop of Rome, as other orders in religion, yet, after those matters were established and set forth, by the acts, statutes, and laws of this realm, and the king's majesty's injunctions and proclamations, this deponent hath known and heard the bishop of Winchester publish, declare, and set forth, as well the supremacy, or supreme authority, of the king's majesty's father of famous memory, as the abolishing of the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, accordingly as he was bound: and did set forth a book concerning the same, as by the contents thereof may appear, which this deponent hath heard. But how the said bishop of Winchester, and his chancellor (whom this deponent hath of long time known to be wise and learned), have executed, in his diocese, the king's majesty's injunctions and proclamations, he knoweth not; for he hath not been conversant there. Which things, before by this deponent deposed, be true, notorious, manifest, public, and famous. And as touching the defence of the bishop's book at Louvain, he hath heard reported, that he offered to defend the said book then and there; and, before certain of the doctors, did defend the same, as he heard say. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the IId he saith, that the contents of the article are true, as far as he knoweth; and, for his own part, he hath ever so taken him and reputed him. What the matters be that be now laid against him, this deponent knoweth not certainly.

To the IIId he thinketh that the contents of the same article arè true; for he never heard or knew the contrary, until such time as, being beyond the seas ambassador, he heard, by strangers, that he was committed to the Fleet. And, requiring of them for what cause he was so committed (this deponent having no knowledge thereof of the council here), they made answer unto him, that the king's majesty was so gracious, that he would not commit him thither, without great and reasonable causes.

To the IVth: that as long as this deponent was in council, and here in England, the said bishop of Winchester was of the privy council in reputation and estimation; and used to have the speech with the ambassadors from the emperor, the French king, and the Scots, in sundry and divers conferences that this deponent was present at. But what was done in the council after this deponent was ambassador to the emperor (which was, as he remembereth, in the year of our Lord God 1545), he cannot depose. And, after this deponent was sent ambassador in residence to the emperor, the said bishop of Winchester was sent over with commission, in which this deponent and sir Edward Carne were joined, to entreat as well with the emperor, for the clearing of the late treaty passed between the king's majesty that dead is and the emperor, as also to entreat with the French king's ambassador, for a peace to be had between the said late king, and the French king, by the mediation of the emperor; wherein the said bishop was the chief doer, and chief in estimation And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively, understanding the article in matters of religion determined by orders of the realm. But when such matters were in debating, he hath heard say, that the king that

dead is, was displeased some time with the said bishop of Winchester, for his earnestness in the same. *Edward VI.*

To the 2d he answereth negatively; for this respondent, being one of the six that were appointed to the framing of that book, knew divers that the late king favoured, left out, and never heard of any such cause. A. D. 1551.

To the 3d negatively; otherwise than he hath deposed upon the articles. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

To the 4th negatively; saving, after his return from the emperor, one told him that the late king's majesty, a little before his death, was displeased with him for another matter than religion, and had left him out of his will; as in this interrogatory is contained.

To the 5th he answereth as he hath before to the 4th interrogatory; and otherwise he cannot tell, for at that time this deponent was out of the realm.

To the 6th he answereth negatively, understanding the proceedings in matters determined by the laws and statutes of this realm.

To the 7th he answereth negatively, as he hath in the next answer before.

To the 8th he cannot depose or answer; for that the said bishop of Winchester was committed to the Tower before this respondent was returned into England from the emperor. And since his said committing and the return of this deponent, he hath heard say, that the said bishop of Winchester was committed for the causes in this interrogatory contained, but not so fully opened to this deponent.

To the 9th he cannot certainly depose, for that he was then out of the realm. Page 830.

Thomas Norwich.

Sir Ralph Hopton.

Sir Ralph Hopton, knight marshal, of the age of 41, examined upon the articles LXVIII. and LXXXI. deposeth as followeth:

To the LXVIIIth article he deposeth, that he doth not know of any communication or agreement, as is laid and preponed in the beginning of the article, made between the council and the said bishop, of certain knowledge; but only of the report of the said bishop. And he saith, that he heard of such a bruit both within the Tower and the Court, as is contained in the article: and deposeth, that the said bishop, after the council's being with him, made a supper, at which he had the lieutenant and his wife, this deponent and his wife, and sir Arthur Darcy and his wife; which said supper the said bishop named to be his farewell supper: but of any custom of any such farewell supper in the Tower, of the prisoners to be made, he knoweth not. And saith, that the said bishop showed this deponent, that he looked afterward, within short space to be delivered. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the LXXXIst article he deposeth, that after the said supper, and after the said bishop's being with the council at Westminster, the said bishop spake unto this deponent, that he would make means for him to be heard, or else to be bailed: whereunto, indeed, this deponent made no answer, nor had the said bishop any knowledge given him by this deponent of his coming to Lambeth, until the hour of his coming thither. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Ralph Hopton.

Sir John Markham.

Sir John Markham knight, lieutenant of the Tower of London, of the age of 60 years, examined upon articles XL. to XLIV. inclusive, and also upon articles LVI. LXVIII. and LXXXI. of the aforesaid matter, deposeth as followeth:

To the XLth he deposeth, that the same article is true, as he doth remember.

To the XLIst he deposeth, and thinketh the same article to be true.

To the XLIId he saith, that he (the same bishop) had license granted unto him by the duke of Somerset, that he might write; which license this deponent signified to the same bishop. And thereupon the said bishop did write one letter, sealed, to the duke's grace, which this deponent did carry, and deliver; but had no answer thereof, that he doth know. But what was contained in the same letter sealed, and so written by the said bishop, this deponent did not

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

know. Howbeit, he saith, the said bishop, within these three or four days, delivered him a copy, and said, it was the very true copy of the letter sent by the duke's grace. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XLIIId article he saith, that he doth not remember he delivered him any such bill; but he saith, if he did deliver any, he did deliver the same. Howbeit, he saith, that he heard the said bishop speak, and say unto him by mouth, why he might not have the liberty of an Englishman, many times. And otherwise he cannot certainly depose.

To the XLIVth article he saith, that the said article, and the contents thereof, are true.

To the LVIth he saith, that he cannot depose upon the contents thereof.

To the LXVIIIth he deposeth, that he cannot depose upon any communication, agreement, or conformity, made between the council and the said bishop. Howbeit he saith, that the said bishop had this deponent, and the lady his wife, and sir Arthur Darcy and his wife, master Hopton and his wife (after the council had been with him), to supper: and, sitting at supper, the said bishop spake then of the said supper, and named it 'his farewell-feast.' Touching the bruit, or common custom supposed to be used in that behalf in the Tower, he cannot depose.

To the LXXXIst article: he deposeth the contents of this article to be true; for he had no knowledge by this deponent.

By me, John Markham.

William Coppinger.

William Coppinger, servant to Stephen, bishop of Winchester (with whom he hath been in service these seven years and more; and, before that, at his exhibition, since the time he was of the age of 10 years), being of the age of 27 years, or thereabouts; a witness sworn and examined of and upon articles XL. to XLIV. and also upon articles LV. LVI. LXVIII. LXIX. LXXX. and LXXXI. of the said matter:

Upon the XLth article examined, saith, that within two months next after that the said bishop was committed to the Tower (which was upon the last day of June, in the second year of the king's majesty's reign that now is), this deponent, by occasion of one Thomas Crowte, then being the said bishop's servant who went with him at his going to the Tower, was placed in the room of the said Crowte; and there hath continued ever since, continually attending upon the said bishop; and never lay out of the Tower any one night in the same space. Deposeth, that from the same time of this deponent's coming to the said bishop, unto seven or eight days before Midsummer then next ensuing, there was none of the council, nor any other person, that came unto the said bishop, saving the lieutenant and his jailors, who, at certain times, came unto him; and also Dr. Wotton the physician, being appointed by the council to come to the said bishop, being sick of a fever; who came unto him twice or thrice. And saith, that master William Medowe, his chaplain, upon Easter day only, was with the said bishop. And, as for any others that did resort to him, with whom he might talk or declare any particularity of his offence, which he omitted in his sermon, there did not, or that declared any thing to the lieutenant; for, if there had, this deponent should have seen them, for that he was always attendant upon the said bishop. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XLIst this deponent saith, what he hath before, to the XLth article: and saith moreover, that on the same time afore by him deposed, this deponent was present with the said bishop, when he heard the said bishop, divers times, require master lieutenant, that he would be a suitor to the duke of Somerset, that the said bishop might write to the said duke: which thing could not be obtained, as this deponent saith, within one quarter of a year. For, as soon as the said bishop had license, the said bishop did write; the copy of which writing the said bishop caused this deponent to write; the copy whereof this deponent, at the time of his examination, did exhibit, affirming the same to be written with this deponent's proper hand.

To the XLIId he saith, that the contents of this article be true; referring himself to the said copy of the letter now by him exhibited.

To the XLIIId he saith, that about a month after the writing of the aforesaid first letter (the copy whereof he hath exhibited afore), the said bishop, having no answer of his letter which he wrote to the duke of Somerset, made a bill of remembrance, according unto the form contained in this article, the copy whereof the said bishop caused this deponent to write; and now this deponent doth exhibit it at the time of his examination. Which said bill of remembrance, contained in this article, was delivered to the lieutenant, for his better remembrance to the said duke, to this deponent's certain knowledge.

To the XLIVth this deponent saith, that the contents of the same article are true; for this deponent, and John Davy, sundry times were present when they heard the said bishop so complain to the lieutenant.

To the LVth he deposeth, that about six or seven days before Midsummer-day, immediately [or next] after the said bishop was committed to the Tower, which was almost a year after his committing, this deponent was in the Tower when the lord chancellor, my lord treasurer that now is (then being lord great master) and sir William Peter, secretary, came unto the said bishop, and were in communication with the said bishop. But what their communication was, he cannot depose, other than that he heard the said bishop, after their departing from him, show and declare to him (this deponent), and John Davy, as is contained in this article in effect.

To the LXVIth this deponent saith, that the contents of this article are true. Showing the cause of his knowledge, [he] saith that he wrote the copy of both those letters out of the originals, which he saw so sent to the council by the bishop's commandment; the copies of which letters this deponent, at the time of his examination, for declaration of the truth upon his sayings, doth exhibit; being written with his own hand, as he saith.

To the LXVIIIth he deposeth, that immediately after the duke of Somerset and others of the council being with the said bishop about Midsummer last past, the said bishop and his servants had liberty to walk in the garden and gallery; which he had not before: and after, the said duke of Somerset and others of the council being with the said bishop, the said bishop declared unto this deponent, and to his fellow John Davy, that within two or three days next following, he should be delivered out of prison. And so it was bruited commonly in the Tower. And thereupon, the same night, or the next night following (as he doth remember), the said bishop made a supper, which he called 'his farewell-feast;' whereat were present the lieutenant and his wife, sir Arthur Darcy and his wife, the knight-marshal and his wife, and divers others, to this deponent's knowledge; for he did attend upon the table the same time. And immediately after, the said bishop, and this deponent, and others of his servants, looked daily for his deliverance out of prison, as he saith. Page 831.

To the LXIXth he deposeth, that since such time as the said bishop was before the council (which was in July last past), at Whitehall, after the sequestration made there, there was no intimation, monition, or commination, made after, to the said bishop being in the Tower; nor also was there any pen and ink offered him, nor had [he] the use of pen and ink (for it is the order of the house, that no prisoner should have any without special license to write), to see whether he would subscribe to the said articles; nor did the said bishop hear any thing from the council from the said time that he was before the council at Westminster, until his coming before the commissioners at Lambeth, to this deponent's certain knowledge; for he was always attendant upon the said bishop, as he hath before declared.

To the LXXXth article: that the same day sevennight next after the said bishop being at Whitehall with the council, after the decree of sequestration, the said bishop called this deponent and John Davy to him, and said unto them these words, or the like in effect; videlicet, 'I have no commodity to use any other witness, but only you; nor can I, being a prisoner here, have the use of a notary before whom I may appeal from the matter I shall declare unto you, which is this: This day se'nnight the council gave sentence of sequestration of the fruits of my bishopric. Now, according to the order of the law, if I will appeal and take benefit thereby, I must make my appeal within ten days next after the same sequestration. Wherefore this present day, being the seventh day after the sequestration, because the sentence thereof is 'nulla,' that is to

Edward VI. A.D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

say, of no force in the law; or if it be of any, 'quia iniqua,' because it is unjust, I do appeal from it to the king's majesty, my sovereign lord (therewith pulling off his cap), and his justice evermore; the council's honours in this my appeal reserved on my behalf unimpaired; and I here require you to be witness with me. I say, also, that as soon as I may have access to the council, I will intimate the said appeal unto them myself.' 'And remember,' quoth he, 'that I make this my appeal within ten days.' And touching the residue of the said article, he saith, that the same is notorious, that he did intimate his appeal before the commissioners at Lambeth.

To the LXXXIst he saith, that the contents of the same article are true; for he was present when the said bishop made request as is contained in the said article; whereunto he had no answer until such time as he came to Lambeth: upon whom this deponent did then attend.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth, that he is the bishop's servant, having four pounds wages, meat and drink, and livery, and fifty-three shillings yearly in reward; and ten pounds fee, which he had at Michaelmas last, by the death of William Gardiner the bishop's brother, and the reversion of the bailiwick of Wargrave.

To the 2d: he hath none other affection, but that he might have justice in his cause.

To the 3d: he would that he should obtain according to justice, and none otherwise.

To the 6th he answereth as before. And otherwise he cannot depose.

William Coppinger.

John Davy.

John Davy, servant to the bishop of Winchester, of the age of 35 years; being a witness sworn and examined upon the articles following, saith:

To the XLth article, unto 'and to declare,' etc., he saith, that the same day that the said bishop of Winchester was conveyed from his house at the Clink, to the Tower, by sir Anthony Wingfield, upon Saturday next following the Friday when the said bishop last preached before the king's majesty, this deponent, by the said bishop's commandment, brought his bed after him to the Tower of London. And there the said bishop was committed to lodge in a place called the Garden Tower, where he continued secret prisoner the space of three weeks or a month, or thereabouts, next after, fast locked in, without coming abroad in all that space; having, in that space, commonly this deponent, and one Thomas Crowte, the said bishop's servants, to wait upon him there, without coming abroad; saving that this deponent, and the said Thomas Crowte, had license of the keeper within a fortnight, or thereabouts, after their first coming thither, to walk in the garden there adjoining an hour afore noon, and an hour after noon, daily, at their pleasure: but the said bishop, all that space, could not be suffered to come into the said garden or abroad. And saith, that after the said continuance in the Garden Tower about a month's space, by reason that one died of the pestilence in a lodging (being, as he thinketh, about twelve feet from thence), and that the said Crowte also, fell sick there, in the said Tower, the said bishop was removed from thence to a place in the said Tower called the King's Lodging, where he remaineth at this present. And by reason that the said Crowte fell sick, he departed thence about six or seven weeks after his first coming thither, and, in his room, came William Coppinger, who hath continued there ever since. And saith, that in that lodging the said bishop remained secret prisoner, without coming abroad, until the king's majesty's council, videlicet the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer (then lord great master) and master secretary Peter, came to the Tower to him; which was within six days, or thereabouts, of a whole year, counting from his first committing to the Tower, as afore. And saith, that in all this space of one year within six days (as afore), there came no other person to the said bishop at any time, but only the lieutenant and the jailors, and his said servants. And the premises he knoweth to be true, for that he hath been, by all that space, continually attendant upon the said bishop in the said Tower, and never came out of the Tower in the said space. And upon other the contents of the said article, he saith, he cannot depose.

To the XLIst article he saith, that after the said bishop was committed to the Tower (as afore), the said bishop, having no other person coming to him besides his said servants and jailors, but only master lieutenant at certain times, the said bishop desired the said master lieutenant divers times, in this deponent's hearing, to sue for him to have license to write to the duke of Somerset's grace: and saith, that about the end of a quarter of a year next after his first committing thither, upon his said often request, master lieutenant came, and brought unto him pen and ink, and a sheet of paper; declaring to him that the duke's grace was content that he should write his mind. And this he deposeth of his own hearing.

To the XLIId he saith, that after the said pen, ink, and paper, delivered (as afore) to the said bishop, he saw him write a letter to the said duke's grace, containing in effect, as is in this article contained; for this deponent read it, and brought it to the lieutenant, to be sealed and delivered to the duke's grace: whereunto there was no answer made, as far as he knoweth, and as the bishop told him. Page 832.

To the XLIIId he saith, that as far as he doth now remember, he read such a schedule written by the said bishop, which was also, as he remembereth, delivered to the lieutenant, to be sent to the duke's grace of Somerset: but otherwise, he saith he cannot certainly depose.

To the XLIVth he saith, the bishop, very many times, complained to the said lieutenant, of the straitness of his keeping; and commonly that was one of his complaints, as often as he came. And likewise desired him to sue that he might be heard according to justice, whereunto, and to the king's laws, he did submit himself. And this he deposeth of his own hearing.

To the LVth article, until 'and yet,' etc., he saith, that about the end of one whole year next after the said bishop's imprisonment, the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer (then lord great master), and master secretary Peter, came to the Tower, and called before them the said bishop into a chamber next to the bishop's lodging; and there had certain communication with him: but what it was, he cannot certainly depose, for that he heard them not speak together. But, he saith, that within one quarter of an hour next after the said bishop returned to his chamber, he told this deponent, that there was like talk had, as in the article is contained. And as for the rest of the article, he saith, that the said bishop was not, within the space articulate, spoken withal concerning that matter, as far forth as this deponent knoweth. Yet, he saith, that the said bishop wrote two letters, directed to the council, of humble request to be heard; which this deponent read, and had the true copies of them: but, to whom the said bishop delivered them, either to the lieutenant, or the jailor, he saith, he cannot tell.

To the LVIth he saith, as he hath next afore deposed; adding, that the said bishop had no answer again of his said letters, as far as he knoweth, and as he heard the bishop report.

To the LXVIIIth he saith, that this last summer, the duke of Somerset, the lord treasurer, the earl of Warwick, the lord great chamberlain, and divers other of the king's most honourable council, came at sundry times to the Tower, and called the bishop before them into the council-chamber; and saith, that one day, after their being there, the said bishop, at his return to his lodging, told this deponent, that he was at a thorough point, and at an end with the council; and that he should be delivered within three days after: insomuch that he caused this deponent to write a letter to Thomas Crowte, yeoman of his chamber, (then being at Farnham,) to come with all haste to the bishop's house at the Clink, and to make ready his chamber there. And also commanded this examinate to write the rewards, duties, and gifts, due to master lieutenant, and the knight-marshal, and the king's servants, such as he intended to bestow at his departing. And also caused him to send for a piece of satin; to be divided among the lady Markham and others, as he should think meet: which satin was brought, and this deponent hath now the most part thereof in keeping.

Also the said bishop, about the same time, made his farewell-feast (as they then called it), in the council-chamber in the Tower, containing two or three dinners, whereat he had the lieutenant and the knight-marshal, and their wives, with divers others; as sir Arthur Darcy and the lady his wife, sir Martin Boys, sir John Godsalve, with divers others, such as it pleased the lieutenant

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

and knight-marshal to bring. And saith that, by reason hereof, there was a common voice in the Tower, of this deponent's hearing, that the bishop should be delivered from thence to his house. And otherwise he cannot depose upon the said article.

To the LXXIXth article, until 'and of truth,' etc., he saith, he cannot depose any thing certainly of the said decree, nor under what condition and effect the same was made; for that he was not with the said bishop at the decree. But, touching the rest, he saith that, as he heard after by report of the said bishop, the said decree was made against him on a Saturday in summer, and after Midsummer last; on which day the said bishop was conducted from the Tower, to the court, by the lieutenant, and returned the same night: which day otherwise (he saith) he cannot specify. But he is well remembered, that the same Saturday se'nnight then next following, the said bishop, being in his lodging in the Tower, called this deponent and William Coppinger to him, and declared to them, that the same day se'nnight next after (which day, he said, he was before the council at Whitehall), the said council had read a sentence of sequestration of the fruits of his benefice against him, which, he told them, he took to be of none effect. And therefore, forasmuch as he had no other reed, as he said, that he durst trust, he would therefore use this deponent, and the said Coppinger, as witnesses, that he did, before them, appeal from the said sentence (as being of none effect), to the king's majesty, according to his bounden duty. And so did then and there, by word of his mouth, appeal from the said sentence, as being of none effect, to the king's majesty; saying, also, that as soon as he could come to the king's majesty or his council, or [to] any that came from them, he would report and signify unto them his said appellation. And further deposeth, that from the time of the return of the said bishop from the Whitehall to the Tower, on the said first Saturday, until the day that he first appeared at Lambeth in this cause, the said bishop remained continually as prisoner in the Tower, and never, in all the said space, went out of his chamber: for, if he had, this deponent should have known thereof by reason he was by all that time continually attendant upon him; in all which time, also, the said bishop had neither pen and ink brought unto him to the intent articulate, nor any copy of the said articles delivered unto him, nor yet [was] required, willed, or commanded, to subscribe them, nor also came to the presence of the council, as far as he knoweth and believeth; for, if he had, he thinketh he should have known thereof, for causes above by him deposed.

To the LXXXth article, unto 'and intimated,' etc., he deposeth as of the next article before. To the rest of the article he cannot depose, because he was not at Lambeth with the said bishop.

To the LXXXIst he saith, that very many times in the said space, he heard the said bishop to make suit to the lieutenant and marshal, to the effect contained in this article; but what answer he had, he cannot tell: and saith, that the same day that the bishop first appeared at Lambeth upon this commission, as he heard say, the lieutenant and marshal came to the said bishop's lodging after seven of the clock in the morning (the bishop then being in his bed), and willed this deponent to signify to the bishop, that he must prepare himself forthwith to repair to Lambeth, before my lord of Canterbury and other the king's commissioners. Whereupon the bishop, forthwith, prepared himself, and went with him to Lambeth. And saith, that he knoweth of no other warning that the said bishop had in this behalf. The said Davy, at his repetition, declared that he now remembereth, since his first deposition to the XLth article, that within the first year of the said bishop's imprisonment, Dr. Wotton, the physician, was with the said bishop when he was sick; and master Medowe his chaplain was there on Easter day, and no longer: which he required to be added to his former depositions.—Whereunto Dr. Oliver made answer to him, that he would not insert that in his said former deposition, because he came so long after his deposition, and after the witnesses were published (but no copies thereof delivered as the actuary testifieth, but referreth this to the lord's commissioners).

Page 833.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he saith, he is the said bishop's servant, and hath fifty-three shillings and four pence wages, meat, drink, and livery. And he hath had certain advantages, as the reversion of Tracy, which he hath sold. And otherwise negatively.

To the 2d: he hath no affection to his cause, otherwise than justice and right require.

To the 3d: he would that he should overcome according to justice and right, if his matter be just and right; and no otherwise.

To the last he deposeth as afore; and otherwise he cannot depose.

The said John Davy, being examined whether the letters whereof he maketh mention in his examination contain the same thing that master Coppinger did exhibit, and which he seeth now (at the time of his examination), he saith, that they contain the selfsame thing, and do agree.

Edward VI. A.D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition*

John Davy.

Jacques Wingfield.

Jacques Wingfield, gentleman, servant to the bishop of Winchester, in whose service he hath continued above these twenty years, being a witness sworn and examined upon the articles of the said matter, saith as followeth:

To the XVIth article of the matter justificatory he saith, that the contents thereof are true; for he (the said deponent) was personally attendant upon the said bishop in his chamber the same month and year, and saw and read the letters mentioned in the said articles; at which time, he saith, the said bishop was much diseased in his body, and spécially of a disease which ran, and grieved him very much; and also had a great rheum fallen out of his head, which caused the one side of his head to be much swollen. And saith, that being so sick as he was, he declared to this deponent, and other of his chamber and servants, that, notwithstanding, he would up to London, seeing he was sent for. And forthwith commanded a horselitter to be prepared, and cloth bought to cover the same; and with convenient speed repaired towards London, in the said horselitter, till he came to Kingston-upon-Thames; and there, taking his barge, repaired to his house at the Clink, and shortly after to the council. And this he knoweth, for that he was present and attendant upon him all this time, as he saith.

To the XXXIIId he saith, that upon Thursday at afternoon next before the said bishop preached last before the king's majesty, this deponent saw a servant of the duke of Somerset's come to the said bishop's house at the Clink; and, bringing a letter with him (as appeared), required to speak with the said bishop: whereupon this deponent caused one to advertise my lord bishop thereof. And forthwith he was conducted to the bishop, but what he delivered or said to him, he saith, he cannot tell; but, within an hour or thereabout next after, this deponent came to the said bishop's study, where he perceived the said bishop, by his accustomed gesture, to be much troubled and unquieted. And waited about the said study and the bishop's dining-chamber all the said day following, till about ten of the clock at night, in all which time the said bishop neither ate nor drank, as far as this deponent could know or perceive. And he is assured he came not to his supper, as he was accustomed; for, if he had, this deponent should have seen him, by reason that he was so continually attendant. And, leaving the said bishop at his book in his study about ten of the clock the same night, this deponent went to bed. And, in the morning (he coming to wait on the said bishop in his chamber, as he was accustomed) one of his fellows told him, that the said bishop came in no bed that night. And saith, that from that morning till the said sermon was ended, the said bishop neither ate nor drank, as far as this deponent could perceive or hear; for, if he had, he should, by reason of his continual attendance upon his said master by all that space, have seen or perceived it.

To the XXXVIth article he saith, that in the said month of June articulate, shortly after the said bishop was come from Winchester to the Clink, as he hath before deposed, the said bishop repaired to the king's Court of Whitehall at Westminster; and there entered into a chamber, where it was then said commonly, that the lords of the council were. And this he knoweth, for he waited on his said master thither, and saw him enter into the said chamber. And he (the said deponent) being occupied otherwise the rest of that day, at night repairing to the said Clink, found the said bishop come home from the said court. And upon another day not long after, this deponent, likewise, waited upon the said lord to the said court; and saw how the said bishop landed at the king's privy stairs. And there, one that this deponent knoweth not, met

Edward VI.

A.D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

with the said bishop, and conducted him from thence into the court, by a back way, as appeared; and, as it was then and afterwards reported, to my lord of Somerset's chamber; for otherwise, he saith, he cannot depose, for none of his servants went with him further than the said stairs, but tarried in the court abroad for him till dinner time. And then, a servant of the earl of Wiltshire (the lord great master) came to them; and, saying that the said bishop was in the said earl's chamber, willed them to go home and to repair thither again at afternoon. And so they did, at which time the bishop returned in his barge, to his said house at the Clink, this deponent waiting upon him. And in the barge homewards this deponent said to the bishop, that he and his fellows, at such time as he repaired to the council, feared his return, lest he should be committed to ward (or like in effect), and that they rejoiced when they saw him return. Then one of his fellows, being master Basset as he remembereth, said, that the fear was well past when they saw the emperor's ambassador, the same day, go to the duke of Somerset's chamber the common way; whereby they thought, that the said bishop had been sent for to him, to treat with him for other affairs. Whereunto the bishop answered, that he neither saw the emperor's ambassador, nor any of the council; but only the duke of Somerset, the earl of Wiltshire, and master secretary Smith. And saith, that any other more times than only these two, the said bishop was not at the court, or from his house at the Clink, from his coming thither (as afore), but only when he preached on St. Peter's day; for, if he had, this deponent saith, he should have known thereof, by reason of his continual attendance upon the said bishop as afore.

To the XXXVIIIth he saith, the article is true, as he doth verily believe; for he, being with the said bishop in his study immediately after his coming home from the said sermon, and talking of the said sermon, he told this examinate that he was assured that he had so preached as no quarrel or displeasure might ensue to him thereupon; but rather looked to have thanks for his labour.

To the XLVth he saith, that towards the winter time next after the said bishop's imprisonment, this deponent, on behalf of his said master, went to the duke of Somerset, then lying at Sion, and made humble request to his grace to be good lord unto his said master, and to consider how winter drew on, and what a dankish and uncomfortable house the Tower was, and his said master a man much given to rheums, or such like words in effect. Whereunto he answered, that he was but one of the council; and that as soon as the time served, they would consider it, which would be at their next meeting. This deponent requiring his grace, that he the said examinate might, the mean time, have access to his said master, the said duke answered, that he should not need, for he should see him abroad within ten days. And so departed for that time. And saith, that after this, very many times (in manner every fortnight, or thereabouts, for a twelvemonth space afterwards) he was a like suitor for the said bishop his master's deliverance, to the duke's grace, as he thought opportunity served; at whose hands he received no discomfortable words, but the duke's grace would commonly say, that the time served not. And saith, that in all
Page 834. these times the said deponent, with his contest[1] James Basset, spake with his grace in his gallery at his house at the Strand; and there required his grace, after long and sundry suits, to release their master. Whereunto his grace gave answer to this effect: that their said master was better there in the Tower, than abroad; for since his being there, there were such laws made, as (he right well knew) the said bishop would not agree unto; and that if he would not agree unto, he should be answered to abide the punishment thereof. And saith, that for all the suits that he and his fellows could make, their master could not be delivered. And saith, that he remembereth that his contest Basset, replied to his grace thus in effect: that the said bishop had not, as far as he knew, broken any law made; and that in case he were abroad, he would not break any that should be set forth by the king's majesty.

To the LXVIIIth he saith, that in summer last, after the same time that certain of the king's most honourable council had been in the Tower with the said bishop as it was reported, a common voice and fame was spread both in London and the suburbs thereof, of this deponent's hearing, that the said bishop should be delivered out of prison within two days after; insomuch that the

(1) 'Contest,' a fellow-witness.—ED.

said bishop's caterer reported, that he had bought store of meat for the bishop's farewell in the Tower. And the bishop sent to this examinate, that he should forthwith send to Farnham for Crowte, one of his chamber, and one other named Cliffe, to come with speed to the Clink, and there prepare his chamber; and to keep it privy from the rest of his household, for fear lest they, being stricken with gladness thereof, would come straggling up. Which commandment this examinate fulfilled, and the said Crowte and Cliffe came at the time appointed, and prepared his chamber. And he looked for every hour when he should come to his house from the Tower. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth as afore, adding that he hath four pounds by year wages, and a livery, of the said bishop. And in fee forty marks a year besides.

To the 2d and 3d he saith, he hath such affection to the said bishop, as it becometh a servant to have to his master; which is, that he would his master should do well, and would his matter to prevail according to equity and conscience, and not otherwise; and to have victory therein, according as the law and justice will; and not else.

The 4th is answered as afore in the depositions.

Jacques Wingfield.

John Seton.

John Seton, bachelor of divinity, parson of Hinton, in the county of Southampton (of the patronage of the bishop of Winchester), and chaplain to the said bishop, with whom he hath continued these seven years, being of the age of 42; a witness sworn and examined[1] upon the articles XV. XXIX. XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVIII. of the said matter.

Upon the XVth article examined, he saith, that he hath been at divers and sundry sermons that the said bishop of Winchester hath made, and in a manner at all, as he remembereth, that he made within the cathedral church of Winchester, by the space of three or four years next before his committing to the Tower. And, in one of those sermons which he made after he was delivered out of the Fleet, as he remembereth, he entreated of obedience, in manner and form as is contained in this article in effect. For this deponent was attending then upon the said bishop, and did attend, observe, and hear the said sermon, so by the said bishop preached in the said cathedral church. And saith, that the said bishop did, in the said sermon, more largely touch obedience unto the superiors, than is contained in this article; and said, that if the king should command any of his subjects to go to the wars, he ought immediately to go, not requiring what the cause should be; but straightway to go, supposing the king to have a just cause to command him. At which said sermon was a great audience, among whom Nicholas Lentall, Richard Hampden, master Medowe, clerk, as he remembereth, with others of the said bishop's servants; and divers inhabitants of the city of Winchester were present, as he saith. And otherwise, upon the contents of this article, he cannot depose.

To the XXIXth this deponent saith, that on St. Peter's day, videlicet, the selfsame day that he preached afore the king's majesty at Whitehall, after the sermon done, the said bishop of Winchester, walking in his garden at the Clink, had communication with this deponent of his said sermon; saying, that he trusted that he had satisfied the king's majesty and the council, and had nothing omitted in his remembrance that he was willed to do: at which time no other person was present, but only the said bishop and this deponent. And moreover this deponent saith, that on the morrow after, being Saturday, the said bishop at dinner, at his said house at the Clink (with whom then was present at the table the lady St. Leger, master William Warren, this deponent, and certain others), by occasion ministered there and then, of his sermon said, that he trusted that he had so satisfied all parties, that no man ought justly to be offended, and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XXXIVth he saith, that he was present at the said sermon made by the said bishop on St. Peter's day, when he heard the said bishop entreat and speak of ceremonies; saying, that whatsoever ceremonies there were, that con-

(1) The 21st day of January.

Edward VI. A.D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

cern time, measure, and place (as beads, ashes and images and such other), as long as they served man, they were good; and as man served them, it was an abuse, which might be mended two ways: one, by bringing them to the right use, and the other, by taking them away; which, he said, the powers might do. And he said, that it was not like [as] in the abuse of all such things as were instituted by God; as, for an ensample, in baptism, if the water be misused, it [neither] may nor ought to be taken away; but be brought to the right use again. And further said, that he did agree in all alterations of matters of religion with the king and the powers, such as were set forth by acts, proclamations, and injunctions. But he did disagree with the inferior sort, which, like unto posts, carried truth in their letters, and lies in their mouths (expressing thereby, certain rash and light preachers).

And this deponent, being examined whether he saw such articles as were contained in the two papers mentioned in this article, he saith, he never saw them: howbeit he heard of them by master Watson; and, so much as the said master Watson showed him, the said bishop did speak, partly specially, and partly generally, in his said sermon, to this deponent's hearing. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XXXVth article he deposeth as he hath before to the XXIVth article; and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XXXVIIIth he deposeth as before he hath deposed to the XXIXth article; and otherwise he cannot depose, saving that he was present when the said master Wingfield came to the Clink, and had the said bishop to the Tower. And then this deponent heard the said bishop say, to one Henry Francis then weeping for his going to the Tower, 'Weep not for me: there is no cause why; for I shall do well enough.' And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth as before, and that he hath no wages, nor livery; and otherwise he answereth negatively.

To the 2d: he hath no affection at all to the bishop, but prayeth that truth may prevail.

To the 3d he answereth, that if this cause be true, he would he should obtain: and otherwise he desireth not.

To the last he answereth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose or answer.

John Seton.

Nicholas Lentall.

Nicholas Lentall, servant to the bishop of Winchester, with whom he hath continued twenty years or thereabout; having his livery, wages, and fee; of the age of 63 years; a witness sworn and examined upon the XVth article of the matter.

To the XVth article he saith, that after the time that the said bishop of Winchester was delivered out of the Fleet, the said bishop, in Lent season then following, preached sundry sermons in the cathedral church of Winchester, Page 835. whereat this deponent was present, and heard him so preach. And, at one of the said sermons (which was to this deponent's remembrance on Palm Sunday last past was two years), the said bishop entreated of obedience, and declared and spake thereof in manner and form as it is contained in effect in this article, whereupon he is examined: there being present at the said sermon, Richard Hampden, his contests, this deponent, and what other he remembereth not.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth as before, and that he hath five pounds wages, and meat, drink, and livery; and ten pounds annuity out of the bishop's manor of Downton; and otherwise negatively.

To the 2d and 3d he saith, that the said bishop, being the king's true subject, he desireth he may have justice.

To the 4th he deposeth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

Nicholas Lentall.

Richard Hampden.

Richard Hampden, servant to the bishop of Winchester, with whom he hath continued these sixteen years; of the age of 40, or thereabout; examined upon the XVth article of the matter saith and deposeth as followeth:- That at sundry sermons that the said bishop of Winchester made at Winchester, after his delivery out of the Fleet, this deponent was present, and heard the said bishop (at the sermon made by him in the church of Winchester, on Palm Sunday last past was two years, as he doth remember), entreat of obedience; and said therein, that the life of a christian man consisteth chiefly in suffering of another man's will, and not his own; and declared the duty of the subject to the rulers, which was (as he said) to obey their will, and suffer their power. Which said words, or the like in effect, he heard the said bishop, in his said sermon, speak and declare. At which said sermon was a great multitude, among whom he remembereth well that Nicholas Lentall was one; and otherwise he cannot depose.

Richard Hampden.

Master William Bell.

William Bell, clerk, parson of St. Mildred's in Bread-street, in the city of London; where he hath been parson sixteen years; of the age of 52 years; a freeman, testifieth.

To the XXXIVth article and XXXVth this deponent saith, that concerning the said papers specified in these articles, he knoweth nothing of the contents thereof; but saith, that he was present on the said day articulate, and heard the said bishop of Winchester preach at Westminster before the king's majesty; in which said sermon, among other things by him touched, he spake and said these words, or the like in effect: 'That he did agree with the superiors, and allowed all acts, statutes, injunctions, and proclamations, concerning religion, set forth by the king and the council.' And, in his said sermon, heard the said bishop preach touching certain abuses in ceremonies, wherein he said were two manner of reformations to be made by the magistrates: one to reform the abuses, and the other to take them away clean; making a demonstration thereof of images, which (he said) for the abuse of certain, the whole were taken away: which he said was godly and well. And certain other things, as preaching and baptism, although they were abused, yet they could not be taken away, but the abuses of them to be reformed. And further he saith, that he heard the said bishop speak of certain light preachers, which he resembled to posts, having truth in their letters, and lies in their mouths: for that, by their license, they are commanded to preach obedience; and they preach disobedience. And saith, moreover, that the said bishop did declare his mind concerning ceremonies, that so long as they served us, and we not them, they may stand; and when men serve them, they were not necessary, but ought to be taken away. And he misliked the lower part, in that parsons, vicars, and curates, of their own heads made sundry alterations and orders in their parish. And that divers private men took upon them the king's office, in that they altered things at their pleasure, otherwise than was set forth by the king and his council. And the premises, or the like in effect, the said bishop declared, in his said sermon, to this deponent's certain knowledge; for he was present all the time of his said sermon. And otherwise he cannot depose upon the contents of the said articles; saving, as he saith, that over and besides the premises, he heard the said bishop speak of the king's supremacy; and bring in Scripture for the same sufficiently, and in this deponent's conscience.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth, and denieth the contents thereof.

To the 2d: he hath no other affection than equity and justice require.

To the 3d: he wisheth, and earnestly desireth, that the said bishop may obtain that justice willeth; and no otherwise.

To the 4th: he answereth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

By me, Wm. Bell.

Edward VI.

A.D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

Master William Medowe.

Master William Medowe, clerk, chaplain to the bishop of Winchester, and master of the hospital of Holy Crosses, beside Winchester; of the age of 60 years, being produced and sworn upon the aforesaid matter.

To the Ist article of the matter this deponent saith, that the space of this twenty years he hath been with the said bishop of Winchester, and is his chaplain, and all the said space, he saith, that the said bishop, to this deponent's sight and knowledge, hath always set forth, to the uttermost of his power, the king's supremacy, and the abolishment of the bishop of Rome's authority. And saith, that at five several times he hath attended upon the said bishop, when he was sent beyond the seas for ambassador, as well to the emperor, as to the French king; at one of which times, the said bishop was at Louvain, when there was a commencement, wherein proceeded two doctors of physic; at which said commencement, the said bishop was desired to be the father of the Act, and was at the same Act present. And after the said Act done, on the selfsame day, after dinner, the rector of the university, accompanied with four or five learned men, came to the said bishop, to his house. And, there and then, the rector brought with him the book, which the said bishop had set forth, concerning the supremacy of the king's majesty, and the abolishment of the bishop of Rome's authority; with the which book, the said rector, and the other persons, were offended, and came to the said bishop, to see what he could speak for the defence of the said book. Unto whom the said bishop said, that he would gladly hear what they could object against it, and he would make them answer. And thereupon, the said bishop, with the said rector, and the other persons, went unto his chamber, and there continued in disputation; wherein this deponent heard the said bishop very earnest and loud in the defence of the said book; which said book, this deponent saith, he hath seen and read, and was in the house with the said bishop, when he did make the same book. And further he saith, that the said bishop, within his diocese, hath set forth all such acts, statutes, injunctions, and proclamations, as have been made and set forth by the king's majesty that dead is, and the king's majesty that now is. And further saith, that for the setting-forth of the same, he hath had an expert chancellor, Dr. Steward, who hath caused the same accordingly to be set forth within the diocese, and specially within the city of Winchester, and within the hospital of the Holy Crosses, whereof this deponent is master; and for such a man, the said chancellor hath been and is commonly reputed and taken, within the diocese of Winchester, to this deponent's knowledge. And saith, that the said bishop, at divers and many of his said sermons whereat this deponent hath been present, hath set forth the king's majesty's supremacy, and the abolishment of the bishop of Rome's authority. And otherwise he cannot depose upon the statutes of the said article.

To the IId article he saith, that the said bishop, being ambassador as he hath before deposed, did execute such commandments as were given him diligently and painfully; and that at his return home from the parts beyond seas, his doings there practised, and here in England, were well accepted and taken, Page 836. and never fault objected unto him for the same; but that it appeared that the king's majesty did well account him and his doings at his coming home; as it did always appear to this deponent, for he never knew or heard the contrary, as he saith.

To the IIId article he saith, that the said bishop—all the space that this deponent was his chaplain, and before, by the space of ten years—hath always been commonly taken and reputed for a man just of promise, and hath not been called or troubled in any court or before any judge, before this suit and trouble, saving his committing to the Fleet and the Tower, as far as this deponent ever heard or knew.

To the Xth article this deponent saith, that the day specified in this article, the said bishop was delivered out of the Fleet, to this deponent's certain knowledge; for he was, by the space of a month next before his said delivery, with the said bishop in the Fleet. And he saith, that the said bishop, at his said delivery said, that he was delivered by force of the king's majesty's pardon. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XVth article he saith, that he was present among divers and sundry sermons made by the said bishop of Winchester after his said committing to the Fleet, and at the said sermon made in the cathedral church in Winchester on Palm Sunday as he remembereth: in the which said sermon the said bishop did much entreat of obedience, declaring that the life of a christian man did chiefly consist in suffering; that is, in doing of other men's will, and not our own. As Christ came to do the will of his Father, and not his own, even so must we do God's will, which is to obey the superiors, or else willingly to suffer their power, thinking that best, always, that is commanded by the power: as for example, quoth he, where the king hath set forth the homilies, and any of you think to serve God better in hearing of a mass, you must think that best, that is set forth by the superiors. And saith, that at the same sermon were a great company, and divers of the said bishop's servants, whom he remembereth not.

To the XXIXth article he saith, that the said bishop, after the time that he was appointed to preach, showed this deponent, that he should entreat, in his sermon, of the king's supremacy, and the extinguishing the bishop of Rome's authority, and certain ceremonies which, he said, he intended to speak of. And after his sermon done, the said bishop declared to this deponent and others, that he had so preached, that he thought no man was offended withal, nor ought to be offended. And otherwise he cannot say.

To the XXXIIId article this deponent saith, that he, upon the Thursday, being the day next before St. Peter's day, and in the evening of the aforesaid day, came unto the said bishop to say evensong, as he was accustomed to do; whom he perceived to be somewhat unquieted by reason of a letter, as the said bishop said, sent the same day from the duke of Somerset, by the which he was commanded, not to speak of the sacrament or the mass; by reason of which letter he was so troubled, that he took no refreshing that night, as he was accustomed, nor the next morrow, until his sermon was done, as far as this deponent knew; for he was accustomed to be with him at his table. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XXXIVth article this deponent saith, that the said bishop showed this deponent, that in his sermon which he should make on St. Peter's day, before the king, he should entreat of certain things contained in papers delivered by master Cecil, which were of the king's supremacy, the abolishment of the bishop of Rome, the communion under both kinds, suppressing of monasteries and chantries and certain ceremonies: upon all which things the said bishop did entreat and speak, in his said sermon, to this deponent's certain knowledge; for he was present at the said sermon, and heard the treating of the same.

To the XXXVth this deponent saith, that the said bishop said, in his sermon, that he did agree with the superiors, and did allow all proclamations, statutes, and injunctions set forth by them; and he did not agree with the lower part, for that they did preach, and did things, contrary to the same proclamations, statutes, and injunctions; and did resemble certain preachers, and other persons, that did not according to the same, unto posts; for that they carried truth in their letters, and lies in their mouths. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XXXVIIIth article he saith, that immediately after the said bishop had preached, this deponent came home with the said bishop, in his barge; at which time, it appeared, the same bishop was merry and quiet, and said, that he trusted that he had satisfied what was commanded him. And the next day following, this deponent sat at dinner with the said bishop, the same being then merry, and suspecting no trouble that should ensue for his sermon-making, or any other thing, until the time he saw master Wingfield come with the guard, as far as this deponent saw or heard.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth as before, and that he hath neither livery, nor yet stipend, of the said bishop, but was promoted by the said bishop and his mean, to the hospital of Holy Crosses, a prebend in Winchester, and the benefice of Stoke.

To the 2d he answereth, that he hath affection unto the said bishop no otherwise than justice requireth.

To the 3d: he earnestly desireth that the said bishop may declare himself in

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

this matter, whereby the king may be his good lord, and that he might come out of trouble.

To the last he answereth as afore, and otherwise he cannot depose.

By me, William Medowe.

Robert Willanton.

Robert Willanton, master of arts, vicar of Haddenham, in the county of Bucks, of the age of 37; sworn and examined upon articles XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII. of the matter, deposeth as followeth:

To the XXXIVth and XXXVth he deposeth as followeth: that he doth not know what was contained in the papers; howbeit he saith, that he went purposely to hear the said bishop of Winchester preach at Westminster, on the said St. Peter's day; and he intended to note his sermon. Howbeit, he saith, that he could not note as he did intend, because of the throng. When the said bishop, coming to the gospel, in declaring this text 'Quem dicunt homines esse filium hominis,' he there noted two kinds of people, the one of Christ's school, and the other not of Christ's school. They that were not of Christ's school, had but a vile opinion of Christ, calling him carpenter's son, a drinker of wine, and so forth. The other, of Christ's school, though they were not his disciples following him, yet they had an honourable opinion of him, some saying, that he was Elias, some Jeremias, or some one of the prophets. Yet among these, there was no agreement in opinion until he came unto his own disciples, saying unto them 'Quem vos dicitis me esse,' etc. Peter answered as one for all, 'Tu es Christus,' etc. Christ said, 'Tu es Petrus,' etc. And here Christ said, that upon the confession of Christ's faith (and not of Peter's), he would build his church. Whereupon he inveighed against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome learnedly. For first he declared by the very text of the Scripture, that the bishop of Rome could challenge no such power unto him by that text; for Christ's church was builded of man, but by the confession of Peter's faith. And Peter, in answer, spake in the voice of them all, as by other texts of Scripture it may appear; for when, as he said unto Peter, 'Pasce oves meas,' it was not to Peter alone, but to them all. And where the keys were given, they were given generally to them all. And he further gathered of this text, notwithstanding 'Pasce oves meas,' was said to Peter, yet he could not justly thereby claim any supremacy; for, if St. Austin should teach a king, it followeth not that he is above a king, or, if a physician should give council to a king, it doth not follow that he is above, or better, than the king. And, for further confutation of the usurped power, he did allege the doctors, who did mention those words spoken to Peter, [as] generally spoken to them all: and yet, where some of them called him 'Principem apostolorum,' or 'Caput apostolorum,' they spake that by him, as a foreman of the quest; and oftentimes it happeneth, that the foreman of the quest is not the best man. And in further counting of the said bishop of Rome's power, he noted how it should come to pass, that the world should take him to be the head; which, he said, was either for the singular virtue or learning that they did see in him. And further he proceeded, saying, that if any man would have any further proof against the said usurped power, he referred himself to his book, which he had written in that matter.

Page 837. And, in his said sermon, the said bishop spake of the mass, saying, it profiteth both the living and the dead; but, as for masses of 'Scala Cœli,' 'masses satisfactory,' or 'masses in number,' he could not find them by Scripture. Whereunto he annexed, If masses did profit the dead, it might be objected, that the king did not well, in putting down of monasteries, chantries, and colleges. To that he answered, that it was lawful, and the king lawfully might put them down; for masses stand not in number, but in devotion. Further, this deponent heard the said bishop entreat of reformation of things, and divided them in two kinds: the one to be of that sort, that the reformation did only stand in taking away of the abuse—as in the sacrament of the altar, and baptism—and likewise in other sacraments. 'For, if water,' quoth he, 'be abused in baptism, yet we cannot take away the water. The other sort, as ceremonies (speaking generally only) be reformed either by taking away the thing itself, or else, by

taking away the abuse only, as were images.' And there he noted how we should know the abuse of them: 'for so long (quoth he) as they be our servants, to put us in remembrance of our further duties towards God, they be in their right use: but, if we be their servants, we abuse them.' And here he put three examples, as praying in place, number, or time, saying, so long as we be admonished, coming to the place of prayer, what is our duty there, or the time put us in remembrance to pray, or the number (for prayer must be in some number), we use the time, the place, and number. But if we think not praying in that place, that time, or that in that number our prayer is not valuable, nor heard of God, we become their servants, and abuse them.

Further, proceeding in his said sermon, speaking of the receiving of the sacrament in both kinds, he did allow it, and commend it: although whole Christ were in either kind. And did allege a constitution provincial of Peckham, for the receiving of the same in greater churches, at every great feast; and said, that it was also used in the order of Cistertians, here in England. And moreover, the said bishop said, that he did agree with the higher powers in all things, but he did mislike in the inferior sort, and subjects, the running before a law. And here he noted two things; the one was, the railing of preachers having the king's license to preach abroad, and who, in their said license, were willed to use themselves honestly; yet in their preaching abroad—both contrary to the tenor of their license, and also to the king's proclamation, that no man should use of the sacrament any such words or terms, but that were specified in Scripture—gave themselves to rail. And therefore he likened them to posts, having truth in their purse and lies in their mouths. And he did rather commend the said proclamation, calling it a godly proclamation. The said thing that he misliked, was the marriage of priests; and said that he had laboured the thing, and had been written unto in it, and had also written again in the same. All which the premises by this deponent declared and spoken of, or the like in effect, he heard the said bishop declare in his said sermon, made on St. Peter's day. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XXXVIIth article he saith, that at the time that the said bishop did preach, there was no contention, nor controversy, of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, as far as this deponent knew or heard, among learned men. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively.

To the 2d he answereth, that he beareth affection to him, as he doth to a christian man; and no otherwise.

To the 3d he desireth that right might take place, and no otherwise.

To the last he deposeth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

By me, R. Willanton.

Thomas Watson.

Thomas Watson, clerk, bachelor of divinity, chaplain to the bishop of Winchester, and parson of Wike in Dorsetshire (of the patronage of the said bishop whose chaplain he hath been these five years and more), of the age of 34 or 35 years; a witness sworn and examined upon articles VII. XI. XII. XIV. XVI. XVIII. XIX. XX. XXIX. XXXI. XXXIII. XXXVI. XXXVIII. and LXVIII. of the said matter, deposeth as followeth:

To the VIIth article: that the said bishop of Winchester, after the death of king Henry the Eighth, and before the committing of the said bishop to the Fleet, did write certain letters unto the archbishop of Canterbury; in which letters, or in some of them, was contained what danger and discords might arise upon innovations in religion, and, specially, this danger, the denial of the presence of Christ in the sacrament. Which letters this deponent did see and read and confer, after the bishop had first drawn them, and delivered them to Francis his secretary, to write, by the commandment of the said bishop; to the intent they should agree with the originals, made by the said bishop. And otherwise he cannot depose upon the contents of this article.

To the XIth article this deponent saith, that about thirteen or fourteen days

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

(as he doth remember) after the delivery of the said bishop out of the Fleet, he was committed to prison, to his own house in Southwark; which was, for not subscribing certain articles of justification (as the said bishop showed this deponent): the answers of which articles, made by the said bishop, this deponent did carry, by his commandment, to sir Thomas Smith (then secretary), and also to the council, divers times. Which said answers, and also articles, this deponent did read; and had instructions from the said bishop to answer for the defence of his said answer. And, at length, the council was satisfied with his answers, and so delivered and went to Hampshire. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XIIth he deposeth, as he hath before to the XIth. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XIVth this deponent saith, that after the said bishop's delivery out of his house, as aforesaid, the said bishop taking his journey to Hampshire, lay at Farnham; upon whom this deponent did there attend, and lay at the vicarage of Farnham: at which time the vicar showed this deponent, that the people were something offended for alterations of divers things done in the king's visitation. Wherefore he required this deponent to preach, or else to procure the bishop to preach, for the quieting of the people. At whose request, the said bishop did preach in the said church of Farnham, on St. Matthew's day articulated, taking for the theme the gospel of the said day, in the 11th chapter of Matthew. And upon these words, 'Revelasti ea parvulis,' he made this division of 'parvuli sensibus,' and 'parvuli malicia.' And upon these words, 'parvuli malicia,' he exhorted the people to obedience, as the child to the father; not asking the reason of the thing commanded, but thinking that best, that they were by them commanded to do. Even so the said bishop willed the subjects to conform their wills to the wills of the superiors, and think that best they order. And therein touched the homilies and injunctions set forth by the visitors, saying, that if any think they might be better occupied to hear mass, than in hearing of homilies, or in doing of other things set forth by the superiors, therein they do not well; for their obedience concerning orders in the church, doth please God more than to think they [can enact] better themselves. At which sermon, divers of the said bishop's servants were present, the vicar of Farnham, the suffragan of Winchester, and divers of the said town of Farnham.

To the XVIth this deponent saith, that about a three weeks after Easter, in the second year of the king's majesty's reign, the said bishop, being then at Winchester, received letters from the council to repair to them: unto which letters the said bishop, being then diseased, made answer of his said disease, and sent the letters up by the servant of the council. Which notwithstanding, he received other letters from the council, not to abuse his liberty, but to come as soon as he might. Whereupon he came immediately in a horse-litter to Kingston, and from thence by water to his house. And the premises he deposeth of his certain knowledge, for he did see the said letters, and did attend upon the said bishop at his said coming to London. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To articles XVIII. to XX. he deposeth as he hath before to the VIIIth article of the articles ministered by the office against the said bishop; to the which he referreth himself. And otherwise cannot depose.

Page 838. To the XXIXth article he deposeth, that the said bishop, at his coming home from the said duke of Somerset, showed this deponent, that he had concluded with the said duke, and that he should speak of those articles: but not after the manner and form contained in the papers, but of the chief of them. And saith, that after his said sermon-making, he (the said bishop) accounted, that he had satisfied that thing he was appointed, and had done accordingly, in such wise, that no man ought to be offended; and thought not that he had offended. For this deponent, being abroad in the city on the morrow after the said sermon-making, heard the bruit and noise, that the said bishop should go to the Tower; which thing he declared the same day to the bishop; unto whom the said bishop said, it was but tales, for he thought that he never pleased the council better in all his life, than he did in his said sermon.

To the XXXIst this deponent saith, that the said bishop showed this deponent, how that master Cecil, on the said Wednesday, came to the said bishop,

and advertised him, in the duke of Somerset's name, that it was the duke's advice, that he should not speak of any doubtful matter of the sacrament, and of the mass. And that the said bishop made answer again, that he would speak of no doubtful matter, but of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, which was without all doubt. And the premises he deposeth of the report of the said bishop; and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XXXIId and XXXIIId he deposeth as he hath before to the Xth article of the matter objected against the said bishop whereupon he was examined; and saith moreover, that by reason of the same letter, sent so near the time of his sermon, the said bishop was much unquieted for that, to satisfy the same letter, he was compelled to alter that thing that he had purposed before to speak; insomuch that the same bishop did not eat any meat at his table, as he was wont, from the time of the delivery of the letter, until the sermon was done, forasmuch as this deponent knoweth: for he was always wont to keep his company at his table, as he saith. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XXXVIth article he deposeth, that upon Saturday in the Whitsun-week, in the second year of the king's majesty's reign, the said bishop of Winchester being newly come out of Hampshire unto his house in Southwark, went to the court at Whitehall; upon whom this deponent did then attend, with the other of his servants; and saw him in the queen's closet; and was there a certain space, with the council, and went to his house again merely. And the said bishop said, that he had answered all things fully.

And afterward, within a certain space, master Cecil came to the said bishop, and declared unto him, that it was the duke's pleasure, that he should preach and write his sermon, the said bishop granting to preach, but denying to write his sermon. And the morrow after the said bishop sent this deponent with a letter unto the said duke, with instructions, to make the answer aforesaid; the said duke giving this deponent in commandment, that, seeing the said bishop would not write his sermon, he should have articles to preach upon. Which articles (about two days after) the said master Cecil brought, first in one sort and form, and after in a larger form. And not long after that, the said bishop, being sent for, went to the court (upon whom this deponent, and many of the said bishop's servants did attend), and landed at the Privy Stairs, and so conveyed to the duke of Somerset's chamber; where this deponent and the rest of the servants left him. And from thence, as this deponent and others heard reported, the said bishop was conveyed to the lord great master's chamber, where he was appointed to dine. And this deponent, and others of the servants of the said bishop, as well before dinner, as after, waited for him at the council-chamber door, and could not hear of him there. And, shortly after, the said bishop took his barge at the Privy Stairs. And when he was in the barge, one of the bishop's servants said, that he thought he had been sent for to speak and to treat with the emperor's ambassador, who was then there: and to whom the said bishop said, that he saw him not, nor was not afore the whole council the said day. And saith, that any other time or times in the month of June articulated, than is afore by this deponent declared, the said bishop came not to the council, nor yet forth of his house, until he made his sermon. For if he had, this deponent, always lying within his house, should have had knowledge thereof; and should have attended upon him, as he was always accustomed to do, as he saith. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XXXVIIIth article he deposeth as before to the XXIXth; and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the LXVIIIth article he saith, that he, lying at Farnham aforesaid, had a letter from one Somerset, one of the bishop of Winchester's servants, declaring, that the said bishop should be delivered within two days; and therefore willed him to come up. And so he came to London, and, at his said coming (which was in June last), he heard voice of the people so that he should be delivered. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth as before, and that he is his household chaplain, and hath two benefices of the said bishop's patronage. And otherwise he denieth the contents of this article.

To the 2d he saith, he hath affection unto him as a servant ought to have to his master; and to his causes no otherwise than justice and equity requireth.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

To the 3d he answereth, that he desireth that the said bishop might overcome according to justice, and no otherwise; and so he prayeth.

To the 4th he answereth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

Thomas Watson.

Herman Bilson.

Herman Bilson, of the town of Winchester, brewer, where he hath dwelled these six years; of the age of 37; a witness sworn and examined upon the XVth article, saith as followeth:

Examined upon the said XVth article, saith, that a certain day in the second year of the king's majesty's reign (on what day he cannot now certainly declare), the said bishop of Winchester made a sermon in the cathedral church of Winchester, whereat this deponent was present, and heard the same: in which sermon, he saith, the said bishop did entreat much of obedience. And, after he had declared the power and authority of the superior to come from God, and that whosoever resisteth that power did offend God, and resisteth his ordinance, he did openly and fruitfully declare and set forth the office and duty of a subject and christian man to consist in two points; that is to say, in doing, and in suffering: and if the superiors command a thing that is godly and lawful, the subject ought to obey it and do it. If the superior command things ungodly and unlawful, the subject ought not to resist it, nor reason against it, but willingly to obey, by suffering; that is, to be content that the power of the superior should be executed and done upon him. And the cause why that this deponent did bear away these things spoken at the said sermon was, for that he was in doubt of this proposition, 'Oportet obedire potestatibus in rebus licitis et illicitis;' considering that this text in the Acts of the Apostles, 'Oportet obedire Deo magis quam hominibus,' satisfies us fully how to understand, 'Obedire potestatibus in rebus illicitis,' that is, by suffering his power to be executed upon the subject. And at which said sermon there was a great multitude of people. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the Ist he denieth the contents of the same for his part, in all points.

To the IId he answereth, that the said bishop is his ordinary; and other affection he hath not to him, but for truth's sake.

To the IIId article: he desireth that in his doing well, and his duty to his prince, he would wish him to obtain; and not otherwise.

To the IVth he answereth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose or answer.

Herman Bilson.

John Reade.

John Reade, of Farnham, chandler; where he hath dwelled from his infancy; of the age of 49; sworn and examined upon the XIVth article, saith as followeth:

That on St. Matthew's eve last past was two years, the said bishop of Win-
Page 839. chester, then going from London towards Hampshire, lay at Farnham, and, on the day, preached there. And in his sermon he (the said bishop) spake much of obedience; and there exhorted the people to be content with such things as the visitors, and the superior powers, had done and set forth: and that no man should grudge or murmur thereat, but take it as the ordinance of God. And the cause why the said bishop did then preach (as this deponent heard say) was, for that divers of the town were offended with that thing the visitors had done and altered; and thereupon he exhorted the people willingly to obey all such doings as were set forth by the superiors, and that they should think that best, that they set forth: by reason of which sermon, the said bishop did quiet the mind of divers people. And the premises he deposeth to be true, for he heard the said bishop's sermon, and so did many of the town of Farnham; and otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively.

To the 2d he saith, he hath no affection.

To the 3d he answereth, that he coveteth no other, but that which right and equity shall require.

To the 4th he answereth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

John Reade.

William Laurence.

William Laurence of Winchester, weaver, where he hath dwelled from his birth; of the age of 37; examined upon the XVth article, and saith as followeth:

That on a certain day after the coming of the said bishop out of the Fleet (what day certainly he cannot depose), the said bishop did make a sermon in the church of Winchester, at the which this deponent and divers others were present. And, in the said sermon, the same bishop spake and entreated much of obedience, and that very earnestly and fruitfully, which supposed, verily, that forsomuch as the said bishop was then lately come out of the Fleet, he had in commandment to touch obedience so largely as he did. And among other things of obedience he did declare, that the subjects were bound to obey the powers, and to make no resistance; but rather to suffer the power of superiors in things although they be not lawful; but not to do the thing that is unlawful as they command. And these, or the like in effect, with much other words concerning obedience, the said bishop did speak in his sermon.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he saith, that he hath a patent of the bishop of Winchester's gift, for keeping of a court called Chenie Court, having for the same fifteen shillings yearly, of which he hath received no profit these four years, but giveth the fee to him that keepeth it. And otherwise he answereth negatively.

To the 2d and 3d he answereth, that the bishop, being a true man to the king, he wisheth him to prevail; and if not, not to prevail.

W. Laurence.

Peter Langridge.

Peter Langridge, clerk, bachelor of divinity, prebendary of Winchester, of the age of 40 years, examined upon articles I. VIII. and XV., deposeth as followeth:

To the Ist article of the matter he deposeth, that by the space of thirty years he hath continued in the town of Winchester, and hath heard very many and sundry sermons that the said bishop hath made at Winchester; and hath heard the said bishop many times, and often very earnestly, in divers of his sermons, set forth the supremacy of the king that dead is, and his posterity; and the abolishment of the bishop of Rome's authority—and that so earnestly as need to be, to this deponent's judgment. And also hath heard him many times, in some of his said sermons, preach earnestly of obedience of the subjects to the superiors. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the VIIIth article, he deposeth, that all such innovations as have been set forth by the king's majesty's commandment, proclamations, laws, statutes, and injunctions, have been quietly and obediently and conformably received, set forth, and executed and willed, by the said bishop and his chancellor, to be observed and kept in all times, to this deponent's knowledge, in the church of Winchester, and also within the whole diocese, as far as this deponent hath heard. Otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XVth article he saith, that on Palm Sunday, or else on the Sunday after Easter, as he remembereth now, the year specified in this article, this deponent was present in the cathedral church of Winchester, and heard the said bishop preach on the said day; and touched earnestly due obedience towards God, and the king's majesty, alleging St. Paul: 'Omnis anima subdita est,' etc. And further alleged obedience by the subjects to the king's majesty, bringing in this text, 'Rex non sine causa gladium portat;' and declared chiefly the term of obedience by the term of suffering, in manner and form contained in this article in effect; and bringing in for an example, that in case a christian man were underneath the power of an infidel, his duty were to obey his external

Edward VI. laws, keeping his conscience strong, and his faith steadfast to God. And otherwise he cannot depose.

A. D. 1551. *Upon the Interrogatories.*—To the 1st he answereth negatively.

To the 2d negatively.

Reprint from the First Edition. To the 3d: he wisheth that victory be had according to justice. And otherwise he willeth not. By me, Peter Langridge.

Giles White.

Giles White of Winchester, of the age of 38, examined upon the XVth article deposeth as followeth:

That in the sermon that the bishop made at Winchester, he remembereth (in one of the last sermons that he made there, at which sermon this deponent and a great number were present) the said bishop spake earnestly of obedience, and exhorted the people to obey their prince; saying, that if the king's majesty were an infidel—as he is a very true and faithful prince—and did command any thing to be observed which was unlawful, and against God's law, we are not bound to do it; but to suffer such punishment willingly, as the prince shall put unto us for not doing of the same, and not to resist in anywise. And the premises, or the like in effect, with other exhortation concerning obedience, the said bishop did declare.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively.

To the 2d, that he hath no affection but as truth requireth.

To the 3d he answereth, that if he be a true man to his prince, he wisheth he might obtain according to truth; and not otherwise.

By me, Giles White.

Roger Hurd.

Roger Hurd of Winchester, verger in the cathedral church of Winchester, where he hath continued, and within three miles of the town of Winchester these twenty years; of the age of 34. A witness sworn and examined upon the Ist and VIIIth articles.

To the Ist he saith, that he hath been at divers of the bishop of Winchester's sermons made at Winchester, wherein he hath treated of the supremacy of the king, and the abolishment of the bishop of Rome's authority. But by what kind of words he hath set forth the same, he doth not now remember. And saith, that the said bishop did set forth a book entituled 'De Vera Obedientia,' which this deponent hath seen; and, by report of master Coppinger, who hath the same, the said bishop by the same hath set forth the king's supremacy, and the abolishment of the bishop of Rome's authority, as he saith. And saith, that all such acts, statutes, proclamations, and injunctions as have been set forth by the king and the superiors, and sent to the church of Winchester, have been with expedition duly set forth, executed, and observed, in the church of Winchester, to this deponent's sight, at all times; for he is an officer of the same church, as he hath before deposed. And that the chancellor, master doctor Steward, hath duly, in such sort as becometh, set forth the same as much as in him lieth; and he hath been very diligent in doing them, of this deponent's sight and knowledge. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Page 340. To the VIIIth he deposeth as before, for such innovations as have been sent to the church. And concerning the diocese, he hath been present in the consistory of Winchester, when he hath heard master Steward, the chancellor, command the apparitor with speed to go abroad in the diocese with the same. And he hath not heard the contrary but all those things were duly observed in the diocese abroad, as they were in the cathedral church. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively.

To the 2d he hath none affection, but wisheth that right may take place.

To the 3d he answereth, that if right will, he would desire he might obtain; and none otherwise.

To the 4th as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

Roger Hurd.

William Lorking.

William Lorking, vicar of Farnham, where he hath dwelt sixteen years; of the age of 60, or thereabouts.

Examined upon the XIVth article he deposeth, that upon St. Matthew's eve last past was two years, the bishop of Winchester, going home to Hampshire from London, lay at Farnham, and master Watson his chaplain lay all night with this deponent at the vicarage, unto whom this deponent declared, that divers of the town murmured and grudged at things done in the visitation by the king's visitors; specially, for images, and other things contained in the injunctions. And thereupon desired the said master Watson to preach on the morrow, to quiet the minds of the people. And then Watson declared the same to the bishop (as he supposeth), and, on the morrow, being on St. Matthew's day, the bishop of Winchester preached, himself, in the church of Farnham, and, in the same sermon, declared much matter of obedience, when he came to this part of the gospel 'Revelasti ea parvulis.' And, upon the same, extolled and set forth the king's majesty's power, bringing in 'Omnis potestas a Deo est,' and saying, he that resisteth the powers, resisteth God. And then did exhort the people to be contented with such things as, by the king's authority, were taken away; and to receive such things as were, by his majesty's authority, set forth; and to think those things best, that the king had set forth: the said bishop bringing in for the same, divers places of the Scripture. And the premises, or the like in effect, this deponent heard the same bishop speak and declare; and so did much people after: at which preaching this deponent did not perceive the people to murmur or grudge afterwards. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively.
To the 2d: no otherwise he affecteth, than right requireth.
To the 3d he answereth as before; and no otherwise.
To the last he deposeth as before. And otherwise he cannot depose.

W. Lorking.

John Smith.

John Smith, master of arts, and provost of Oriel College in Oxford; of the age of 40 years; sworn and examined upon articles XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII. of the matter.

To which articles of the matter he deposeth in manner and form contained in his depositions, written with his own hand, exhibited at the time of his examination, with also certain articles which, he saith, were delivered unto him at Oxford, when he received the commissioners' letters; which said articles (as it was declared to the bishop of Winchester by master Cecil, before the time that the said bishop did preach before the king) this deponent hath made answer unto; as it appeareth by his said depositions. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively.
To the 2d and 3d he hath no affection, nor coveteth that he should overcome otherwise than justice requireth.
To the 4th, as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

John Smith.

Thomas Williams.

Thomas Williams, master of arts, vicar of Andover, where he hath been vicar these two years; of the age of 45, or thereabouts; sworn and examined upon the XIVth article, saith and deposeth as followeth:

That on St. Matthew's-eve last past was two years, as he doth now remember, the bishop of Winchester lay that night at Farnham, and forasmuch as this deponent, being then curate, had before put down the images in the church, according as the king's visitors commanded, and the people (with that and other things then put down, and other things established by the king and the superiors), were much offended, the said bishop, for cause to stay the murmuring of the people, was desired to preach, as this deponent heard credibly reported.

Edward VI. A.D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

Whereupon the bishop of Winchester, on St. Matthew's day, preached in the church of Farnham, and declared the gospel for that day. And when he came to that point 'Revelasti ea parvulis,' he took occasion to speak of obedience, wherein he would every man should consider his own state and vocation, and quietly walk in the same. And, in effect, he declared, that it is the office of a true subject to be obedient in any manner of wise to such laws and ordinances as the king and the powers had set forth unto them; and not to ask why or wherefore we should do this or that, but do things as we are commanded; and thinking those things best, that the king and his council had set forth; and not to resist the powers in any wise. And declared further much matter of obedience esides, so as it could not have been better set forth, to this deponent's judgment; for he was present and heard the same sermon, and so did much people: by reason of which sermon (in that he touched obedience so earnestly) the people of the town were quieted afterwards; whereas before, to this deponent's hearing, they were not. And otherwise he cannot depose

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively.

To the 2d he answereth, that he affecteth not the said bishop but as the order of charity willeth, if he be a true man to his prince.

To the 3d he answereth, and desireth that he may overcome if justice and law will so; and not otherwise.

To the 4th he answereth as afore; and otherwise he cannot depose.

Thomas Williams.

John Glasiar.

John Glasiar,[1] clerk, bachelor of law, and commissary unto the bishop of Winchester within the Isle of Wight, where he hath been commissary these sixteen or seventeen years; of the age of 50 years and upwards; examined upon the VIIIth and IXth articles of the matter.

To the VIIIth article he deposeth and saith, that by the space of these sixteen or seventeen years he hath been the bishop of Winchester's commissary within the Isle of Wight, by all which said space, this deponent saith, that he hath diligently and duly caused all manner of ordinances and innovations set forth by the acts, statutes, proclamations, and injunctions commanded by the king, to be observed and kept; all which said acts, proclamations, and injunctions, this deponent always received at master Steward's hands, and from him (being the bishop's chancellor) with earnest letters for the setting-forth of them diligently and earnestly; and that with an acceleration: insomuch that he willed him, by his letters (to the intent they should be duly set forth), to see the setting-forth of the innovations himself, and in his own person: and this deponent so did, in all churches within the Isle of Wight, and there they were duly observed, and quietly received. And the premises he deposeth to, be true upon his oath. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the IXth article this deponent saith, that in the visitation of the clergy, holden by the authority of the king's majesty that now is, his majesty's visitors appointed in the diocese of Winton (of whom sir James Hales and Dr. Briggs came into the Isle of Wight), were there quietly and duly received, as becometh, in their said visitation there, to this deponent's certain knowledge; for this deponent, being the commissary there, did wait and attend upon them. And saith, that all such injunctions and orders as were then set forth and
Page 341. admitted in the Isle of Wight (as he saith, of his certain knowledge), and the premises, are notorious and manifest throughout the Isle of Wight, of his knowledge. And for speedy expedition, in that the said visitors should not be letted, this deponent did answer and pay unto them the whole procurations due within the said isle, and received the same afterward of the clergy, whereof he is not yet all paid. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st, he answereth negatively, saying, that he is commissary to the bishop within the aforesaid isle without any fee or annuity.

(1) Also spelt Blaser.—Ed.

To the 2d: he wisheth that truth should appear, and other affection he hath none.

To the 3d: he would he should obtain as he hath deserved, and no otherwise.

To the 4th: he cannot depose otherwise than before.

John Glasiar.

Richard Bruerne

Richard Bruerne, of Christ's Church in Oxford, bachelor of divinity; of the age of 32 years or thereabouts; examined upon the XXXIVth and XXXVth articles, saith accordingly as he hath deposed in a certain paper, written for his full depositions, which he exhibited at the time of his examination, with a copy of certain articles delivered him, which were the articles (as it is said) delivered by master Cecil unto the bishop of Winchester before he should preach. And otherwise he cannot depose upon these articles.

To the XXXVIIth article he deposeth, as concerning the controversy of the sacrament—when it began he knoweth not; but he doth not know, nor remember any that did openly read, preach, or dispute of it at Oxford, before Peter Martyr began, which was last February twelve months, and not before, as he doth now remember. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively.

To the 2d he saith, that he loveth him because of his learning and wisdom; and otherwise he beareth no affection otherwise than justice.

To the 3d: he desireth that truth shall overcome, and no otherwise

To the last he deposeth as afore. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Richard Bruerne.

John Hardy.

John Hardy of Farnham, gentleman, of the age of 56 or thereabouts; a witness sworn and examined upon the XIVth article, deposeth upon his oath as followeth:

That on St. Matthew's eve last past was two years, the bishop of Winchester taking his journey to Winchester from London, lay at Farnham; and, on the morrow, being St. Matthew's day, by reason that it was showed unto him, that certain of Farnham did murmur and grudge at certain things commanded by the visitors, as for taking down of images, and other things; the said bishop did make a sermon in the church of Farnham aforesaid, in which said sermon, the bishop took occasion to speak of obedience, and, in the same, he likened men unto the weakness of children, which are afraid of the thing they need not fear, and what they should not fear, they fear: and declared further that men were not afraid to break the commandment of Almighty God, and of the king, but he would they should principally and first obey God's commandment, and next the king's. And whereas divers ceremonies are abolished in the church, which were invented by men, it is lawful for the king's majesty to dissolve them again; and willed all men to conform their wills to the will of the prince, and of such as are appointed by him. And the premises or the like in effect, with much more matter than this deponent is able to declare now, touching obedience, he did preach of. At which said sermon this deponent and many people were present; and saith, that by reason of the same sermon, the people which before were offended, were quieted in their minds, as this deponent judgeth in his conscience. And otherwise he cannot depose

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively, saving that the said bishop suffereth him to enjoy his fee for the receiving of the rents of Farnham, which fee was granted him by the late bishop Foxe.

To the 2d he saith and answereth, that he doth not know what matter is laid against him: howbeit he wisheth that, if he be no offender, he might prosper in this case. And otherwise negatively.

To the 3d he answereth as before; and otherwise he denieth it.

To the last he answereth as afore; and otherwise he cannot depose.

John Hardy.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

Morgan Phillips.

Morgan Phillips, bachelor of divinity, of Oriel College, Oxford; of the age of 34 years and above; sworn and examined upon articles XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII., deposeth as followeth:

To articles XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII. he saith and deposeth, that master Basset, one of the bishop of Winchester's servants, delivered unto this deponent, yesterday, certain articles, being ten in number, which, he said, were the copy of the articles delivered to the bishop of Winchester by master Cecil, to preach of, with the copy of these articles (XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII.) of the matter whereupon he is produced and examined, unto which articles he deposeth according as it is contained in a certain paper, written with his own proper hand, and exhibited for his examination upon the same. And otherwise than is contained in the same schedule exhibited by him, he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively.

To the 2d he answereth, and beareth no other affection to him than equity willeth; for he is a man that he never talked withal.

To the 3d: he wisheth that he should no otherwise overcome than justice would.

To the 4th he answereth as before. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Morgan Phillips.

Robert Quinby.

Robert Quinby of Farnham, cloth-maker, where he was born; of the age of 27 or thereabouts; sworn and examined upon the XIVth article of the matter, saith and deposeth as followeth:

That on St. Matthew's day last past was two years, as he doth now remember, this deponent heard the bishop of Winchester preach and make a sermon, in the church at Farnham, in which said sermon, after that he had set forth divers things as the gospel did lead, he took occasion to speak of obedience; as first, obedience of the child to the parents, and the servant to the master. And, consequently, touched earnestly the obedience of the inferiors to the superiors; and thereupon exhorted the people, that they should not murmur or grudge at any ceremonies as were, or should be, taken away by the king's majesty; but think that best, that is set forth by the king and his authority: and that men should not ask why or wherefore it is done. And these, or the like in effect, the said bishop did declare in the sermon; with much other words concerning obedience, which this deponent is not able to express so largely as it was set forth by him. And this deponent saith, that the said bishop was loth to offend, as this deponent judged by him; for the said bishop tarried a great space, when he came to his prayer in the same sermon, for a book to declare the order of prayers then set forth; which book the vicar went for, and brought it to him: and, according to the same, he did set forth the prayer to this deponent's sight and hearing. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he denieth the contents thereof in all parts.

To the 2d: he hath no other affection to the bishop than charity leadeth.

To the 3d: he wisheth that the bishop should have that he hath deserved, in case he hath offended; and, if not, that he might overcome.

To the 4th as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

Robert Quinby.

Robert Braborne.

Robert Braborne of Farnham, clothier, where he was born; of the age of 40 or thereabouts; examined upon the XIVth article, saith as followeth:

Page 842. That on St. Matthew's day last past was two years (as he doth now remember), this deponent was present in the church of Farnham, and heard the bishop of Winchester preach; in which his sermon he spake much of obedience,

declaring the duty of a servant to his master, and so forth, from the lowest to the highest; and, specially, the duty of the subjects to the superiors: exhorting all subjects to be obedient to their king and rulers appointed, and to receive quietly such things as are set forth by them, without any reasoning of it, or grudging or murmuring thereat; saying, that their power cometh from God, and they that refuse them, refuse the power of God. And the premises, or the like in effect, this deponent, among other things, heard preached of the said bishop. And saith, that by reason of the said sermon, the people of the town were much quieted; whereas, before, divers of them were offended with such things as were commanded; as the pulling down of images, and such other, to this deponent's knowledge. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively, saying he is a copyholder of the said bishop, renting fifty-three shillings yearly.

To the 2d: he hath no more affection to him, than to any other, saving in way of truth.

To the 3d: he would he should obtain and have, as he hath deserved.

To the 4th as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

Robert Braborne.

Edmund Bricket.

Edmund Bricket, doctor of divinity, and parson of Hadham, in the county of Hertford, of the age of 56 years; sworn and examined upon articles XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII., saith as followeth:

To the articles XXXIV. and XXXV. he saith, that he cannot depose upon the contents of the papers mentioned in the articles. Howbeit he saith, that on St. Peter's day was two years, this deponent was at part of the bishop of Winchester's sermon, made before the king at Westminster, in which said sermon he heard the said bishop speak of ceremonies by these words, or the like in effect; saying, 'I am called the master of ceremonies; and, as concerning ceremonies, I am now, and ever was, of the same judgment; that they be outward creatures, appointed for us, whereby we may be moved and stirred the more to serve God; and so long as we use them to serve us, and we not serve them, so long they were good and not abused.' And if we serve them, and they serve not us, then they were not good, but abused; which abuse might be taken away two manner of ways; one, by the instructing and teaching the people to what use and purpose they were first ordained and instituted; and the other way, if the people would not so be reformed, to take them away clean. 'Yet,' quoth he, 'some things there be that are abused and ought not clean to be taken away: as the sacrament of baptism, and other sacraments, although they were abused, yet they cannot nor may be taken away; and also preaching of the word of God, although it were abused, it might not be taken away, but the abuses reformed.'

And further, he heard the said bishop speak concerning magistrates in this sort, or the like in effect. 'Touching the magistrates,' quoth he, 'I do agree with them in the king's proceedings. I like well,' quoth he, 'the communion under both kinds. . I like well, also, the king's proclamations concerning the sacrament, wherein he willed all men to speak reverently of the sacrament, according as the word of God leadeth us. I mislike,' quoth he, 'in the subjects, that they call the mass abomination. Also I mislike that they call the sacrament only bread and wine. These,' quoth he, 'may be called post-preachers, for they bear the verity in writing, and (saving the king's majesty's honour and reverence) they bear lies in their lips or mouth. I mislike, also, the bold and open marriage of priests, for I never read, in any ancient doctor since Christ's time, that priests were married. But that married men have been priests, I am bold to speak the same afore your grace,' quoth he; 'for my books are abroad, which I have set forth concerning the same. And mine adversaries, that write against me in that behalf, they understand not their own authors: for, if they had read two lines further in the same places that made for their purpose, they should have perceived, that the same make against them.' And the premises, or the like in effect, this deponent heard the said bishop preach and declare. And

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

otherwise he cannot depose, for, he saith, that the said bishop was entered unto his sermon before this deponent's coming thither.

To the XXXVIIth article he saith, that at the time of the said bishop's sermon, there was no controversy or contention, among learned men, of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament; for the king had set forth proclamation, that no man should speak of the same unreverently, otherwise than the Scripture should bear. And, he saith, that no learned man did speak against the presence of the same, the same time, to this deponent's knowledge or remembrance. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively.

To the 2d: he hath no affection to him, but because of his virtue and learning; and no otherwise.

To the 3d: he would he should obtain according to truth.

To the 4th he answereth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

Edmund Bricket.

Alexander Dering.

Alexander Dering of Winchester, notary and registrar, under master Cook, within the diocese of Winchester; of the age of 36; sworn and examined upon the articles I. VIII. IX. and XV. deposeth as followeth:

To the Ist: he deposeth that by the space of these fifteen years, he hath dwelt within the town of Winchester and the Soke, and hath been under the registrar of the bishop of Winchester all the same space; and saith, that by all the same space, of his certain knowledge, all innovations as have been set forth by acts, statutes, proclamations, and injunctions, have been duly received, and set forth with such diligence as becometh, throughout all the whole diocese; for this deponent, being (as is aforesaid) deputy under the registrar, hath, by the commandment of master doctor Steward, the bishop's chancellor, written out commandments with all speed, for the setting-forth and due observing of them within the whole diocese; insomuch that the said chancellor hath made such speed in the setting-forth of them, that he would not suffer this deponent to tarry dinner, but to have all things done, and to write such letters for the setting-forth of the same innovations, when such innovations were come. And as concerning the said bishop's chancellor, he saith further, of his perfect sight and knowledge, that he hath been all the time aforesaid very circumspect and diligent in setting forth of all such injunctions as have been set forth by the king's acts, proclamations, and injunctions. And the premises are notorious and manifest (as he saith) within the diocese of Winchester; and he hath seen the said chancellor sundry times give money to the apparitors, for diligence to be had in the premises, over and above their fees.

To the VIIIth article he deposeth as before: and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the IXth he deposeth, that as well before the time, as at the time, of the said king's majesty's visitation, the said bishop was in the Fleet, as it was commonly reported for truth at Winchester. And yet, notwithstanding, the said king's majesty's visitors were, throughout all the diocese, reverently and duly received and entertained, to this deponent's knowledge; for this deponent (as he saith) did attend upon them in their visitation in the said diocese; and, for his part, did his duty as becometh, and made certificate of every deanery. And, for this deponent's diligence and pain, the said visitors, at their departing, gave this deponent thanks, and a reward. And at Winchester, he saith, that the said bishop's proctor did, with due reverence, receive the said visitors to this deponent's sight; for he was present. And the premises he deposeth to be true, notorious, and manifest, within the whole diocese. And deposeth [that] at the visitors' departing out of the diocese, he did send a letter to master chancellor, videlicet Dr. Steward, for reformation of certain comperts[1] in the visitation, wherein they had taken no order; and willed this deponent to give him hearty thanks for their gentle entertainment at his hands.

Page 343. To the XVth article he saith, that he was present at a sermon made by the bishop of Winchester, in the church of Winchester, the Sunday after Easter

(1) 'Comperta,' delegates in the civil law.—Ed

day last past was two years (as he doth remember); in which said sermon he spake much of obedience. And, amongst other things, he heard him exhort the people, willingly to receive and obey all such acts, statutes, and proclamations, as are set forth by the superiors, and to come to hear the Homilies. 'Although some will say, that they can read them at home as well as the priest, or better, yet, for all that, they ought to come to church to hear them, to show their obedience.' And further said that 'in case ye were under an infidel (as you are under a christian prince), and commanded to [do] a thing against God's law, ye were not bound to it. And yet ought not to resist, but willingly to suffer his power to punish.' And the premises, with much more than is contained in this deponent's depositions, as this deponent saith, the said bishop did declare concerning obedience, which he doth not now perfectly remember.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively, otherwise than before.

To the 2d: he hath affection, but as justice requireth.

To the 3d: he wisheth he might obtain according to justice; and no otherwise.

To the 4th as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

By me, Alexander Dering

John Potinger.

John Potinger of Winchester, gentleman, where he hath continued these ten years; of the age of 36; sworn and examined upon articles I. VIII. IX. and XV., saith and deposeth as hereafter followeth:

To the Ist article, he saith and deposeth, that on a certain day in the month of April or May, in the second year of the reign of the king's majesty that now is, and (as he doth remember) on Sunday called Low Sunday, this deponent was present in the cathedral church of Winchester; and there heard the bishop of Winchester preach; in which said sermon, this deponent saith, of his certain hearing and knowledge, that the said bishop did entreat of the supremacy of the king's majesty, and the abolishment of the power of the bishop of Rome, very earnestly, to this deponent's judgment: and in the same sermon did declare very pithily, that the life of man did consist in two things chiefly; that is, in doing and suffering. And, for an example, said, that in case the king's majesty, our supreme head, and a godly and a christian prince, should command anything to be done and observed by his subjects, that were expressly against the word of God, we should not do it; and yet we ought not to resist, but willingly to suffer punishment for not doing of the same. And other things commanded by the king, and not against God's law, we ought and must keep, observe, and obey them obediently.

And thereupon took occasion to speak of the Homilies: saying, that although men had the Books of the Homilies at home in their houses, and could read them as well as the priest, or better; yet, notwithstanding, they ought to come to the church, and hear them read there; because the king commandeth them so to do, whom they ought to obey by God's law. And in the same sermon, or in some other made in the aforesaid cathedral church, by the said bishop, the said bishop brought in the story of Abraham, who, commanded by God to make sacrifice of his only son, did not reason with God, of his promise made unto him before; but willingly went about to do the commandment, without grudging, or any interrogation made by him. And certain other examples he (the said bishop) brought, and entreated concerning obedience, which I cannot now call to memory.

And saith further, that the said bishop did, at the aforesaid time and other times, speak of the abolishment of the bishop of Rome, and of the king's supremacy earnestly: insomuch that this deponent had thought, that he had some injunction to speak of the same, that he touched them so earnestly. And he saith, that the said bishop hath set forth a book in Latin, many years since, entituled 'De Vera Obedientia,' wherein the said bishop set forth the king's supremacy, as he remembereth; and treateth against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, and of obedience of the subjects to their prince, as supreme

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

head, very earnestly, to this deponent's remembrance. For this deponent hath seen and read the book, and in the same did read of the premises. And, examined whether he understandeth the Latin tongue, he saith, yea; and that once he was fellow of New College in Oxford, and hath the same book at this present in his study.

And this deponent saith, that the said bishop of Winchester hath had a very diligent and circumspect chancellor within his diocese, in executing such acts, statutes, proclamations, and injunctions, as have been commanded and set forth by the king, concerning religion in the church, to this deponent's knowledge. For he saith, that when any such injunctions, statutes, and proclamations, have been sent from the king's majesty's visitors, my lord of Canterbury, or by the said bishop, the said chancellor hath diligently gone about the setting forth of them. For this deponent, in the behalf of one Bartholomew Dove, yeoman apparitor, hath received, at the chancellor's hands, such injunctions and commandments; and with speed hath sent them forth by the apparitors to the deans rural, with money for expenses of the apparitors, for the due execution of the same; which said chancellor hath straitly commanded this deponent, to use expedition and diligence therein. And the premises, he saith, are notorious, manifest, and famous in the diocese of Winchester, to this deponent's certain knowledge

To the VIIIth article he answereth as before; and saith further, that he hath been present when certain priests have come to the said bishop's chancellor, concerning innovation: and hath heard the said chancellor straitly charge them duly to receive the same, and to observe them without any omission. And so this deponent hath been commanded, by the said chancellor, to write to the deans rural, that they should not omit any thing set forth by the same proclamations and injunctions and commandments, of his perfect knowledge. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the IXth article he saith and deposeth, that the bishop of Winchester's chancellor, against such time as the king's majesty's visitors had appointed to come to the diocese of Winchester, did command this deponent, exercising the room of a yeoman apparitor, to attend upon the same visitors; insomuch as, he saith, that to the uttermost of his power he did his due diligence, as becometh. And was at Hampton, when the said visitors came thither; and forasmuch as he, with others, was named in the bishop's proxy, he had prepared to make an oration for to receive them with: howbeit master Cooke, the chief registrar to the bishop, and one of his proctors were present, and did duly receive them to this deponent's sight, and knowledge. And from the visitors' sitting at Hampton, until they had gone throughout the whole diocese, and were come to Croydon (saving, as he saith, in the Isle of Wight, where this deponent was not), this deponent did attend upon them. And saith that in all places, and at all times in their said visitation within the said diocese, they were reverently received, and obediently; and all injunctions set forth by them, in their said visitation, were duly set forth, and observed, to this deponent's knowledge, throughout the whole diocese. And saith, that at such time as the visitors departed out of the diocese, they desired this deponent to have them commended to the said bishop's chancellor, with thanks for his gentle entertainment of them; and yielded thanks to this deponent for his pain and diligence, as he saith. And the premises, he saith, are famous and notorious. And he saith, that the said visitors, at their being at Croydon, gave this deponent forty shillings for his diligence and pains: and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XVth he deposeth as before to the Ist article: and otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively: saving that he occupieth procuring in the consistory of Winchester: and exerciseth the room of yeoman apparitor in the diocese, under Bartholomew Dove.

To the 2d: he affecteth no otherwise, than justice and equity requireth.

To the 3d: he wisheth him to prevail, if justice be on his side; and not otherwise.

To the 4th he answereth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose or answer.

John Potinger.

William Browne.

William Browne, servant to the bishop of Winchester, with whom he hath continued fourteen years, or thereabouts; of the age of 48, or thereabouts sworn and examined upon articles I. VIII. IX. and XV.

To the Ist he deposeth, that in the space of these fourteen years, this deponent hath heard the said bishop of Winchester make many sermons; and in divers of them he heard the said bishop entreat of the supremacy, and the abolishment of the bishop of Rome's authority: and specially at one sermon, made by the bishop about fourteen years past at Winchester, in his house of Wolvesey, before king Henry the Eighth; in which said sermon he did entreat of the king's supremacy, and against the authority of the bishop of Rome earnestly; and brought in this text, 'Nemo potest duobus dominis servire:' declaring that we could not take the bishop of Rome for our head, and the king's majesty both; but we must take the king for our supreme head only: and that the authority usurped by the bishop of Rome, was right fully abolished out of this realm (or such like words in effect), in this deponent's hearing. And further saith, that by all the space aforesaid, all statutes, acts, proclamations, and injunctions, as have been set forth by the king's majesty, have been duly received, and with execution executed, within the diocese of Winchester. And the premises he knoweth, for that he travelled in the diocese for the receiving and collecting of the tenths due to the king. And saith, that the said bishop of Winchester, being here at his house of the Clink, and having received letters and commandments two days (and not before, as he remembereth) before Candlemas-day, that there should be no candles borne within his said diocese, he made such expedition in the executing of the said commandment, that on the said Candlemas-day, there were no candles borne in the town of Winchester, or four miles about; as this deponent heard reported at his coming to Winchester shortly after the said Candlemas-day. On what year the same was done, he now remembereth not. And this deponent saith, that he was present at the said bishop's house, when the same commandment came, insomuch that the bishop immediately did cause this deponent, with speed, to write to the archdeacon for the execution of the same: and so this deponent did, and delivered it with his own hands to Dr. Baugh, archdeacon of Surrey. And also saith, that the said bishop did will and command this deponent, to send the original commandment to the chancellor, willing that he should see the same done accordingly; and so this deponent did: which chancellor, this deponent saith, hath been diligent and circumspect in executing those things that have been commanded and set forth by the king, to this deponent's certain knowledge. And the said bishop, for his part, hath at all times done the same; for this deponent hath been, by the space aforesaid, his servant, and yet is, and knoweth the premises to be true; and saith, that the same are notorious, famous, and manifest, within the diocese of Winchester. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the VIIIth he saith, that at the time of the king's majesty's visitation, holden in the diocese of Winchester, the said bishop of Winchester was in the Fleet; and yet, he saith, that the said bishop's chancellor did send this deponent to the king's majesty's visitors, then being at Chichester, with letters, signifying unto them that their monition for the visitation was duly done, accordingly as they had appointed by their last monition: which said visitors wrote again to the chancellor with thanks, and desiring him that the certificate for the Isle of Wight might be sent to them at the day appointed for visitation there. And thereupon this said deponent was sent against the same day, by the said chancellor, with the same certificate; for which the visitors yielded thanks, and gave this deponent, for his pains, a reward. And this deponent saith, that from the said day of the visitation at the Isle of Wight, until the visitors had visited the diocese and came to Croydon, he was present with them. And saith, that of his certain knowledge, the said visitors were, as well of the chancellor, as all other the said bishop's officers, and by his proctor of the diocese, duly received and reverently entertained, as becometh; and that all injunctions set forth by them, were, by the said chancellor and other officers, set forth and caused to be observed accordingly. And the premises this depo-

Edward VI.

A.D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

nent saith, are notorious and manifest, within the diocese of Winchester, to this deponent's certain knowledge; for he saith, that by reason that this deponent was collector, he did attend in the said visitation, for to receive certain arrears that were due to the king's majesty for tenths. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XVth he saith, that after the said bishop's coming out of the Fleet, the said bishop preached in the cathedral church of Winchester divers sermons, in the which he entreated much of obedience, saying, among other things or the like, unto this effect: that the life of a christian man is in suffering, which is properly, when one followeth the will of another; saying that Christ said, that he came to do the will of his Father, and so we must do God's will, in obeying of superiors. And declared, that if the king should command his subject to go to the war, he ought and must go; and not ask why and wherefore, but to do as he was commanded. And brought in for obedience, the story of Abraham, who was commanded to sacrifice his only son Isaac; and went to do the same willingly, not asking how his seed should be increased, as God had promised. And this, with much other concerning obedience, this deponent hath heard the said bishop speak in his sermons, which, otherwise than before, he cannot now call to remembrance; and saith, that at the said sermons, or some of them, were master Seton, doctor Steward, Peter Langridge, with a great number of people.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth, that he is the said bishop's servant, having four pounds yearly wages, and his livery, as his gentleman hath; and his expenses, when he goeth about the gathering of the tenths; and otherwise negatively.

To the 2d: he beareth affection, as a true servant ought to his master.

To the 3d: he desireth that he might overcome in his right, in case he have not offended the king.

To the 4th he answereth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

William Browne.

Thomas Crowte.

Thomas Crowte, servant to the bishop of Winchester, with whom he hath dwelt nine years come Shrovetide next; of the age of 41, or thereabout; examined upon articles XVI. and LXVIII. deposeth as followeth:

To the XVIth he deposeth, that about the feast of Whitsuntide last past was two years, the said bishop, being diseased of a fistula, so that he could not ride without much pain, came from Winchester, where he was then abiding, and came to Kingston in a horse-litter; and from thence, in a boat, to his house at the Clink, to this deponent's certain knowledge; and so went to the council. For this deponent was then of his chamber, and did daily attend upon him; and of his sight and knowledge saw and knew the premises by him deposed to be true, which things were and are, among the said bishop's servants within the said bishop's house, notorious and manifest.

To the LXVIIIth of the articles he deposeth, that on a certain time in the last summer (what day or time otherwise he cannot depose), this deponent—hearing a letter read by Dr. Seton, the said bishop's chaplain, at the said bishop's house at Farnham, where the said bishop's household then remained, that the bishop should shortly be at liberty, and come out of the Tower—took horse about ten o'clock of the night from Farnham, and came riding with the bishop's steward of house, and other of his household, to London, to prepare for the receiving of the said bishop; insomuch that they were coming to London by seven of the clock in the morning, for they rode all night. And deposeth, that about Wandsworth, in their said journey, they met with master Wells, and Renagar of Southampton, riding home; which master Wells demanded the cause of their journey, and they declared, that they went to prepare and make ready all things against the said bishop's coming out of the Tower: the said Wells saying, 'Indeed I think he shall be delivered within two days.' And saith, that at their coming to London, this deponent, and the others that came, heard it openly noised in Southwark, that the said bishop should come forth within a day or two: whereupon this deponent, being my lord's chamber-

lain, did prepare and make ready the said bishop's chamber; and the other officers of the house did their parts, as pertained to their office; and every hour looked for the said bishop's coming out of the Tower. And the premises he saith are true and notorious and manifest within Southwark, and the said bishop's house.

Edward VI. A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth, that he is the said bishop's servant, having fifty-three shillings and fourpence yearly wages, and livery; and hath given him, by the said bishop, the reversion of a lease of a mill, wherein yet are about eighteen years to come. And otherwise he denieth the interrogatory.

To the 2d: he hath affection to his master, knowing him for a true man to God and his prince, as a true servant ought to bear to his master; and no otherwise.

To the 3d: he desireth that he might obtain in his matter, if his cause be rightful; and none otherwise.

To the 4th he answereth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

T. Crowte.

Robert Massie.

Robert Massie, servant to the bishop of Winton, with whom he hath been servant seventeen years, of 40 years of age; sworn and examined upon articles XIII. and XVI. of the aforesaid matter. Page 845.

To the XIIIth article he deposeth, that the duke of Somerset wrote letters to the bishop of Winchester for the surrendering of the college of Trinity Hall in Cambridge, whereof the said bishop was master or provost, as this deponent heard reported; which the said bishop would not surrender, as this deponent, in likewise, heard said. And this deponent saith, that he being one of the lower house of parliament, was present in the parliament house at such time as there was a bill put into the said lower house for the putting down of the said house, or else for the annexing of the same (as he remembereth) to Clare Hall in Cambridge; which bill, being read according to the order of the house, was reverted; this deponent being then present, and one of the burgesses of the said house, as he saith. And otherwise he cannot tell.

To the XVIth article he saith, that the said bishop, being deceased, received letters from the king's council to come to court; and for that his disease was such, to this deponent's certain sight, that he could not ride conveniently, he sent letters by this deponent to the duke of Somerset; which letters this deponent delivered to master Cecil, and offered to take an oath upon a book, of the said bishop's disease. And, within a day or two after, this deponent had letters from the said duke to the said bishop of Winton, which said bishop, shortly after, upon those letters or others, came from Winchester to Kingston, in a horse-litter, to this deponent's sight and knowledge; for he did attend upon him in his journey. And the premises, he saith, are true upon his oath. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he saith as before, and he hath six pounds six shillings and eightpence wages, and four pounds fee, and livery. And otherwise he negatively answereth.

To the 2d: he hath affection to him as a man hath to his master.

To the 3d: he wisheth of God upon his knees, that in truth he may overcome and not otherwise.

To the last he answereth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

Robert Massie.

Hugh Weston.

Hugh Weston, doctor of divinity, of the age of 34 and more; sworn and examined upon articles XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII. deposeth as followeth:

To the XXXIVth and XXXVth articles: he cannot depose upon the letters specified in that article [the XXXIVth], nor whether he received any such letters. Howbeit, he saith, that he was present at the said bishop's sermon,

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

made on the said St. Peter's day, before the king's majesty at Westminster, and heard the said bishop speak and treat of such things, or the like in effect, as hereafter follow. First, concerning the bishop of Rome, upon this text that Peter said, 'Tu es filius Dei vivi;' that although Peter spake and made answer, yet he had no superiority above the other apostles: bringing in an example of a foreman of a quest; that, although the foreman speak, yet he is not the best man of the quest. And likewise the king's schoolmaster, although he taught the king, he was not better than the king. And said, that the bishop of Rome did usurp, to build upon this place, 'Tu es Petrus;' for Christ had taken that place to build on before.

Item, Concerning monasteries he had these words, or, the same in effect, that he did allow and like the suppressing of monasteries, religious houses, chantries, and such other, for their abuses; and made this objection thereto himself: 'What wouldest thou say, bishop, if thou were in thy chamber alone. It might seem that diminishing of such a number of masses and prayers should diminish the honour, glory, and service of God.' And thus he answered himself: 'that the true service, and true honouring of God, stood not in multitude of things, but in well-doing of things;' with much other matter. And touching the article of the bishop of Rome, he did refer him to his own writings abroad.

Item, He said, moreover, in the said sermon, this or like in effect: that touching all things made by God, and made by man, this was the difference—that things commanded by God, for the abuse might not be taken away; but things made by man and abused, the abuse may be taken away, and the thing also, for the abuse. He spake more, and said of ceremonies, images, and holy-days, under this form; giving this for a general rule, that as long as they served us, they might be kept and observed: but when we serve them, they might be taken away.

Item, He heard the same bishop speak of the sacrament of the altar to be received in both kinds, and did allow it, affirming whole Christ to be under both forms.

He allowed and liked all the king's proclamations; and said, he did agree with the superiors, and misliked those men, that would do things before an order and proclamation; as namely the preachers, comparing them to posts, which had truth in their letters, and lies in their mouths; and also priests, that married before the law: and that he liked and allowed all the king's doings. And the premises, or the like in effect, this deponent gathered in some of the said bishop's sermons. And other things he (the said bishop) did preach and speak of, whereof he cannot now call to remembrance, unless he be interrogated of them by special articles. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XXXVIIth article: touching any letters sent from the duke of Somerset to the bishop of Winchester, he cannot depose. Howbeit, he saith, that there was no contention of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, and concerning the mass, to this deponent's knowledge, among learned men within this realm, before the time the said bishop preached, until Peter Martyr began to preach it at Oxford; which was about Lent was twelvemonth, as he doth now remember. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively.

To the 2d and 3d he answereth, that he wisheth, of charity, that the said bishop might try himself an obedient subject, and to his cause justice: and for affection, he beareth him no affection, but loveth him for his learning, virtue, and wit. And otherwise negatively.

To the 4th he answereth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

Hugh Weston.

John White.

Master John White, warden of the college of Winchester, of the age of 40; sworn and examined upon the articles I. II. III. XV. and XXIX. of the matter proposed by the bishop of Winchester, deposeth as followeth:

To the 1st article of the matter, from this clause, 'And among other things,

because the said bishop,' etc., unto the end of the said article—and all the contents of this article, touching as well the bishop as his chancellor are true, to this deponent's certain knowledge, saving the defence of the said bishop's book at Louvain; which book the said bishop (as this deponent hath heard say of certain learned men being then with the bishop) did defend against the rector and certain divines of the university of Louvain; which book that he so defended (as it was said) was the book made by the bishop 'De Vera Obedientia;' and that book this deponent hath seen and read, which entreateth of the king's supremacy, and the abolishment of the bishop of Rome's authority. And saith, that all the premises, saving the defence of the said book, are notorious, manifest, and famous, within the diocese of Winchester, to this deponent's certain hearing and knowledge. And, for further declaration, this deponent saith, that about twelve years ago, or thereabouts, as he doth remember, this deponent (then being schoolmaster of the college of Winton) did, by the commandment of the bishop of Winchester, make certain verses extolling the king's supremacy, and against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome; which said verses this deponent caused his scholars to learn, and to practise them in making of verses to the like argument; the said bishop encouraging this deponent so to do. And further this deponent saith, that Dr. Steward, the said bishop's chancellor, hath been diligent in setting forth of commandments and injunctions commanded by the king, to this deponent's certain knowledge, as he before hath deposed; insomuch that the said Dr. Steward, having received on Candlemas eve last past was two or three years (whether he cannot certainly depose,) that no candles should be borne on Candlemas-day, made such expedition, that in the church of Cheyton, five miles distant from Winchester, whereof this deponent was and is parson, were no candles hallowed or borne, to his certain knowledge, on Candlemas-day. And, as this deponent hath heard credibly reported, the said commandment was so expeditely set forth, and so earnestly, by the said chancellor, that the commandment came to Hampton even as the priest was going to the hallowing of the candles, or was at the hallowing of them; that the priest ceased, and so the candles were left unhallowed, and left in the church. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the IId and IIId articles he saith, that the contents of those articles are true, for this deponent hath known this said bishop these twenty years, and he never heard, nor yet knew; but that the said bishop hath been always a just and true man of his promise, and so accepted and taken and reputed, as he is declared to be in this article, among honest men; and never in trouble until the time he was committed to the Fleet (as far forth as this deponent hath heard or known), and since that to the Tower. Page 846.

To the XVth article he saith, that in one of the months in the year articulate, this deponent, attending upon the said bishop, was present at a sermon, made by the said bishop in the church at Winchester, wherein he did entreat of obedience to the higher powers, in the like words as in this article is comprised, and in more lively and effectual sort than is contained in this article; oftentimes inculcating the words of suffering; which was (as he remembereth), on Palm Sunday, entreating of the epistle of that day 'Hoc sentite,' etc.; at which sermon were a great number, whom, he doth not remember.

To the XXIXth article he saith, that about three or four days (as he doth now remember) next before the time that the said bishop was appointed to preach (which was on St. Peter's day), this deponent was present with the bishop of Winchester in his study, at the Clink; where the said bishop did declare unto this deponent, that he was motioned to preach before the king's majesty, and to declare his conscience upon certain articles, which (as he said) he would do; the specialty of which articles this deponent doth not now remember, save that to speak of the sacrament of the altar was one of the articles which he doth remember upon this occasion; the said bishop saying, that he had taken St. Peter's day to preach: this deponent declaring unto him, he could never have taken a better day, for the epistle of that day would minister a good occasion to treat upon: and therewith rehearsed a piece of the epistle, the bishop saying that he would not take the epistle, but the gospel; for that it served better, to induce the matter of the sacrament of the altar, and the rest of the articles upon. In which communication, it appeared to this deponent, that the said bishop had received certain articles to treat upon, and that the sacrament was

Edward VI.

A.D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

one; and that he intended fully and wholly to satisfy the commandment given him. And otherwise he cannot depose, for he was not at the sermon.

To the XXXVIIth article: that the presence of the body of Christ in the sacrament, and in the mass, was, at the time of the said bishop's preaching, and, in all ages since the faith first came into this realm, amongst learned men hath ever been, a doctrine most true, certain, and undoubted, until one Wickliff, within this realm, first called it in question; who, nevertheless, afterward reconciled himself in that article, as in an epistle written by him to John bishop of Lincoln appeareth; which epistle this deponent hath seen. And that ever since his time, that doctrine of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, hath been received, acknowledged, and agreed upon, by the whole clergy and temporalty learned of this realm, and by acts of parliament and synods established, and by the prelates and other learned men set forth in books and open sermons, until within two years since, or thereabout, one Peter Martyr, in Oxford, in his lectures (as this deponent hath heard say), called the thing again in question; whereupon ensued contention, and afterward disputation. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth and saith, that he hath been the said bishop's chaplain these nine years, and is at this present his chaplain, and hath had promotion by him; videlicet, two benefices. And otherwise negatively.

To the 2d and 3d he answereth, that for that he hath known him, truly and honourably to have served in this realm, and to be a man of great learning, virtue, and wisdom; and that he hath so humbly behaved himself at the time of his examination, (as this respondent hath heard reported), he wisheth that he might obtain justice with favour. And otherwise negatively.

To the last he deposeth as before. And otherwise he cannot depose.

John White.

John Young.

John Young, clerk, bachelor of divinity, one of the fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge; of the age of 35, or thereabouts; examined upon articles XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII. of the matter, deposeth as followeth:

To article XXXIV. he saith, that he cannot depose of the contents of the papers delivered by master Cecil to the said bishop. Howbeit, he saith, that he was at the sermon made by the said bishop on St. Peter's day, in the which he heard the said bishop speak and declare these, or the like in effect: videlicet, he did allow and like the proclamation, which doth forbid to reason or preach of the sacrament in any other terms than the Scripture doth lead. Item, he heard the said bishop speak concerning the bishop of Rome, taking occasion on this place, 'Tu es Petrus,' etc.: and that the bishop of Rome could not, upon this place, take his authority; for that Christ had builded upon the same before. And bringing in upon that, this text of St. Paul to the Corinthians: 'Nemo potest ponere aliud fundamentum, præter id quod positum est.' Then the bishop showed the cause why the bishop of Rome was had in estimation of princes, declaring that the bishops of Rome, at the beginning, were learned men and virtuous, and some of them martyrs; by reason whereof the world did esteem them for their said virtue and learning, and princes were glad to use their advice. Howbeit, like as a king doth use the counsel of the physician in his sickness, in wars the counsel and policy of a good captain; in building, of a good carpenter; in sailing, the advice of a good shipmaster, and in council, the advice and counsel of a wise man in the governance of the commonwealth, yet they are not esteemed and taken above the king—even so the bishop of Rome was not a superior over princes, although they used his counsel. And this and much other the said bishop spake of the bishop of Rome, learnedly and pithily, to this deponent's judgment, which he cannot now call to his remembrance. And further the said bishop, speaking of ceremonies generally, had these words, or the like in effect: that so long as the ceremonies were taken as servants to us, and not we servants to them, so long they were well used; and when we become their servants, then they were abused, and may be taken away. And said, that sacraments cannot be taken away, but the abuse reformed,

as of baptism and other sacraments. And saith, that he spake of religious men, and that the king that dead is, did well in taking away their coats and houses, which they did abuse. But for their vows of chastity, and poverty, and obedience, (he said) the king did well in that he did not meddle withal. And many things he (the same bishop) spake of particularly, which he cannot depose; for he was so troubled with the throng, that he doth not remember otherwise than before is deposed.

Edward VI. A.D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

To the XXXVth he deposeth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XXXVIIth article he saith, that there was no contention or controversy of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, at the time the said bishop did preach within the university of Cambridge, among learned men, as far as this deponent heard or knew; but that it was taken then universally for a true catholic doctrine. And so it was taught and preached, after the said sermon, in Cambridge, of his certain knowledge. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively.

To the 2d he answereth, he hath no affection, but as he ought to every christian bishop.

To the 3d: he prayeth God, that truth might take place; and no otherwise.

To the 4th he answereth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

John Young.

George Bullocke.

George Bullocke, master of arts, and one of St. John's College, Cambridge, of the age of 30; sworn and examined upon articles XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII., deposeth as followeth:

To the XXXIVth and XXXVth articles he deposeth, that he was present at the sermon made by the bishop of Winton on St. Peter's day (mentioned in the article) before the king's majesty, in which said sermon, amongst other things, he heard the said bishop speak and declare these words or the like in effect: First, he spake concerning the bishop of Rome, and against his authority; videlicet, he wondered that the bishop of Rome should take this place 'Tu es Petrus,' etc., to build his foundation upon, seeing that Christ had taken it up for the church. Secondly, that the Rock was Christ, and Peter's confession: not Peter himself; for that building would have failed, when Peter did fail. When Christ said 'Vade post me, Satan;' which is as much as to say, 'Come after me, Satan.' Thirdly, that Peter's confession was the confession of all the apostles, and likewise Peter's blessing, wherein he was blessed by Christ, the blessing of those apostles. Fourthly, that Peter was the chief of the apostles, as the foreman and chief of the quest. Fifthly, that it was generally spoken to all, 'Pasce oves meas;' which is to say, 'Feed my sheep.' Sixthly, that the Greek church did never receive the bishop of Rome as their head universally. Seventhly, that the said bishop made a certain induction, whereby he declared the bishop of Rome to have come by such dignity for his singular excellency, virtue, and learning: yet not prejudicial to the royal dignity, no otherwise than the king should, in his disease, use the judgment of his physician; in war, the advice of a chief captain; and, in building of his house, the cunning of a carpenter. Finally, he referred himself to his books made, which he had written against his usurped authority. Page 847.

Item, as concerning monasteries he spake as followeth in effect: he said, we had monks, friars, and other such, with all their ceremonies of vesture, meat and drink, and solitary living; which, because they did regard the outward creatures more than the inward religion, were justly taken away. And, also, the suppressing of religious houses to be no prejudice to the mass, which standeth not in number, but in 'true knowledge and devotion.' Item, he spake of images and said that they might remain, if they were well used; or otherwise be taken away: even as a child [that] had a golden book given him: if he gazed, and set more by the gold and outward part, than that within, that it should be taken away, and a worse given him.

Item, he spake of holy-days generally, by these words in effect: that the observing of days and hours setteth an order in the church, and putteth a man in remembrance of his duty and office; as the clock when it striketh putteth a man

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

in remembrance of his office and duty to be done in time.—Item, he spake of chantries, and wished them to be converted to a better use. Item, he spake of mass, as of mass of 'Scala Cœli,' 'mass satisfactory,' and 'mass in number,' disallowing them, with all other; that it is not approved nor grounded by God's word. And that the act concerning chantries was not prejudicial to the chantry priests, but that they might minister still. Item, he spake of palms after this sort in effect: that they might remain, if they were well used, or else to be clearly taken away.

Item, concerning the receiving of the sacraments in both kinds; he declared his opinion in that behalf by his obedience, in that he himself ministered, and wished in all men, in other things, the like obedience. And, also, he did allege the constitution provincial of Peckham, concerning the receiving in both kinds; and, also, he referred himself to his writings in that behalf. Item, he commended a proclamation set forth, that men should speak reverently of the sacrament, and use no railing in villanous terms of the same. Item, as concerning ceremonies, he said, he was called the master of ceremonies; and said, that he never took therein otherwise than as St. Austin and Jerome, did take therein; that is to say, to be external creatures to move the minds to the Creator inwardly. Also, that the church could not be without all ceremonies, but that the observing of certain ceremonies, was the ordering of the church; and whosoever did obey ceremonies commanded by the magistrates, did please God in respect of obedience. Also he said, there were two manner of ways to reform ceremonies: the one to teach the true use thereof, if they could be well used; the other, that they should be clean abolished, if they could not be well used. Nevertheless certain there be, which, for the abuse, could not be taken away, as the abuse of baptism and preaching, whereas they be baptized above the dead, as St. Paul saith. Item, he liked all the king's proceedings, and his injunctions and proclamations; and that he found no fault in the head, but in the inferior members; as touching which, he particularly misliked three things: one was, that he misliked certain preachers, which would preach other things than they had in their commission; likening them to posts which (he said) had truth in their bag, and lies in their mouths. Item, he misliked the marriages of priests avowing chastity, for he had read of married men made priests, but he never read priests to be married. Thirdly, he misliked certain subjects, that would take upon them to rule like kings, to the diminishing of the king's dignity, and confusion of their own estate. And as concerning the same, he brought in a certain Greek verse of Homer,[1] the effect of which in Latin is this: 'Plures nam regnare malum: Rex unicus esto.' All which the premises by this deponent declared, or like words in effect, this deponent heard the said bishop speak and declare in his sermon, and those like notes; and otherwise he cannot depose; for he said, that the throng was such that he noted no other things than he predeposed.

To the XXXVIIth he deposeth, that, to his knowledge, there was no controversy, nor yet contention openly spoken or preached against the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, of learned men, at the time the said bishop preached within the university of Cambridge, to this deponent's knowledge or hearing.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st, he answereth negatively.

To the 2d: he hath no other affection to him, than to any other christian man, but in the way of truth and honesty.

To the 3d he answereth, that he would have him obtain as he hath deserved and done; and to have justice with mercy.

To the last he deposeth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

By me, George Bullocke.

John Norton.

John Norton esquire, of Stydestid, in the county of Southampton; of the age of 53 years; sworn and examined upon the Ist, IId, and IIId articles.

To the Ist he deposeth, that he hath heard the said bishop of Winton many times and often, in his sermons, set forth the supremacy of the king that dead is, and his posterity, in speaking against the bishop of Rome's authority, and

(1) Hom. Il. ii. 204.—Ed.

preaching much of obedience. And saith, that all such statutes, injunctions, and proclamations, as have been set forth by the king's authority, touching matters of religion, have been duly received and executed by the said bishop, or his chancellor, Dr. Steward; which said chancellor hath been, so long as he hath known him, a very diligent and circumspect man, doing and setting forth of such statutes, proclamations, and injunctions, as have been set forth; and he hath not heard the contrary. And the premises are true and notorious, he saith, within the diocese of Winton. And saith moreover, that this deponent and master Woltes, being appointed by commission to receive certain musters, in the second year of the king's majesty's reign that now is (at which said musters John Philpot and Thomas Cooke of Winton, gentlemen, should appear, and did not: whereupon this deponent, and the said master Woltes went to the said bishop of Winton then being at Wolvesey, near Winchester, desiring his advice and aid, touching the king's service on that behalf. Whereupon the said bishop did send for the said Philpot and Cooke, at whom, he said, he much marvelled that they were disobedient; and exhorted them to be obedient, as becometh subjects to be: the said Philpot replying, and saying hastily to the said bishop, that he had preached too much obedience in that he preached; asking, 'if a christian man were under the Turk, he ought to obey, and follow his will and laws.' The said bishop denying, that he preached so, Philpot said, that one Lambert would testify the same. Which Lambert, being sent for, said, that he heard not the said bishop say after that sort that Philpot did report, but said how that the bishop said, in case a christian man were underneath a Turk, he must either obey such laws as he set forth, or suffer his power to punish: the said bishop saying 'Yea, marry, even so said I.' At which time were present master Woltes, this deponent, master White (warden), and others, as master Warnham, esquire, and others. And this deponent heard say, that the said bishop had made a book of the king's supremacy, and of the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, which book the said bishop did defend in the university of Louvain, as he hath reported; and otherwise he cannot depose.

Edward VI. A.D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.* Page 348.

To the IId he saith, that the same article is true; as far as this deponent ever heard or knew.

To the IIId he saith likewise, that the contents of this article are true, to his knowledge; and he never knew or heard he was in trouble or business for his behaviour, until his committing to the Fleet and Tower, as he saith; but always was taken for a man true and just of promise, and so hath commonly been reputed and taken within the diocese, as he saith.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively, saving that he hath twenty shillings yearly in the name of a reward, without any patent.

To the 2d and 3d: he beareth no affection, but that he would that justice should take place, and that he should have justice according to his deserts.

To the last he answereth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

By me, John Norton.

Francis Allen.

Francis Allen, secretary to the bishop of Winchester, with whom he hath continued in service these eight years; of the age of 32 and upward; sworn and examined upon certain articles of the matter laid in by the bishop of Winchester, deposeth to articles VII. VIII. XI. XII. XXXVI. XXXVIII. XLV. and LXVIII. as followeth:

To the VIIth article he saith, that the contents of the same article are true; for this deponent, by commandment of the said bishop, did write the same letter.

To the VIIIth this deponent saith, that notwithstanding the same letters, the which this deponent, by commandment of the said bishop, did write to the duke of Somerset, the archbishop of Canterbury, and, in the absence of the said duke, to the whole privy council, for the staying of innovations (the minutes of which letters by the bishop's own hand were exhibited, as this deponent saith,

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

this present day, on the behalf of the said bishop, by master Somerset his proctor, in the presence of this deponent) wherein the said bishop could do no good, yet he showed himself conformable when the king's injunction came down for putting down of images, and such like; and caused the same to be duly done and executed within his diocese, without omission of any part of them, to this deponent's knowledge.

To the XIth and XIIth he saith, that the articles are true, to this deponent's certain knowledge; and as touching the thanks given by the said duke to the said bishop, this deponent speaketh of report of the said bishop; and otherwise he cannot depose. And this deponent did write the answer to the articles of justification made by the said bishop, and did carry the same answers to master Smith, which said answers, the said bishop did subscribe. And hereupon the said bishop departed to Winchester discharged of all travail and business, as this deponent took it.

To the XXXVIth article he saith, that after the said bishop's coming out of Hampshire to London, and before his committing to the Tower, he was two times at the court only, and no more; at which both times this deponent did attend upon him. The first time that he went to the court was immediately after his coming out of Hampshire in a horse-litter; at which said time this deponent, and divers other of his servants, did wait upon him. And this deponent did see the said bishop enter into the council-chamber at Westminster, in which said chamber the said bishop tarried a certain space, and came out again, and tarried in the outer chamber a space, and then was called in again to the council-chamber. And after his being there, he departed to his house; and by the way, this deponent heard the said bishop say, that it was objected unto him, that he should carry palms, and creep to the cross, in the church of Winchester; which this deponent and others knew to be untrue. The other time that the said bishop went to the court, after that, was about a sevennight, or more (as he remembereth), before his sermon; at which said time this deponent attended upon him thither. And declareth, that he landed at the Privy Stairs, and was conveyed to the duke of Somerset's chamber, to this deponent's sight; and this deponent and his fellows waited for the said bishop's coming, at the said duke's chamber-door, until dinner time, and saw him not come forth. And, after dinner, this deponent, inquiring for his said master, it was showed him, that he was in the lord great master's chamber then being (now lord treasurer), where this deponent found him walking up and down alone, musing; and as soon as this deponent perceived him there, he waited for his coming forth in the outer chamber. And he afterwards heard reported, that the said bishop was conveyed by master Smith to the duke of Somerset's chamber again, from whence he came and took his barge at the Privy Stairs, and so was conveyed home. And, in the way home, asked when St. Peter's day was; and when it was showed him, he said, 'a good day.' And afterward this deponent heard the said bishop say divers times, that at his last being at the court, he saw no other of the council but only the duke of Somerset, the lord great master, and sir Thomas Smith, then secretary. And other time or times more than the times before specified, the same bishop, between the said bishop's coming from Hampshire, as before, unto his committing to the Tower (saving the time he preached before the king), came not to the court, to this deponent's knowledge; for, if he had, he saith, that he should have attended upon him, and should have known of it, for that he was always attendant upon the said bishop, as he saith.

To the XXXVIIIth article, he saith, that on the same day that the said bishop did preach after his coming to his house, he did dine quietly, and took himself to be out of all travail. For this deponent heard the said bishop declare, after his coming home, that he trusted he had so satisfied the thing that was commanded him, that no man should have cause to be offended. And he saith, that on the morrow after, he dined quietly, and had strangers to accompany him at his dinner, and was merry; looking for no trouble. And saith, that after dinner, on the same day, this deponent, seeing sir Ralph Sadler and master Wingfield with a company of the guard arrived at his place, declared the same to the said bishop; to whom, he said, 'They are welcome;' saying, 'Give me my book:' and therewith put the Bible in his bosom, and went to them. And he saith, that the said bishop, seeing his servants (when he came through the

hall) lament and bewail, he said unto them cheerfully, 'Lament not for me, for I am a true man to my prince; and there is no cause, why ye should so lament. I shall do well enough.'

Edward VI. A.D. 1551.

To the XLth he saith, that the contents of this article are true, for this deponent did both make and write divers supplications himself, as well to the duke of Somerset, as to the lord chancellor; and also a bill made, to put up to the parliament house, for the relief of his master and his household, the copies of which this deponent will be alway ready to exhibit. And saith, that notwithstanding the continual suit that was made by this deponent and his fellows, that their master might come forth of prison, and be heard according to justice, their suit took no effect, as he saith.

Reprint from the First Edition.

To the LXVIIIth: he deposeth the contents of the same article to be true, and that the bruit was through the city, as is contained in the same, to this deponent's hearing.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st as before, having wages four pounds a year, four pounds fourteen shillings and fourpence annuity, and the registrarship of Winchester in reversion.

To the 2d: he beareth affection, as a servant beareth to his master, in the way of right and justice.

To the 3d: he desireth that justice shall take place as a true subject to his prince; and no otherwise.

Francis Allen.

Philip Paris.

Philip Paris esquire, of Linton, in the county of Cambridge; of the age of 59, or thereabout; sworn and examined upon articles I. II. and III. of the aforesaid matter. Page 849.

To the Ist he deposeth, that from the time that the said bishop of Winchester was made bishop until these ten years past, he was servant to the said bishop; and saith, that by all the same space this deponent hath heard the said bishop preach divers and many sermons, in the which he hath heard the said bishop entreat of the abolishment of the bishop of Rome's authority, and of the king's supremacy; and that, earnestly, to this deponent's hearing. And also divers times since, he heard divers sermons made by the bishop of Winchester, in which he hath entreated also of the same matters, whereof some he hath made at St. Mary Overy's, and some at Winchester. And saith, that all such articles and statutes as have been set forth by the king's authority, for the time that this deponent was the said bishop's servant, have been set forth on behalf of the said bishop by his chancellor, and other officers; and he never heard the contrary. And saith, that Dr. Steward, who hath been his chancellor from the time he was bishop, or soon upon, hath been, for the time aforesaid, very diligent and circumspect in his office. And the premises, he saith, are notorious, public, and famous. And deposeth further, that the said bishop of Winton made a book for the king's supremacy, and the abolishment of the authority of the bishop of Rome; which book the said bishop exhorted this deponent to look upon; and so he did, and did read it: the contents of which book did fully satisfy this deponent's mind in that behalf, as he saith. And further saith, that he (this deponent) was with the said bishop at Paris, at a time that he was the king's ambassador, with whom Jermyn was also attendant upon the said bishop; which Jermyn, for that the bruit was in the town, that cardinal Pole should come to the town, to speak with the king, went to see the same cardinal. Which thing the bishop of Winchester hearing, was displeased, and was like to put the said Jermyn out of his service: howbeit the said cardinal came not; and therefore the bishop was the sooner pacified. But, if he had seen him, this deponent thinketh verily, that he would have put him out of his service. And the premises, he saith, are true upon his oath. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the IId he saith, that the said bishop hath been in the king's affairs both beyond, and on this side of the sea; and hath had many and sundry commandments by him to be executed, to this deponent's knowledge, which he hath so duly executed and done, as no fault was objected unto him or proved, as this

Edward VI.

A.D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

deponent knew or heard; nevertheless he hath been sought to the uttermost, as this deponent saith. And he saith that the said bishop hath been, to this deponent's conscience, always a true, painful, and diligent subject and servant to his prince in things committed to him; and so this deponent thinketh that he hath been accepted and taken among honest men, not being his adversaries. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the IIId he deposeth, that the said bishop hath been always, and is commonly taken and reputed for, a man just of promise; and, he saith of his knowledge, that if he promiseth a little, he will perform that with more. And saith, that he never heard or knew, by all the space that this deponent was his servant (of his certain knowledge), that ever he was called in any suit, before any judge, spiritual or temporal; nor would have men in suit. And he never heard the contrary, from that he was in trouble, until his committing unto the Fleet and Tower. And moreover he saith, that in the time that this deponent was his servant, he would not suffer this deponent to take action against any of the bishop's tenants, or any other that had done wrong or injury [to him] or to this deponent; being farmer to the said bishop. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth, that this deponent's son had certain leases of the bishop of Winchester, wherein this deponent is jointly joined with him.

To the 2d he saith, in all truth he loveth the said bishop; and not otherwise.

To the 3d: he desireth that if he be in the right, he may obtain; and not otherwise.

To the last he answereth as before; and otherwise he cannot depose.

Philip Paris.

Christopher Malton.

Christopher Malton, master of arts, and one of Baliol College in Oxford; of the age of 33 years; sworn and examined upon articles XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII. of the first matter; saith as followeth:

To the XXXIVth and XXXVth; he cannot depose of the contents of the papers, but saith, that he was at the sermon made by the bishop of Winton, on St. Peter's day, before the king; in which said sermon this deponent heard the said bishop speak and declare such things as hereafter follow, or the like words in effect: videlicet, first, concerning the authority of the bishop of Rome, when he came to these words 'Super hanc petram,' etc., he said, that if they took that place or sentence to make for the bishop of Rome's supremacy, they did err, as doth plainly appear by all ancient writers upon the same text, and, for the most part, of all the new writers. And, proceeding further in that matter, afterwards said, that the bishop of Rome could challenge no authority over foreign princes out of his own diocese, by God's word, and only upon their permission; as princes, in times past, when they saw the living of the bishops of Rome godly, they were contented to be ruled by them in matters of religion, not as being superior to their princes, but as men, as they thought, necessary for that purpose: like as the king, having a captain in war, a physician, or schoolmaster, although he be ruled by them in matters pertaining to their office, he is not subject to them; but, at his pleasure, may change and alter them, as he seeth cause convenient. Item, further he heard the said bishop speak of the receiving of the sacrament in both kinds, saying that it was a laudable thing; alleging that this was not the first time of alteration in that matter, as may appear by a constitution provincial of Peckham, made about two hundred years ago. Item, he spake of the king's proclamation made against the unreverent speaking of the sacrament, and said he liked it well, and wished that the king's majesty, and his council, would see it more effectuously observed. And thereupon he did reprove certain disobedient persons, which, notwithstanding the said proclamation, unreverently did use the same; comparing them to posts, which carried truth in their bosoms, and lies in their mouths.

Item, the said bishop spake of ceremonies and ordinances, and made this distinction: that there were some ordained by God, as baptism, the sacrament of the altar, and the preaching of God's word; which things could not be taken

away, but the abuses therein reformed, the thing remaining still. Other ordinances there were, ordained by men, which either might be clearly taken away, as abbeys, colleges, and chantries, and such other things, as it pleaseth the higher powers, or else to be reformed and brought to their right use. And there he reproved such as did think the praying better for the time, place, or the number sake; affirming that he that so doth, doth mere superstition. Item, of images he spake and said, that he was never of that opinion concerning images, that he thought it either necessary to have them, or leave them. Item, the said bishop said, that he did like all things that were set forth by the king and his council; and did mislike things done by the inferior sort, whose part is to obey, and not to make laws or statutes: all which premises this deponent did hear the bishop speak and declare in his said sermon. Over and besides that, he heard him speak of the marriages of priests, which was, he said, a matter that he had diligently waded ancient authors, both Greek and Latin, for; and he read of married to be priests, but not of priests married. And otherwise he cannot depose to the contents of the said articles.

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

To the XXXVIIth article he saith, that the opinion against the presence of the body of Christ to be in the sacrament, was not, in our time, openly taught by reading or preaching in Oxford, until February last past was a twelvemonth, as far as he hath known or heard. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth negatively, for he never knew the bishop before the day he preached, and never saw him since, till Monday last. Page 850.

To the 2d he answereth, that he beareth no affection.

To the 3d he answereth, that he wisheth, if he be in right, he may overcome in this cause; and not otherwise.

To the last he answereth as before; and otherwise he cannot tell.

By me, Christopher Malton.

James Basset.

James Basset, gentleman, servant to the bishop of Winchester, with whom he hath continued twelve years; of the age of 24 years, or thereabouts; sworn and examined upon articles X. XI. XII. XIV. XVI. XXXIII. XXXIV. XXXV. XXXVI. XXXVIII. XLV. and LXVIII. of the aforesaid matter.

To the Xth he saith, that the articles are true; for he saith, that about a fortnight or thereabouts, next before the bishop of Winchester's coming out of the Fleet, this deponent was attendant upon the said bishop in the Fleet. In the which time or space, a parliament was holden; in which said parliament there was a general pardon granted, in the which the prisoners of the Fleet were not excepted out of the pardon. And, on the morrow after the twelfth day, in the first year of the king's majesty's reign, the said bishop, being sent for, went to Hampton-court, where the king then lay, upon whom this deponent did attend: and there the said bishop was discharged by the king's majesty's council, by virtue of the pardon, as the said bishop showed this deponent, and others attendant upon him.

To the XIth and XIIth articles he saith, that the contents of these articles be true; for this deponent did attend continually upon the said bishop, from the time of his delivery out of the Fleet (as he hath before deposed), unto such time as he went to Hampshire; upon whom he attended thither. And saith, that the Thursday se'nnight, or thereabout, after his delivery out of the Fleet, the said bishop, being at the duke of Somerset's house, was commanded to keep his own house as a prisoner. For this deponent attended upon the said bishop when he came from the said duke's house; and, as soon as the said bishop was come home to his house, he gave commandment that no stranger should come or repair unto him, to this deponent's hearing: and there declared, that he was so commanded, unto this deponent and other of his servants. In the which time of keeping of his house, the bishop of London that now is, sir Thomas Smith, and master Cecil, at several times did resort and repair unto the said bishop of Winton, for the subscribing of certain articles, concerning the doctrine of justification, to this deponent's knowledge; which said articles this deponent,

Edward VI.

A.D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

being of the said bishop's chamber, saw and read. And saith, that after their often resorting unto the said bishop, finally the said bishop gave his resolute answer unto the said articles, unto master Cecil, as he now remembereth: with which his said resolution, the duke of Somerset and the council were contented, and gave thanks to the said bishop, as this deponent heard say. And so, being discharged, he went down immediately after into Hampshire: which things, of the commandment in keeping of his house, and his delivery, and the matter wherefore, were and are notorious, manifest, public, and famous.

To the XIVth he saith, that on St. Matthew's day in February, in the second year of the king's reign, the said bishop lying at Farnham, hearing the people there to be inquieted, and to grudge at certain alterations made in the king's visitation—for the quieting of the people, and their better satisfaction in that behalf, on the said day made a sermon, entreating of this theme: 'Gratias tibi ago Patri,' etc., and when he came to this point, 'revelasti ea parvulis,' he made a distinction between 'parvuli malitia,' and 'parvuli sensibus,' and said that we ought to be 'parvuli malitia,' 'young in malice, and evil deeds;' and he prosecuted the same part at length. But we ought not to be 'parvuli sensibus;' but we must study, and exercise ourselves in knowledge: but yet, for all that, we must be humble and meek, and not proud and arrogant. And brought in this text, 'nisi efficiamini sicut parvuli,' etc. And therefore, he said, like as young children learn at their fathers' and schoolmasters' hands, without any repugnance or contradiction; and believe that best, that they teach them: so we should submit our judgment unto the rulers, and believe that to be best that they command, without any contradiction or murmur, saying, This were best, or, That were best, or, It was better before: but believe that best, which other rulers, and higher powers command, and follow that. And so he made a long process thereupon, concerning alterations lately made, declaring how the alteration of ceremonies, and such like, were and be in the power of the rulers, to alter and reform at their pleasure; and that we ought to think that best that they do. And the premises, with much other matter concerning obedience, this deponent heard the said bishop declare in his said sermon. And also saith, that he heard the said bishop preach at Winchester divers sermons, and in them, at divers times, did exhort the people to obedience, and to conform their wills, in the exercise and ceremonies of religion, to the superior order.

To the XVIth he saith, that the contents of the article are true; for this deponent was of this chamber, and knew his sending for, and his disease; and did attend upon him at his coming up in a horse-litter.

To the XXXIIIId he saith, that from the Thursday after dinner (which was St. Peter's eve) until the Friday, after he preached (which was on St. Peter's day), the said bishop took no refreshing, to this deponent's certain knowledge. For this deponent was one of the said bishop's servants, and in his chamber did attend upon him all the said space, and should have known of it if he had taken any refreshing. And saith further, that upon the said Thursday, about two or three of the clock, at which time, or thereabout, the said bishop received a letter from the duke of Somerset, this deponent saw the said bishop much unquieted, perplexed, and troubled; and, as this deponent thought, concerning the said letter. And the most part of all that night the said bishop walked in a chamber, musing and devising of his sermon, speaking and preaching aloud thereof: insomuch that this deponent never saw him in the like trouble before. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XXXIVth and XXXVth articles he saith, that he saw those papers which were delivered by master Cecil; and he was at the said bishop's sermon the day articulate, in which said sermon he heard the said bishop entreat vehemently, and learnedly (in his opinion) against the bishop of Rome's authority, and took the Scriptures clean away, that they made nothing for him: both 'Super hanc petram, ædificabo ecclesiam meam' (for Christ took that place to build his church upon), and likewise 'pasce oves meas;' (for that was as well spoken to the rest of the apostles as to him). And likewise for that Peter was called 'princeps apostolorum,' he was no other, but as the foreman of the quest was called the head man, and yet hath no more authority than one of the rest: and, peradventure, some other of the inquest was better than he. And as touching the estimation of the bishops of Rome, it came, first, through the excellency of knowledge and virtue, which was thought and accounted to be in

them at the beginning: and yet, for all that, he had no further authority upon princes, than a counsellor, a captain of war, or a physician, or any other, whom it pleased the prince to use. And this part be deduced and proved by sundry ensamples and similitudes.

Item, the said bishops spake of masses of 'Scala cœli,' masses satisfactory, masses in number; and said, that for the abuse of them, they were well taken away. And as for chantry obits, he liked the foundation: that was, to praying for the dead. Yet, if the rulers thought it engendered a dissolute living amongst the people, persuading themselves falsely, that although they lived never so loosely all the days of their lives, yet afterward they might buy heaven with money, he said, that was an absurdity, if any so thought. And therefore, if the rulers thought meet to transfer the use of chantries, to avoid inconvenience therein, he said he must refer him to the policy of the realm, and that it might very well be so done. Item, this deponent heard the said bishop speak of the just taking Page 351. away of monasteries, monkery, nunnery, and friary; and that for the abuse of their religion—forgetting the principal cause of their institution, and thinking their chief religion to consist in observing of days, times, hours, place, number, and apparel; and thinking him to be a good monk that observed these, they were justly suppressed, and taken away.

Item, he entreated of ceremonies, noting them, how he hath been counted the master of ceremonies, and yet never had other opinion of them than he hath at this present, which he learned of St. Austin, and others: that is, that as long as they served us for the exercise of religion, they might be well retained, and kept: and, being abused, they might be reformed in the use, or else in taking them clean away, at the rulers' pleasure. And named many of them, as images, pilgrimages, palms, with divers others. As for the sacraments, and such things as God commandeth, being abused, there is but one way to reform them; that is, to teach and preach the right use of them: as the water of baptism, and such like. Item, he spake of the communion under both kinds, allowing the same to be received. Item, he commanded likewise a proclamation, that no man should speak of the sacrament but with such words as Scripture doth trade and bear, and no other.

Item, he said, that he liked the king's proceedings, and found no fault in them. And thereupon, he told what he misliked, misliking certain things in the inferior sort: as the marriages of priests; and certain preachers, which he likened to posts, who carried truth in their letters, and lies in their mouths. For in their letters carrying truth, being commanded to preach according to the king's laws, statutes, proclamations, and injunctions, which were truth, they did preach clean contrary, and made the pulpit a place of disobedience. And further, he misliketh certain of the inferiors, which were forerunners, taking upon them the office of the king, setting forth their own will. And then said, that he would have but one king, and one order of the commonwealth; bringing in a Greek verse for that purpose: and pointed to the king, saying, he was only to be honoured and obeyed; with other effectual words, tending to that purpose. Finally, he concluded that all the faults he found, were in the inferior parties, and found none in the superiors; and said, he opened himself thoroughly and plainly; praying them that they would not slander themselves in him, but take him as he was. And this deponent saith, that in his conscience the said bishop preached the doctrine of all those articles contained in the papers, and spake the effect of them all. All which premises, by this deponent deposed, are true: not binding himself to the prescribed words of the said bishop in his said sermon, nor yet to his order; but only briefly deposeth the effect.

To the XXXVIth article he deposeth and saith, that after the said bishop's coming to London, when he came so in a horse-litter, being sent for the morrow after immediately after dinner, he went to the court; for this deponent did attend upon him. And coming to the great chamber on the queen's side, (commonly called the queen's great chamber), where the lord archbishop of Canterbury, the lord treasurer, then great master, with others there were newly risen from dinner, the said bishop entered into the said chamber; and doing his duty to them, the lords above named took him by the hand, and welcomed him into the court very gently. And after they had communed together a space, they went to the council-chamber, which was the queen's great closet:

Edward VI.

*A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

and took the said bishop with them; and then, after they had remained awhile together, the archbishop and the said lord treasurer, with the rest of the council that were there, came out of the said chamber, to the duke of Somerset's chamber, then protector, leaving the bishop above in the council-chamber.

And after, the said bishop being advertised from the lord treasurer, by one of his men, that it were best for him to come out, and tarry for the duke in the great chamber, he so did. And when the duke, with a great number of the council with him, passed through the said chamber into the council aforesaid, the duke, as he passed, took the bishop by the hand very gently; and after, there being, in the council-chamber, did send for the said bishop to them: whence, after he had been there by the space of one hour, or thereabouts, he came out. And then, within a while, being sent for in again—divers of his servants, by reason of a rumour that was spread abroad, fearing very much that he should have been committed to some prison—at length the bishop came out, and so came home to his house; and after, told certain of his servants, that he had thoroughly discharged himself of all matters that were laid against him, and had contented the council, and that he was clearly out of that trouble; save only, that he might not go down again into the country. And from that time, unto the time he preached, he never went out of his house to the court, but only at one other time, when he went likewise to the court, which was the Monday sevennight before he preached: and that time landed at the Privy Stairs, and passed through the low gallery, up into my lord of Somerset's chamber: for this deponent brought him to the very stair head, and saw him go in. And this deponent, and the rest of his servants, gave their attendance beneath for him. And forasmuch as there had been divers rumours spread of the said bishop, that he should go to the Tower, or some other prison, it feared his said servants very much. And to increase the suspicion withal, lay at the Privy Stairs a close barge, they denying it was for him. And lest that he should have been conveyed secretly into some place or other, they were the more curious to sparkle and divide themselves abroad in the court, to hearken and see what should become of the said bishop. And this deponent, being much of the time in the great chamber, before the council-chamber, where the council sat, so learned and knew, that he came before them at that time; and, a little before dinner, learned of my lord treasurer's men that he was in my lord treasurer's chamber, where Francis Allen (servant) went to attend upon him. And, at length, word came to the said bishop's servants, that they should depart home to the said bishop's house, and return again after dinner. But divers of them, for the fear aforesaid, would not go home, but tarry there to see what should become of their said master: whereof this deponent was one, that attended and tarried.

And after dinner, this deponent being in the queen's great chamber aforesaid, at length he saw the emperor's ambassador, who was brought into the duke of Somerset's chamber that way, whereof this deponent was very glad; verily supposing, that the bishop had been sent for, for no displeasure; but only to join with the ambassador about such matters as the said bishop had been put in trust [with], in the king's days that dead is: and this deponent remained still in the said chamber, till the emperor's ambassador departed again, and likewise divers of the council to their chambers: so that there was no more sitting in the council-chamber aforesaid. Whereupon this deponent, thinking his abode there should be frustrate, he went down from the said chamber to the low gallery, by the water-side aforesaid, where a great number of his company were attending for their master, looking for his coming down there, where he went up. And at length, at about four or five of the clock, or thereabout, there came out of the duke of Somerset's chamber, the lord treasurer that now is, the said bishop, and master Smith, then secretary: and the lord treasurer, before all the company there, departed from the bishop, and bade him 'good night' very familiarly and gently; master Smith bringing the said bishop to the Privy Stairs, where his barge lay, and there departed from the bishop very gently also. So the said bishop going homeward in his barge being there, it was spoken merrily by one of the bishop's servants unto the said bishop, that when they brought him to the court, they were very sorry, fearing that they should not have him home again: but, when they had him homeward, then were they glad. Showing further, how much they were afraid that day, lest they should have lost him, because he was conveyed into chambers, and none of his men

knew where he was become. And then this deponent said openly, before all the company, that he was also afraid, until it was after dinner: but, when he saw the emperor's ambassador come into the court, he was then out of fear; thinking then that the said bishop was sent for to speak with him. And because he would know whether the said bishop had spoken with him or no, he said unto the bishop, that many in the court thought, also, that he was sent for only for that purpose: and then and there thought it so much more likely, because the bishop went into the duke's chamber, that privy way; and the emperor's ambassador went into the duke's chamber the open way, by the queen's lodging. Whereunto the bishop replied, and said, He saw him not, nor any of the council either, but the duke, the lord treasurer and master Smith: which sayings of the said bishop, all his servants there then heard. And as he was almost at home, he asked when should be St. Peter's day. It was said, The Friday sevennight after. And then the bishop said, That was a good day: whereupon this deponent, and other of his servants gathered, that he should preach. And that night this deponent learned, that it was so determined; and knoweth very well, that if there had been, before that time, any full resolution and determination, that the said bishop should have preached, this deponent should have known of it: for he was ever about the said bishop, and one of the chiefest about him, and one that knew the most part of things that were done.

To the XXXVIIIth he saith, the contents of the same are true; for this deponent heard the said bishop so declare to divers of his servants: and was never more merry, than he was at dinner that day, on which he was committed to the Tower. And if he had been in any fear, he would have ordered his things; which, this deponent knew, he did not.

To the XLVth he saith, that the contents of the article are true; for the most part of the bishop's servants (whereof this deponent was one) made continual suit unto the duke of Somerset, then protector, and the rest of the council, for their master, that he might be heard, and have justice: and for the most part had fair words and promises, with commendation, for their part, that they had done their duty, and showed themselves like honest servants. And because they would be continual suitors, they divided themselves, and sued, some one day, and some another day, because they would be continual suitors; and one to one, and some to the other of the council. And because they saw that, notwithstanding fair words and promises, there followed no fruit or effect, they concluded among themselves, to exhibit a bill into the high court of parliament, for relief of their said master; the which bill this deponent delivered to my lord chancellor, declaring unto him—whereas he, and the rest of his company, had become suiters to the duke of Somerset. He answered them in effect, that he was but one man, and that albeit he was my lord's friend, he could not do things, for the matter was not his but the king's: and that he willed them to sue to the rest, who gave in manner the same answer: so that they saw no likelihood of any effect to follow:—therefore they thought it best to exhibit their bill to the high court of parliament, thinking *that* the only place where they should have relief, in praying him most humbly, being the public minister of justice there, that he would take their said bill, and publish and read the same amongst the lords; which the said lord chancellor was very loth to do, and would have persuaded this deponent, not to exhibit the same, saying that they should rather hurt their master, than otherwise.

Finally (being pressed by this deponent, that forasmuch as he was the public minister of justice there, and that it was a free court, where every man ought to have access), he took the bill, saying that he would show it to the council first; and as they would be contented, so he would make further answer. And after communication with the said council, the lord chancellor told this deponent that, forasmuch as the bishop was the king's prisoner, and the matter pertained to the king, they would in no wise suffer the bill to be put by.

And being so disappointed of any relief by that means for their master, after the parliament ended, this deponent, and the rest of his company, began their suit to the duke of Somerset, and the rest of the council afresh: and at one special time (he well remembering) he being with the duke of Somerset in the gallery, and Jacques Wingfield speaking to the said duke for their master, when they came to the end of the gallery, the duke advising them both well. And

Edward VI. A.D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

the duke going, turned in the midst between them, and said in effect, as followeth; videlicet: 'To be plain with you, I think your master might now come abroad: but there have been certain laws passed this parliament, which I think,' quoth he, 'my lord will not agree unto, and be content to obey them. And then,' quoth he, 'if he came abroad, and brake them, there were then no remedy, but he must have the extremity of the laws ministered unto him; and shall have.'—Whereunto this deponent replied, and said: 'It may please your grace, hitherto we trust that my lord hath offended no law; and that, hereafter, he will not: but trust that he will show himself an obedient and conformable subject. And if he do it, we shall be most sorry for it, as men whose undoings depend thereon. And therefore, we most humbly pray your grace, that he may not be kept so in prison still, for fear of that he will do hereafter. But when he cometh abroad, if he do not obey, and keep the laws, let him then be punished accordingly: and we must content ourselves therewithal, and require no mercy for him.'—And to that the duke said, that he would take a time for him, and that very shortly.

And upon that, Wingfield, making suit for further liberty for the said bishop, for the preservation of his health in the mean season, and could not obtain at that time, departed. And yet, for all this, notwithstanding divers and sundry suits made by this deponent, and others, unto the said duke, and to the lord chancellor, and divers other of the council, at sundry and divers times afterward: and yet also, notwithstanding divers promises, and times also appointed, when the bishop should be spoken withal, yet, nevertheless, there came no man unto the said bishop from the council, until the time in the article mentioned; at which time my lord chancellor, my lord treasurer, and master secretary Peter, went unto the Tower to him. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the LXVIIIth he saith, the article is true, touching the common voice and fame: and knoweth that the said bishop did send for his officer, master Grimwood, to make provision against his coming out; and also for his chamber keeper, who dressed and prepared his chamber. And, upon this rumour, divers of his men came up, looking every day when he should come forth.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth as before; and that he hath four pounds wages, and livery; fourteen pounds annuities, videlicet, four pounds out of the manor of Taunton, and ten pounds out of the lordship of Eastmere; and otherwise negatively.

To the 2d: he hath affection as becometh a servant to bear to his master, and not other; but ordinate, temperated with such moderations as it ought to be.

To the 3d: he prayeth God that he may have justice, and that right might take place; and that he may be ordered according to his deserts.

To the 4th he answereth as before: and otherwise he cannot depose.

James Basset.

For that (otherwise than I had thought) the process of the examination of master Redman hath come into our hands, I will here intersert as much thereof as is for the matter.

Papers exhibited by Thomas Redman.

The contents of the papers, and codicil, which Dr. Redman did exhibit before master Leedes and master Michael Dunning, judges delegate, and appointed for the production and examination of the said Redman, on Saturday the last of January, 1550, in the presence of Robert Chapman, notary.

First, the said bishop taking the text of the gospel of the day, 'Venit Jesus in partes Cæsareæ Philippi,' etc., after that he had declared the diversity of opinions that were of Christ, amongst them which were without, and forth from of Christ's school—some taking him to be Elias, some Jeremias, etc., and others
Page 853. having him in more vile estimation, calling him glutton, drinker of wine; amongst all these (he said), being out of Christ's school, there was no unity concerning the acknowledging of Christ: but, amongst them which were Christ's own scholars, there was unity; and they were of one mind. Peter

answered for all, 'Tu es Christus.' For this confession Christ blessed him, and all others that confess the same.—Then he spake of the interpretation of these names, Simon and Jonas; showing how we should be simple, and in what manner of simplicity; and how our pride did let us from the knowledge of God; and how we should be obedient, and submit ourselves to God's ordinances.—Peter confessed Christ. In this word 'Christ' is the confession of the whole religion of christian men: Christ was our Messias, our bishop and sacrifice: he, being equal with the Father, took our nature upon him; made our reconciliation, when he was offered upon the cross, once for all, a perfect sacrifice for the redemption of the world. He is our Mediator, Bishop, and Priest. And to the end that we might attain the benefits of his sacrifice upon the cross, he ordained a memory thereof, when he did institute the sacrament. He ordained his body to be a continual sacrifice, whereby we might glory in his passion. It may not be said, that we have any more redemption than one, although we must have always access to Christ, to give him thanks for that redemption.

And here he spake of the mass; that we come to it, not for any new redemption, but to give thanks, and that we may be strengthened in receiving Christ himself to our comfort. And he said, that as Peter confessed his faith concerning Christ, so *he* would confess his opinion of the state of the church of England, and declare what he did like and mislike. He said that he did much commend the proclamation which was made, that none should talk or entreat of the sacrament unreverently. He said also, that some, peradventure, because he did allow the mass, would ask him what he said to chantries: and whether the king's majesty had done well in taking them away: whereunto he said, he would answer, that the goodness of the mass did not stand in the number, but in true knowledge and devotion, and right use of the same.

And here he brought in, that they which were departed out of this world, might well be prayed for in the mass. And as for mass of 'Scala cœli,' mass satisfactory, masses in number; masses with other confidence in them that is approved by Scripture, be justly abolished. Though both the monasteries be suppressed, and the chantries transposed to another use, yet it is no prejudice to the mass. And the act of parliament concerning chantries was not prejudicial to the ministers; for whom (he said) because he heard they were not provided well for, he was constrained in conscience to be a petitioner before the king's majesty, and his council, in that place. Furthermore, as touching his opinion in the sacrament under both kinds, he said he had been always in one mind touching that matter. He said it was no new change, as might be perceived by a certain constitution provincial of Peckham: and the Cistertians did communicate under both kinds.

Then, in the process of his sermon, he came to these words, 'Et super hanc Petram, edificabo ecclesiam meam;' saying, that the rock was Christ, or Peter's confession, and not Peter himself. And said, that he marvelled how the bishop of Rome would enterprise to build his primacy upon that place, seeing that Christ had taken it up before, to build his church, whereof he himself was the foundation. If it had been builded upon Peter, it had fallen when Christ called him Satan. Some called Peter the chief of the apostles, because he confessed Christ first. But yet it followed not, that he should be chief of the apostles, no more than the foreman of the inquest is always chief; for it may be, that as good as the foreman, is of the inquest. Christ spake not only to Peter, but generally to all the apostles. Both in that place, and when he gave commandment to Peter to feed his sheep, the commandment was also to all the rest. It came to pass, by this means, that the bishops of Rome had been taken for chief, by reason that, in the beginning of the church, their excellency in knowledge and virtuous living was notable; whereby they won the hearts of men, to be contented to accept them as guides concerning Christ's religion. Like as the king's majesty, and other supreme magistrates, do use the advice of some of their council; and yet is not the councillor, or council above the king: and when the king's majesty intendeth to build an house, or to make war, he will take advice of the most cunning carpenter, and of the most expert warrior: and if a man be sick, he will send for the most cunning physician—so, in matters of religion, the king's majesty may ask counsel of them that excel in knowledge and virtue. The bishop of Rome hath no superiority in this realm by God's law: yet, if he were of excellency of virtue and knowledge above

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

others, the king's majesty might ask counsel of him, and take his advice; and yet no prejudice to the king's regal dignity: for the superiority is only in the king, and not in him of whom counsel is asked. But as for his judgment concerning the bishop of Rome, he said, his books which he hath written in that matter, should bear record thereof; and that as for the place of Scripture, it made nothing for his authority.

After that, he began to entreat of ceremonies, saying, he had been called the master of the ceremonies: but, he said, he never had any other opinion of ceremonies than he had at that present time. He said, that ceremonies were ordained to stir the minds of the people to virtue and godliness. But, when we abuse them, and swerve from the right institution of them, and serve creatures, and not the Creator, then may they, for the abuse, justly be taken away. Monks, friars, and nuns had many ceremonies, to put them in remembrance of themselves, to do their duties. But afterwards, when they fell to idleness and slothfulness, they forgat that their ceremonies were monishments to put them in mind of their profession, and did serve them out of custom. Then, seeing they abused their monishments, the king's majesty did well in taking them away. A child, having a gay book given to him, to the intent he should learn upon it, if he fall only to admiration of the outward gayness of the book, then the next remedy is, to take it away from him, and give him a meaner book to learn upon. For there are two manner of reformations touching ceremonies and rites of the church: one is, to teach the people the right use of them, and then let them continue and remain: or else, if that cannot be (that diligence and teaching may restore them to their first institution), then to abolish them, and put them clean away. Yet there be some ceremonies, which, although they be abused, may not be taken away: as baptism, although it was abused over the dead in Paul's time, yet it might not be taken away. The water of baptism, though it be abused, may not be taken away. The sacraments, and preaching, although they be abused, yet they may not be taken away.

Then he spake of images, saying, that whensoever he had entreated of them, he had taught they might be continued, so they were rightly used. But, seeing they were abused, Christ's religion was nothing hindered nor touched, in that they were taken away: things indifferent should not be passed upon. After these things he spake of numbers in prayers: as a number of lessons or psalms such a day; observing days, number, and times. And he said that the observing of days, hours, number, time, and place, is to set the church in order: and so to be observed, there is none abuse. But if a man think he cannot pray, but at that hour, or that place, or that time, then he is an observer of times: then he erreth in his observation of hours and times. These things be but as the clock, to put us in remembrance.

And furthermore he said, touching ceremonies, that when they be commanded by the magistrates, they which use them do please God for their obedience. Then he spake much like words unto these: 'Some would ask me, what I would say touching the proceedings, if I were alone. I will say even now as much as if I were alone.' And then he said, that he liked well the communion, set forth by the king's majesty; and also the proclamation concerning the sacrament; and that he did mislike nothing of the king's majesty's proceedings: but that he did mislike them that railed on the sacrament, and against the mass, and such as did take upon them to do contrary to the king's laws and proclamations, and otherwise than his grace had appointed, by his order which he had taken. He said he did mislike, that misorderers would not
Page 354. obey their heads: as certain preachers that he compared to posts, who did carry truth in their letters, and lies in their mouths. He said also, he did mislike that they which had professed and vowed chastity, should openly marry. He said he was more bold to speak in this matter, because he had studied, and travailed therein. He said, he had not read in any authority, a priest married, but a married priest.

Now ye shall hear the examination of the said Dr. Redman, by the aforesaid delegates, had particularly of and upon the articles of the aforesaid long matter.

John Redman's Examination.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

John Redman, doctor of divinity, witness brought in on the part of the bishop of Winchester, and examined the 31st of January, in the fourth year of the reign of king Edward VI., by the aforesaid commissaries and subdelegates above specified, in the presence of Robert Chapman, public notary, in this behalf named and appointed, of, in, and upon, certain articles, by the said bishop exhibited and laid in before the said delegates and commissioners above named, in a certain cause of office, against the said bishop promoted, had, moved, and depending. And first, he, [being] examined by the said commissioners' subdelegates of and upon the contents in the first article to the said commission annexed (being numbered, among the articles by the said bishop of Winchester exhibited, the XXXIVth article), as well of and upon the point concerning the delivery of two papers by master Cecil to the said bishop of Winchester, as also upon the residue of the contents in the said article—this deponent saith, by virtue of his oath, that as touching the delivery of any such two papers to my lord of Winchester, mentioned in that article, he can nothing say nor depose of his own certain knowledge: howbeit he saith, he is partly induced to believe, that such two papers were delivered to the said bishop of Winchester by master Cecil, because it is expressly deduced in the said article, which is ministered for the part of the said bishop of Winchester: but what was written or contained in the said two papers (if any such were), this deponent saith, he knoweth not, nor can tell.

To the second of the said articles annexed to the commission, as above, being in number XXXV., this deponent saith, that upon St. Peter's day last was two years (which was the 29th day of June, as he remembereth), he (this deponent) was present in the king's garden, within his majesty's palace at New hall in Westminster, at afternoon of the same day; where and when he saw Stephen, bishop of Winchester, stand in the pulpit, before the king's majesty, and a great audience then and there assembled; and heard the said bishop preach a sermon after the manner and form (as he hath before declared) in his book, or papers that he hath exhibited before us, the said subdelegates, as is above written: in which sermon, this deponent saith, that he heard the said bishop, among other things, say these words following, as far as he (this deponent) could bring them away: videlicet, 'I like well the communion, set forth by the king's majesty, and also the proclamation concerning the sacrament: and I do mislike nothing of the king's majesty's proceedings. But I do mislike them that rail on the sacrament, and against the mass; and against such as do take upon them to do things contrary to the king's majesty's laws, injunctions, and proclamations, and otherwise than his grace hath appointed by the order that his grace hath taken, etc.; as in the latter end of his depositions, made in the writing, and exhibited to the aforesaid commissioners and subdelegates above-said, more at length it is contained.

To the third of the said articles, being in number XXXVII., this deponent saith, that as concerning my lord of Somerset's letters at any time sent to the said bishop of Winchester, he can nothing say nor depose: neither of the letter, nor any thing or matter in such letter contained. And in case any such letter had been sent, whether the said letter had been or was, of any force to command or restrain the said bishop, or not, this deponent saith he cannot tell. And also he (this deponent) saith, that he cannot tell, nor any thing depose, of any letter in print, mentioned in that article which was sent forth to all preachers. And further, as concerning the sacrament, and mass, specified in that article, this deponent saith, that he doth not remember, that the said bishop spake any otherwise concerning that point, than he hath already declared in his depositions above written, which he did exhibit in writing before the said subdelegates, as above specified.

And as concerning the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, mentioned in this article, this deponent saith, that so far as he doth now remember, the said bishop of Winchester spake none otherwise, in that point, than is (in his former deposition exhibited) in writing declared. And also he saith, that at that time as far as he remembereth there was no contention or controversy, in that matter, amongst the prelates or learned men of this realm. And further, or otherwise than he (this deponent) hath already before deposed, and also by his writing declared, he cannot say nor depose, as he saith.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

THE DEPOSITIONS OF CERTAIN WITNESSES, PRODUCED AND EXAMINED UPON THE POSITIONS ADDITIONAL, LAID IN BY THE BISHOP IN HIS FIRST MATTER, SPECIFIED BEFORE IN THE NINTH SESSION.

Nicholas Bishop of Worcester.

Nicholas bishop of Worcester, of the age of 49 or thereabout; sworn and examined upon the IVth and VIth articles of the positions, deposeth as followeth:

To the said IVth article, he deposeth the contents of this article to be true: saving that where he himself is named among the ancient and best learned bishops, he referreth that to the judgment of others.

To the VIth article, to that part 'Carolostadius,' etc., he saith, that the article is true, saving, as he thinketh, that there were divers other sacramentaries, which, besides these that be named in the article particularly, did impugn the said truth. And to the next part of the article, this deponent saith, that the impugning thereof is manifest error. And to the last, so beginning, 'and in England,' etc., this deponent saith, that he hath been in prison a long season; and what hath been defended or maintained since his coming to prison, he is not able to declare, but he judgeth, that whosoever defendeth that error, he is not sufficiently in that matter learned. And otherwise he cannot depose.

George Bishop of Chichester.

George bishop of Chichester, of the age of 49 or thereabout; sworn and examined upon the IVth and VIth articles of the positions additional.

To the IVth he saith, that the contents of the article are true: saving (he saith) that himself is none of the most ancient bishops of the realm, nor taketh himself to be one of the best learned bishops.

To the VIth article, unto this place 'and Carolostadius,' he saith, that in foreign realms and countries, he knoweth not that any famous clerk, or named learned man in our time, hath impugned the truth of Christ's most precious body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, but such as be named in the said article: saving that he knoweth that Bullingerus and Musculus have written against the truth of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament: and though he taketh these for learned men, yet he doth not assent to their doctrine in this matter of the sacrament. And to this part of the article 'the impugning whereof is manifest error,' he saith, it is true. And to the last part, he saith, that at the time the bishop of Winton preached on St. Peter's day, he knoweth not any learned man, within this realm, did impugn the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament. And since that time, my lord of Canterbury hath made a book against the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament: and that the bishop now of London, did openly impugn the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, in the parliament at Westminster: from both whose learning and judgments in this matter, this deponent doth dissent, although he taketh them for learned men. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Owen Oglethorpe.

Owen Oglethorpe, doctor of divinity, and president of Magdalen College, Oxford; of the age of 48, or thereabout; sworn and examined upon the Vth of the positions additional.

Page 855. To the Vth article of the positions additional, he saith, that in the third year of the king's majesty's reign, there were open disputations in Oxford, to this deponent's hearing, in the which the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament was openly defended by divers learned of the university: as master doctor Tresham and doctor Chadsey.—And others would have disputed, and defended the same, as this deponent supposeth: as master Morgan, if time would have served.

Cuthbert Bishop of Durham.

Cuthbert bishop of Durham, a witness produced upon the IVth and VIth positions additional.

To the IVth article, he saith that the same article is true: saving, he saith, that himself is not one of the best learned bishops of the realm: and the residue of the said bishops, named in the said article, be well learned. And otherwise he cannot depose.

To the VIth article, unto that part of the article 'and Carolostadius,' etc., he saith, the article is true: saving, he saith, that there were certain other in Germany, besides those that he named in the said article, that did hold the said opinion, as he heard say.

To the second part of the article: videlicet, 'the impugning whereof is manifest error,' he saith, that part is true, and to the last part of the article, beginning 'and in England,' etc., he saith, that he hath known no man that is learned, that openly defended or maintained the said error, saving that now, lately, he hath seen a book for the defence of the said error, which is entitled to be made by the lord of Canterbury: but whether it be his or no, he cannot tell. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Thomas, Bishop of Norwich.

Thomas bishop of Norwich, of the age of 47, or thereabouts; sworn and examined upon the IVth and VIth of the additional positions.

To the IVth article, he saith it is true, saving for the learning of himself, which he referreth to the judgment of others.

To the VIth article, to that part 'the impugning thereof,' etc., he saith that the same is true, as far as he hath learned, or could learn, or know: saving that Wickliff, and Huss, and Berengarius, have likewise impugned the truth of Christ's most precious body and blood to be in the sacrament. To the same part 'the impugning whereof is manifest error,' etc., he saith and believeth, that to be true: And to the rest of the article he saith, that when this deponent departed out of England, in ambassade to the emperor, last, he knew no learned man in England, that did openly favour and defend that error.—But now of late, since his return, he hath seen books, that have been made here in England by those that have the name of learned men, in favour of that error. And the things deposed by this deponent, he thinketh notorious, manifest, and famous. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Thomas Watson.

Thomas Watson, a witness before produced on the part of the bishop of Winchester, upon the matter; and now again produced on the 1st of the additionals.

To the 1st position additional, he saith, that in the month of November (as he doth now remember), in the first year of the king's majesty's reign that now is, this deponent was present at a sermon made at Paul's Cross, by the bishop of London that now is, being then bishop of Rochester; in the which said sermon, the said bishop did very earnestly entreat and speak of the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament; calling them worse than dogs and hogs, that would ask the question, 'How he was there present:' and also noted the dignity of the sacrament, how in the beginning of the church there were three sorts of people excluded away from the communion: that is to say, catechumeni, energumeni, and penitentes. And the premises he deposeth to be true, for he stood behind the said bishop, within the cross, and heard the said bishop declare the premises. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories, etc.—To the 1st interrogatory he deposeth as before, and saith, that he doth not remember whether he spake of any such words mentioned in the interrogatory. Howbeit he saith, speaking of the presence, he must needs speak the effect of this word, 'real and substantially;' for that there is no presence, but it is real: and, if it be not real, it is a plain absence, and no presence.

To the 2d he saith, that he heard the said bishop say, that they should hear more of that matter; and, in the mean season, willed them to leave searching *how* he is there. And more he doth not remember.

Edward VI. A. D. 1551.

To the 3d, he thinketh that he spake of Cyprian 'de Cœna Domini;' and otherwise he doth not remember.

William Medowe.

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Master William Medowe, sworn and examined upon the Ist of the additionals.

To the said Ist article he saith, that he was present at a sermon made by the bishop of London that now is, at Paul's Cross, on a Sunday between Hallowmas and Christmas, in the first year of the king's majesty's reign, in which said sermon he spake of the sacrament, saying, that it was the body of Christ, calling them dogs, that would ask, *how* he was there. And the premises, he saith, are true; for he heard him so speak and preach there in his said sermon.

Upon the Interrogatories, etc.—To the 1st he deposeth as before: and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the 2d he saith, that he heard the said bishop say, in his sermon, that we should hear more shortly; the meaning of which words this deponent took to be, concerning the setting-forth of the presence: and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the 3d he saith, that to this deponent's remembrance, the said bishop did speak of a place in St. Cyprian, concerning the sacrament; and otherwise he cannot depose.

Maurice Griffith, Archdeacon of Rochester.

Maurice Griffith, archdeacon, of the age of 45, or thereabout, sworn and examined upon the Ist of the additionals.

To the Ist he saith, that the said bishop of London, in the first year of the king's majesty's reign that now is, did preach at Paul's Cross, and there declared the true presence of the body of Christ in the sacrament, to this deponent's understanding: calling them 'dogs,' which ask the question how and after what fashion he was there: at the which time were present a great multitude, whom by name he could not call to remembrance. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Master Gilbert Bourne.

Master Gilbert Bourne, one of the canons residentiary of Paul's, of the age of 41, or thereabout; sworn and examined upon the Ist article of the positions additional.

To the said Ist position he saith, that he was present at a sermon made by the bishop of London that now is, and then bishop of Rochester, in the first year of the king's majesty's reign, as he remembereth (on what day or in what month he doth not remember), at Paul's Cross; in which sermon he entreated very earnestly, and vehemently of the sacrament: and, to the understanding of the auditory with divers of whom this deponent spake, he did earnestly set forth the presence of the body of Christ in the same: at which sermon he was present, and heard him preach. And saith, that he heard the said bishop called them 'hogs and dogs,' that did unreverently behave themselves touching the same: and also that in the primitive church three sorts of people were expelled out of the church, whiles the sacrament was in receiving: videlicet, catechumeni, energumeni, and penitentes. And otherwise he cannot depose upon the contents of the article.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth, and doth not remember that he spake any such words.

To the 2d he cannot depose upon the contents of the same.

To the 4th, he doth not remember of any such thing.

By me, Gilbert Bourne.

William Glyn.

Page 856. William Glyn, doctor of divinity, chaplain to the bishop of Norwich; of the age of 41 years; sworn and examined upon the Vth position additional, deposeth as followeth:

He saith to the said article, that about the latter end of May or June, in the year articulate, there were open and solemn disputations in the university of Cambridge, wherein the true presence of the very body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament, was defended and maintained by sundry learned men of the said university, whose names, amongst others, were master Lagdale, master Young, master Vavasor, master Sedwick, master Parker, and master Pollard: which be in the said university counted and named for learned men, of the certain knowledge and hearing of this deponent, and being present thereat, and one of the number that defended the same. And this he saith is manifest, and notorious in the said university, and elsewhere: and otherwise he cannot depose.

By me, William Glyn.

Here follow all such depositions of witnesses as were upon the last matter, otherwise called The Matter against the Exhibits produced and examined in the behalf of the bishop of Winchester, for which look in pages 127 to 130.

Maurice Griffith.

Maurice Griffith, archdeacon of Rochester, examined upon the XXth article of the last matter.

To the XXth article he saith, that he never knew nor heard of any tumult at the sermon-time, but that he was quietly heard, and so departed (as far as this deponent knoweth), otherwise than the throng, by reason of the multitude of the people.

Maurice Griffith.

William Browne.

William Browne, sworn and examined upon the articles II. III. IV. and VI. of the said matter.

To the IId article he saith, that the said bishop made a proxy to the said master Cook, and to Potinger, to appear in the visitation, as he hath before deposed in his former depositions: and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the IIId he answereth as before, in his former depositions made to the matter justificatory: and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the IVth he deposeth as before, to the said matter: and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the VIth he deposeth, that the said visitation began in the month of October, in the first year of the king's majesty's reign that now is (as he doth remember): and otherwise he cannot depose.

W. Browne.

Owen Oglethorpe.

Owen Oglethorpe, doctor of divinity, etc., sworn and examined upon the XXth article of the said matter.

To the XXth article against the exhibits he saith, that the said bishop was quietly heard, unless it were through the throng of the people, in the hearing of him; and that there was no tumult upon the same, at that time, to this deponent's knowledge: but what was in other places he cannot tell. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories (as before).

O. Oglethorpe.

Thomas Cotisforde.

Thomas Cotisforde, servant to master Babington, warden of the Fleet, with whom he hath continued these seven or eight years, of the age of 34, or thereabout, sworn and examined upon the VIIth article of the said matter.

To the said VIIth article he saith, that from the time the said bishop of Winchester was committed to the Fleet, and so long time as he remained there,

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

this deponent was porter of the Fleet, and kept the gate: and saith that by all the said space, there was no man that had resort to the bishop, nor did speak with him; unless it were by especial commandment, and license obtained. For this deponent had in commandment given by the warden of the Fleet, that he should let no person to come to speak with him, no more he did let any come unto him. And saith, that during the said bishop's abode in the Fleet, he had appointed unto him two servants to attend upon him, and his cook: which cook had no access unto him, as he saith. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he saith and answereth negatively, to all parts of the interrogatory.

To the 2d he saith, that he beareth no more affection to him than to any other man.

To the 3d he saith, that he is indifferent.

To the last he answereth as before: and otherwise he cannot depose.

Thomas Cotisforde

Thomas Skerne.

Thomas Skerne, servant to the bishop of Winton, whose servant he hath been these eighteen or nineteen years; of the age of 40; sworn and examined upon articles XV. and XVI. against the exhibits.

To the said articles he saith and deposeth, that by the space of eighteen or nineteen years, the said bishop for his part, and also his servants for their part, have been peaceable and quiet, not making any tumult or commotion against the powers, or any of the king's servants: and that there was never such things once intended, or minded, as he judgeth in his conscience. And deposeth, that the said bishop, at any time within the aforesaid space, did never will, or command his servants, or any one of them, privily or apertly, to take weapon for the safeguard of his person, and his family: but always the said bishop and his servants have been quiet and peaceable, and using themselves as becometh subjects. And deposeth, that the bishop hath many times persuaded his servants to obedience, and to use themselves abroad peaceably and quietly; and hath said unto his servants, that if they use themselves abroad quietly and peaceably, that they might be honestly reported of, he taketh the less regard to their service done to him at home. And the premises, he saith, are notorious and manifest, at Winton, and all other places, that the said bishop and his servants have continued so. For this deponent hath been in his household, and should have known, seen, or heard, if any such evil or folly should have been attempted. And otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he saith, that he hath four pounds wages, a livery, meat, and drink: and he hath a patent of the office of the collector and clerk of the bailiwick of Winton and Oxfordshire, and profits belonging to the same.

To the 2d: he hath no other affection, than a servant ought to have to his master.

To the 3d: he wisheth the truth to be known, and justice to be had, which he had prayed for, and sued for.

To the last, he answereth as before: and otherwise he cannot depose.

Thomas Skerne.

John Clyffe.

John Clyffe, servant to the bishop of Winchester, in whose service he hath continued these seventeen years and more; of the age of 33 years; sworn and examined upon the XVth and XVIth articles of the matter against the exhibits.

To the said XVth article he saith, that by the space of these seventeen years and more, he hath been the bishop's servant, and one of his household; at all which time the said bishop, being as well at his house at Winton, as other of his places, hath been always a man of quietness, peace, and quiet behaviour; and so was his household: not disposed or minded to any tumults or commotions

amongst themselves, nor against the king's subjects: nor at any time, while he was in service with him, did his said servants ever bear arms, or prepare themselves to weapon. But at such times as the commotion was in the court of Southampton and Surrey, by the commandment of the earl of Southampton, being there in the king's name, some of them went to the said earl, to aid and help him for the repressing of the rebels. And the premises, he saith, are true; and that the said bishop, and his servants are commonly reputed and taken in the court of Southampton, and elsewhere, to be such persons, as they are mentioned in this article.

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

To the XVIth he saith, that the contents of this article are true; for the said bishop never commanded his servants at any time (as far as he knew or heard) to wear any harness, for the safeguard of his house or person, or to withstand the powers of the realm: but hath showed himself always a man of quietness. And he saith, that he minded always quietness; for the said bishop hath called his servants unto him, and hath exhorted them to be men of quietness, and to live quietly, and to make no business with any man; saying to them, if they so did, they were no men meet for him. And the premises this deponent saith are true, of his own knowledge: and otherwise he cannot depose.

Page 857.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he saith, that he hath been the said bishop's servant these seventeen years and more, and is at this present; having fifty-three shillings and fourpence wages, and livery, and forty shillings annuity out of the bailiwick of the Clink. And otherwise negatively.

To the 2d: he hath affection to the truth, and no otherwise.

To the 3d: he desireth, if truth be on his side, that he may have victory.

To the last, he answereth as before: and otherwise he cannot depose.

John Clyffe.

Henry Burton.

Henry Burton, one of the bishop of Winchester's servants, with whom he dwelt almost eight years; of the age of 25 or 26; sworn and examined upon the articles IX. XV. and XVI. against the exhibits proposed.

To the IXth article he deposeth, that the contents of this article are true; for this deponent, being one of the bishop of Winton's servants, was appointed, with others of his company, to serve the king in Scotland, about the year specified in this article; at which time the duke of Somerset was there, to this deponent's certain sight and knowledge. And forasmuch as this deponent had his horse slain in the field, or battle, he obtained leave of the lord Fitzwalter, being his captain, to come home a fortnight after the battle; and, in coming home from Scotland, he met one Kirby, servant to the lord Fitzwalter, riding to his lord and master, which Kirby showed to this deponent, that the bishop of Winton, his master, was in the Fleet; who, at this deponent's going to Scotland, was at Waltham in Hampshire, of his certain knowledge. And further saith, that in his said coming home, he met with the lady Suffolk about Peterborough: and the said lady asked this deponent whose servant he was, he making answer, the bishop of Winton's servant: she demanding where his master was, he replying, at Winton: the said lady saying to this deponent, that he should not find him there; but said, that he was forthcoming. And afterward, by the way as he came toward London, he heard it commonly talked, that the said bishop was in the Fleet. And at his coming home to the said bishop's house at the Clink, [he] perceived it to be true, how he was in the Fleet. And he saith, that he left the duke of Somerset behind in Scotland, at his coming from thence; and was not come to London, when this deponent came. And the premises, he saith, are true, as much as concerneth the duke's being in Scotland, and the said bishop of Winton's being in the Fleet, was, and is, public, notorious, and manifest: and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XVth and XVIth he saith, that by the space that this deponent hath been in the said bishop's service, he never heard or knew that either the said bishop, or his servants, did move or stir any tumult or rumours, or give any occasions, whereas any such thing should be moved: but that the said bishop,

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

and his servants, have peaceably and quietly used and behaved themselves toward the superiors. And saith that the said bishop never willed, or commanded any of his servants to wear harness, or bye-weapon, for any manner of defence, either of his person, or his household, in Winton or any other place: nor yet did he ever know, or could perceive, in the said bishop, any token or likelihood of any such folly to be attempted by the said bishop. And the premises, he saith, are notorious and public in Winton, and other places, where the said bishop had doings. For this deponent hath been in the bishop's household, by the space aforesaid; and if any such thing should be done, he must needs have known of it, as he saith.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth as before, and hath four pounds wages by year, and livery; and ten pounds fee for the bailiwick of Exton, by patent: and otherwise negatively.

To the 2d and 3d he answereth: notwithstanding that he is the bishop's servant, he would not be with him, if he had offended the king; and if he have not offended the king, he wisheth that he may overcome by justice.

To the last, he answereth as before: and otherwise he cannot depose.

By me, Henry Burton.

Thomas Babington.

Thomas Babington esq. warden of the Fleet; of the age of 51 or thereabout; sworn and examined upon the VIIth and XIth articles of the matter proposed against the exhibits.

To the VIIth he saith, that the 25th day of September, in the year of our Lord God 1547, the said bishop of Winton was, by commandment, committed to the Fleet: whom this deponent received the same day at the hands of sir Anthony Wingfield: where he (the same bishop) continued to the 7th day of January, next following; on which day this deponent, by virtue of the duke of Somerset's letter, brought him to Hampton-court, where this deponent received his discharge of the said duke of Somerset, and others the lords of the council, for the delivery of the said bishop. And saith, that during the said bishop's abode in the Fleet, he was licensed to have two servants to wait upon him, and to have his cook there, as it was declared to this deponent by the said master Wingfield; and so he had: and that there was no stranger, that had access to the bishop, nor yet any of his servants, but as they were specially licensed by the king's council. And as concerning the visitation, he knoweth not whether it was kept in the time of the said bishop's being in the Fleet, or no: and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XIth article, concerning the said bishop's being in the Fleet, he deposeth as before; in the which time the said bishop was twice before the lord of Somerset, then protector, at his house at the Strand: and one other time, the bishop of Lincoln came for the said bishop of Winton, and had him with him to the dean of Paul's house, in Paul's Church-yard, before my lord of Canterbury; upon whom this deponent, at every of the said times, did attend. But whether he was called before the said duke, and my lord of Canterbury, for any examination, or whether any thing were objected unto him, he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth, that the said bishop, about six weeks ago, sent Jacques Wingfield, his servant, to this deponent, willing him to declare unto him, that he would give young Ludlow, which was his ward, in marriage to a daughter of this deponent's called Mary, whom he called his wife: and willed this deponent to make writings of his said gift, and he would seal to them; whereupon this deponent caused writings thereof to be made, which the said bishop hath sent this deponent sealed. And the same gift came freely, of the motion and mind of the said bishop, without any suit, or speaking on this deponent's behalf; and otherwise negatively: and saith, that the said Jacques Wingfield did not speak with this deponent, but did the errand to his wife.

To the 2d: if he be the king's true subject, he doth bear his affection, as he doth to every true subject.

To the 3d: he desireth that the truth might take place with him, and every other subject; and not otherwise.

To the last, he answereth as before: and otherwise he cannot depose.

Thomas Babington.

John Warner.

John Warner, servant to the bishop of Winchester, with whom he dwelt ten years, of the age of 38, sworn and examined upon the XVth and XVIth articles of the matter against the exhibits, deposeth as follows:

To the XVth and XVIth articles, he saith, that by the space of ten years (as he hath before deposed), he hath been the bishop of Winton's servant, and continually in his household: by all which space, he saith upon his oath, that the said bishop, and his servants, have been peaceable and quiet, not making any tumult or commotion, nor minding any such, at Winton or any other place within this realm. And saith, that neither this deponent, nor yet any other of the said bishop's servants, hath been commanded by the bishop to wear any harness, or take weapon, either for the safeguard of the person of the said bishop, or his household: nor yet any of his said servants, upon their own head, have attempted the like in the said space. But saith, that the said bishop and his servants have been always in quiet and obedience, as it becometh true subjects to their prince, and so taken and reputed in all places, where the said bishop hath had to do, and hath been resident and abiding: and saith that said bishop or yet his servants never prepared for to stir tumult against the powers: and this deponent saith, that he could never perceive any token, or likelihood of any such temerarious act, to be done by the said bishop; and, if any such thing should have been done (as it was not thought upon), this deponent, being yeoman of the horse, should have known thereof. Page 858.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st, he saith that he is the said bishop's servant, having fifty-three shillings and fourpence wages a year; meat, drink, and livery: and otherwise negatively.

To the 2d and 3d he desireth that he may have justice: and if he have offended the king's majesty and his laws, he would he should have according as he hath done: and otherwise negatively.

To the last, he answereth as before: and otherwise he cannot depose.

John Warner.

Osmond Coward.

Osmond Coward, servant to the bishop of Winton, with whom he hath continued these six years; of the age of 29 or thereabout; sworn and examined upon articles IX. XV. and XVI. of the matter against the exhibits.

To the IXth article he saith, that the contents of this article are true; for this deponent saith, that he, being in Scotland, serving of the king, so appointed by the said bishop, and coming home after the battle done, and lying in Alnwick, within the bishopric of Durham, heard reported there, that the said bishop was in the Fleet. And saith, that the same night that this deponent lay in Alnwick, the duke of Somerset lay in the same town of Alnwick, and was come out of Scotland from the said battle, to this deponent's certain sight and knowledge: and that this deponent since took his journey from Alnwick, homeward to London, leaving the duke's grace at Alnwick; and, at this deponent's coming home, knew certainly that the said bishop was in the Fleet: whereas before this deponent's going to Scotland, the said bishop was at his house in Walton in Hampshire, to this deponent's certain knowledge, and the premises were done about Michaelmas last was three years, as he saith: and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XVth and XVIth he saith, that the contents of these articles are true, manifest, notorious, and famous, in Winton, and all other places where the said bishop hath been abiding, to this deponent's certain knowledge. For he hath been the said bishop's servant these six years, as he hath before declared: and saith that in all the said space, he hath been continually in his household; and saith, upon his oath, that the said bishop, and his servants, always have been

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

quiet and peaceable, not making any tumult against any of the powers, or the king's subjects, or amongst themselves have stirred or made any tumult. And he saith, that the said bishop never commanded any of his servants to wear harness, or bear weapon, for any such purpose, or for the safeguard of his own person, or his household; but the said bishop hath lived always quietly, as a man without fear of any trouble towards him. And saith, that he could never perceive, by any token or likelihood, that ever the said bishop minded, or intended any tumult or commotion; for if he had, he saith, that being one of his servants, and continually in the household, he must needs have known of it: and otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he saith, that he is the said bishop's servant, and the man of the buttery, having fifty-three shillings and fourpence wages, and livery, and such advantages as fall: and otherwise negatively.

To the 2d and 3d: he hath none affection, but what the servant oweth to his master: but if he hath offended, he would he should have as he deserveth.

To the last, he answereth as before: and otherwise he cannot depose.

Osmond Coward.

John Temple.

John Temple, gentleman, sworn and examined upon the XIVth article of the matter against the exhibits, deposeth as followeth.

To the XIVth article he saith, that the contents of this article are true; for this deponent was in the duke of Somerset's house, at the same time that the said bishop was commanded to keep his house at St. Mary Overy's: and this deponent did wait upon the said bishop home from the said duke's house, and followed the said bishop to his study, as he was customed to do, at his repairing to the said bishop: and the said bishop, seeing this deponent there, said unto him, 'Temple, you must go hence; for I must not speak with you.' Which the said bishop's committing to his house was for that he did not subscribe to certain articles concerning justification, as he (this deponent) heard say: and otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories (as before).

J. Temple.

Alexander Dering.

Alexander Dering, sworn and examined upon articles II. III. V. VI. XV. and XVI. of the matter against the exhibits.

To the IId and IIId articles he saith and deposeth as he hath before, upon the matter justificatory: and that he knoweth, that the said bishop made a proxy to certain, to appear for him in the said visitation; the which proxy, this deponent did see, and carry from Winton to Southampton, at the time of visitation: and saith, that master Cook, one of the bishop's proctors, did attend upon the said visitors, before their entering into the diocese: and received them reverently: which said proxy, the said master Cook did exhibit for the said bishop, as well at Lambeth as at the cathedral church, to this deponent's sight; and did all things, on the said bishop's behalf, as the said bishop should have done, if the said bishop had been present.

To the Vth and VIth he saith, the articles are true, of his certain knowledge, for causes above rehearsed in his former depositions; for he saith, he made out the monition for the said visitation—for the deans particularly—and the certificates of the same: and saith that the same bishop's chancellor, proctor, chaplains, and ministers, with other of his diocese, did reverently receive the same visitors, and did duly obey their commandments and injunctions, as becometh, to his knowledge.

To the XVth and XVIth he saith, that at all times that the said bishop and his servants have been abiding and resident at Winton in the space of these fifteen years, the said bishop, and his servants, have been peaceable and quiet, and never made any tumult or commotion, or prepared themselves thereunto: and saith, that he never heard or knew, that the said bishop commanded his

servants to wear harness, or take weapon for to make any tumult or commotion, or yet for the safeguard of his own person, or his servants: or to withstand and resist the powers, or any of the king's subjects; but have always used themselves quietly and peaceably, as true, faithful, and obedient subjects, to this deponent's knowledge. For he saith, that by the said space of fifteen years, he hath dwelt in the street where the said bishop's house standeth; and, at the said bishop's being there, he resorted unto the house; and by reason thereof, he doth know the premises to be true: and otherwise he cannot depose.

Edward VI. A.D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

Upon the Interrogatories (as before).

By me, Alex. Dering.

William Medowe.

William Medowe, sworn and examined upon articles IV. V. VI. VII. IX. XIV. XV. XVI. XVIII. and XX. of the matter against the exhibits.

To the IVth article of the same matter he saith, that the contents of this article are true. For he was present at Alton and Kingston, as the said bishop took his journey: and heard him so command as well a priest, that came to him to Alton, as the curate of Kingston, quietly to obey all such injunctions and ordinances, as the said visitors should give and set forth in their visitation. And so the said bishop hath commanded his chaplains: insomuch that this deponent, for his part, was before them at Winton, and did obediently receive them, and obey such things as were commanded: and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the Vth he saith, that article is true of his own knowledge.

To the VIth he saith, that the said visitation began in October, in the first year of the reign of the king: but at what day he cannot remember.

To the VIIth he saith, that the said bishop was before the said visitation in the Fleet. For he saith, he was committed to the Fleet at Hampton-court (where this deponent was), and from thence went home with the household to Winchester. But how the said bishop was restrained in the Fleet, he cannot tell; until such time that this deponent, a fortnight before Christmas, being licensed, came unto him: at which time he had but two servants licensed to wait upon him, and his cook to dress his meat. Page 359.

To the IXth he saith, that the article is notorious, manifest, and public.

To the XIVth he saith, that the contents of the article, of his own certain sight and knowledge, are true.

To the XVth and XVIth he saith, that the contents of these articles are true, of his certain knowledge; for he hath been the said bishop's household chaplain these twenty years. And if any such thing had been done, or attempted, he this deponent should have seen, or known thereof: but saith, that all things contained in these articles were true.

To the XVIIIth he saith, the contents of this article are true; for he heard the sermon; and saith, he spake nothing that should disgrace, or disprove the said master Tonge, and master Ayre: and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XXth he saith, that that article is true; for he was present at the sermon, and neither knoweth of, nor yet saw any tumult, that rose then and there, upon the same sermon, nor yet at any time or place since: but that the said bishop was quietly heard, and so departed, saving the throng of the people.

To the Interrogatories (as before).

William Medowe.

John Potinger.

John Potinger, sworn and examined upon articles II. III. V. VI. XV. and XVI. of the matter against the exhibits.

To the IId and IIId articles he deposeth as before to the matter justificatory; to the which he referreth him: and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the Vth and VIth he deposeth as before in his depositions upon the matter justificatory: and further saith, that the said visitation began soon upon Michaelmas, in the first year of the king's majesty's reign: upon what day he cannot depose.

To the XVth and XVIth he deposeth and saith, that by the space of these

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition

ten years, the said bishop of Winton for his part, and his said servants for their parts, all the time of their abode at Winchester, have been ever quiet and peaceable, and so esteemed, reputed, and taken, of this deponent's hearing, and knowledge: and saith, that in all the said space, he never heard or knew that the said bishop, or yet his servants, made any tumult or commotion, or prepared themselves thereunto, by any manner of means, sign, and token, that this deponent could know or perceive; but used themselves quietly, and abstained from the doing, and attempting thereof: and saith, by the space aforesaid, he never heard or knew that the said bishop commanded his servants, or any of them, to wear harness or weapons for the safeguard of his own person, or his family; nor yet knew, or saw, that any of his servants were in harness, for that purpose, or any other; or yet to resist, or make defence against any of the powers of this realm, or the subjects of the same. And the premises, he saith, are notorious, and famous, within Winton, and all other places where the said bishop hath continued, as far as this deponent hath known or heard. And that the same are true within Winton, he knoweth of his certain knowledge; for he hath dwelled within Winton these ten years, and doth repair to the said bishop's house at his being there: and therefore knoweth the same to be true. And he judgeth in his conscience, that there was never any such thing once thought upon by the said bishop and his servants; and he saith, that the said bishop's servants have been as quiet men, and peaceable, as he hath seen: and otherwise he cannot depose.

Upon the Interrogatories:—he deposeth as before.

John Potinger.

Jacques Wingfield.

Jacques Wingfield, servant to the bishop of Winton, examined upon the matter against the exhibits, saith as followeth:

To the VIIth article he saith, the article containeth truth; for this examinate waited upon the bishop from Hampton-court, to the Fleet, the same day he was committed thither: and tarried there till midnight next following: and then Davy, and Crowte, the said bishop's servants came thither, whom the warden of the Fleet brought to the bishop, saying that they, with his cook were appointed by the council to be with him, and no more: whereupon this examinate went to a lodging, which he had thereby. And although he made divers means afterward to come to the said bishop his master, yet he could not be suffered, until such time as he was licensed by the council which were there but a little while before the said bishop's departure from thence: and saith, that none of the said other bishop's servants, or others, could be suffered, during his imprisonment, to come to him, so far forth as he understood, or could learn.

To the XIIIth he saith, that the article is true, as he heard both by the said bishop's report, as all his house: and saith, that from that till Lent next following, the said bishop kept his house very secret, as a close prisoner, without having resort of strangers, of the certain knowledge of this deponent.

To the XIVth he saith, the article is true; for this deponent waited on the said bishop to Winchester, and there continued with him, till he was sent for up to the council, and came in a horse-litter, as afore he hath deposed: during which mean time, the said bishop lived there quietly, and duly executed and obeyed all such commandments, and proclamations, and injunctions, as were then ordered to be set forth, without breach of any, as far as ever this deponent ever knew, heard, or perceived.

To the XVth he saith, the contents of the said article are true: for this examinate saith, he hath by long experience for these twenty years' space, known, seen, and perceived the said bishop's behaviour to be, as in the article is contained; and likewise hath seen, and known his household, for such a number as they were (being seven-score and odd), as quiet and well ordered company, as he hath ever known in his time; and so hath heard them commonly noted, and named in the countries where they have dwelled. And saith, that he never heard, or knew, that any of his [the bishop's] servants, or others in his house, or his tenants, prepared harness, and were armed, to any intent, or purpose, at any time, but when the bishop prepared for the defence of Portsmouth, against the Frenchmen. And that once, about a year after the said

bishop was committed to the Tower, a drunken Fleming being in the house, and having received a broken head of this deponent's servant, put on a coat of fence, and went into the town of Winchester, to seek this deponent's servant, to fight with him; and there was found with the coat of fence upon him, and quietly brought home again: and saith, that this he knoweth precisely. For if there had been any other preparation, at any time, this examinate should have known thereof, for that he lay next to the said bishop's armory, and, at all times that the bishop hath sent forth his men or tenants, hath had the charge and conduct of them.

To the XVIth he saith, that the article is true, for causes aforesaid, and as he verily believeth: and he never heard, or knew of the contrary.

To the XVIIth he saith, that the Thursday night articulate, the said master Tonge, and master Ayre, came to the said bishop's house at Wolvesey, and there supped, and were gently entertained of him, in the sight and certain knowledge of this examinate, who, the same time, supped at the same board with them; and, after supper, heard the bishop tell them, that, seeing they were of his church, he would make them no strangers: and therefore required them, without further bidding, to come to him as of his household, and they should be welcome; with other gentle words, tending to that effect.

To the XXth he saith, it is true, as far as ever he heard or knew, and believeth. For this deponent the said day, waited on the said bishop his master, to the said sermon, and there continued all the time of his sermon, which was quietly heard, without any sign, or token of disquietness or tumult showed, or attempted, to this deponent's knowledge: and after the sermon ended, he waited on the said bishop to his house, no word or token of displeasure of any person showed to him, as he saith.

Upon the Interrogatories (as before).

Jacques Wingfield.

John Cooke.

Page 860.

Master John Cooke, registrar to the bishop of Winchester, examined upon articles II. III. V. VI. and XIV. of the aforesaid second matter, deposeth as followeth:

To the IId article, he saith that the contents of it be true; for this deponent was one of the said bishop's proctors in that behalf, and, by force thereof, received the king's majesty's visitors at Chichester, without the diocese of Winton, and conducted and waited on them into the diocese of Winton, and appeared for the said bishop in the chapter-house of the cathedral church of Winton: and there exhibiting the said bishop's proxy, gave an oath, 'in animam episcopi,' of obedience to the king's majesty as supreme head of the church of England, and also of Ireland: and to renounce the bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction, according to especial clauses contained in his proxy, to that effect: and further did (as he saith) as he hath deposed in his former depositions, to certain articles of the matter justificatory

To the IIId and Vth he deposeth, that it is true that he the said bishop required this deponent, and commanded his chancellor, and other his officers in this deponent's hearing, to attend on the king's majesty's visitors, and to see them with all reverence received and obeyed, and their commandments executed accordingly: which things, he saith, were truly executed, according to the request and commandment of the said bishop: and the said visitors quietly obeyed, and received in the said diocese, of this deponent's certain sight and knowledge, without any disobedience showed by any of the bishop's officers, or of any other of his diocese of Winton, as far as this deponent knoweth.

To the VIth he saith, that he doth not presently remember what day or month the visitation began. But, as he remembereth, it was about October, in the year articulate.

To the XIVth he saith, that after the said bishop, being delivered out of the Fleet, returned to his diocese, this deponent heard him preach two sermons, one at Farnham, and another at Winton, wherein he exhorted his audience to be obedient to the king's majesty, as their sovereign lord, and supreme head; alleging divers texts of Scripture for the same. And after he came to Winton, he caused, and commanded to be duly executed and obeyed, all such procla-

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

mations and injunctions, as were set forth and commanded by the king's majesty's authority, of the hearing and knowledge of this deponent.

John Cooke.

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Thomas Neve.

Master Thomas Neve, servant to the bishop of Winton, in whose service he hath continued above these twenty years, of the age of 50 years and above; sworn and examined upon the articles XV. XVI. and XX. of the matter against the exhibits, saith as followeth:

To the XVth article he saith, the contents of the said article be true, of this deponent's certain knowledge. For (as he saith) he, having been the said bishop's household servant above these twenty years' space, hath, by all that time, as well at the being of the said bishop at Winchester, as in all other places where he hath kept household, marked and seen the said bishop to be a man of much quiet behaviour: and in like case all his household, without any disturbance or commotion amongst themselves or others, or giving occasion of tumult, or sedition, as far forth as ever this examinate could see or perceive; and hath heard the said bishop, in his communication, divers times commend quietness and obedience, and to be much offended, when he hath heard of the contrary. And saith, that he never knew nor heard that ever the said bishop, or any of his men, were in harness, or prepared harness, or other weapon, for any purpose or intent to make any stir, or business, or resistance, to any power: saving only, that at such time as they made preparation to serve the king's majesty in France, and likewise, at another time, in Scotland, about the same time that he was committed to the Fleet, he showed himself well willing, and forward to serve his majesty, as to his duty appertaineth. And saith, that as well the said bishop, as his servants, have always, in the parts of Winchester, and other places, where he hath dwelt, commonly been taken and named for sober and quiet persons, of this deponent's certain knowledge and hearing, as he saith. And also saith, that he hath heard the said bishop, very many times, as well in his sermons at divers places, as in other talk, as much commend quietness and obedience, and discommend discord and disobedience, as ever he heard any man in all his life, as he saith.

To the XVIth article, he deposeth as to the next afore, adding, that shortly after the death of king Henry the Eighth, this examinate, communing with the said bishop alone in his house at Southwark, said unto him, that he was sorry to hear that the said bishop was put out of the king's will, and out of the king's majesty's council. Whereunto the said bishop made this answer in effect, that he was glad thereof, and would as gladly be content to live in quietness, under the common justice of the realm, as any subject that the king hath: and willed expressly this deponent, that he himself should conform himself (both in word and deed) to quietness, and cause and counsel all his company to do the like. And the rest of this article he saith is true, as far as ever he knew, and doth believe it, for causes before by him to the XVth article deposed.

To the XXth he saith, that he the said deponent was present at the said sermon, and saw and perceived very well, that the said bishop was very quietly heard. For else this examinate, who stood a good space off, and heard well every word that he spake, should not so easily have heard him, as he did, in case any disturbance or unquietness had been stirred amongst the audience, as he said there was none at that time and place, as far as this examinate could see, or hear. And the said bishop, after his said sermon, departed thence to his house, in quiet manner, without any tumult or disturbance showed or attempted against him: and this he knoweth, for he waited on the bishop, at the same time, from the pulpit to his house: and saith also, that he never knew or heard of any tumult, or disturbance, risen since anywhere, by occasion of the said sermon.

Upon the Interrogatories.—To the 1st he answereth as above, in the beginning of his examination: adding that he hath four pounds yearly wages, and a livery of the said bishop; also twenty marks of annuity, out of the manor of Estmeyne, in recompense of sundry charges, that he hath been at in the said

bishop's service. Also the keeping of Horsley Park of the said bishop by patent: and the herbage, with other things thereof, by indenture. Also he hath a copyhold in Havant, which he had in recompense of the farm of a benefice, which he caused this deponent to lose.

To the 2d interrogatory he answereth, that although the said bishop be his master, yet, he saith, upon his oath, that he beareth no other affection to him, touching this matter, but that he wisheth that he might have justice with favour, as he would wish to a stranger.

To the 3d: he desireth, that the said bishop might clear himself, and so to have victory, as justice will, and no otherwise.

To the 4th he deposeth as before.

Thomas Neve.

James Basset.

James Basset, servant to the bishop of Winton, sworn and examined upon articles IV. VII. XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. and XX. of the said matter against the exhibits.

To the IVth he saith, that the article is true. For by the way at Alton, as the bishop was coming to the council, a priest of the diocese came to the bishop, to consult what he should do at the king's visitation; whom the said bishop willed to obey all such things as should be commanded by the said visitors. And likewise at Kingston, he gave like charge to the curate of Kingston, to this deponent's hearing.

To the VIIth he saith, the article is true; for this deponent did continually lie in London, all the time of the said bishop's being in the Fleet, and oftentimes went to the Fleet to see him, and could not be suffered to come in. For the warden and the porter told him, that they had in commandment, that no man should repair unto him, other than those two servants which remained continually with the said bishop all the time of his being in the Fleet. Howbeit he saith, that master Medowe, his chaplain, about ten days, and this deponent, and others, about five days before Christmas, had license to repair unto him: and saith, that at his being in the Fleet, the king's majesty's visitation was holden in the diocese of Winton, to this deponent's certain knowledge. Page 361.

To the XIIIth he saith, the article is true; referring himself to his depositions, and to articles XI. and XII. of the matter justificatory.

To the XIVth he saith it is true, for he went down with the said bishop to Winton, and knoweth that he lived there quietly, and that he did duly, with all diligence, execute all such laws and proclamations and orders, as were set forth by the king: as the little book of the communion set forth before Easter, which book the said bishop caused to be sent abroad within his diocese, with such diligence and haste as he possibly could, to this deponent's knowledge.

To the XVth and XVIth he saith, the said bishop is and hath been a man of quiet and peaceable behaviour, and ever hath been counted and taken for a person of quietness: and saith that there was never commandment given by the said bishop to his servants, to wear any harness for his defence, or to foresee any such safeguard for the defence of his person; for if they had, this deponent, being always one of the nighest about him, must needs have known of it. And saith also, for his servants: they are, and ever have been, counted to be as quiet a number and sort of men, as any man keepeth: nor was there any harness worn by any of his servants for any such purpose, nor any such manner of safeguard foreseen, as he saith.

To the XVIIth this deponent saith, that this article is true, for this deponent was present, when the bishop did welcome them that night that they supped with the said bishop, whereas he used them familiarly, and gently. And after supper, when the bishop departed from them, he offered them his house to be welcome unto, during their abode there, to this deponent's hearing.

To the XVIIIth he saith, that he was present at a sermon, made by the said bishop on the Sunday after the coming of the said master Ayre and Tonge, in the cathedral church of Winton, as he was appointed to do before their coming; and, in the said sermon, the bishop did not disgrace or disprove, nor speak any thing which might touch or deface the said Tonge and Ayre, of this deponent's certain knowledge. For he heard the sermon, from the beginning to the ending.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

To the XXth he saith, that the article is true; for he was present at the said sermon, from the beginning to the ending: which was as peaceably and quietly heard as might be, in so great an audience. And the said bishop departed quietly home, without disturbance; and he never heard or knew, at any time since that, that there rose or grew any tumult there, or in any other place.

Upon the Interrogatories (as before).

James Basset.

John Seton.

Master John Seton, sworn and examined upon articles IV. VII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. and XVIII. of the said matter against the exhibits, saith as follows:

To the IVth, he saith, that before the said bishop's coming up to London from his house at Walton, which was a little before the king's visitation, the said bishop, hearing that the said visitation should be shortly holden and kept in his diocese, willed this deponent to do his duty in receiving of them, and obediently to do all such things as by them should be commanded; or saying in like words: and otherwise he cannot depose; for this deponent remained behind, at the said bishop's house at Walton.

To the VIIth: he heard divers of the said bishop's servants report, that they made great suit to come unto the said bishop at his being in the Fleet, and could not be suffered to come in: and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XIVth he saith, that the contents of the article are true; for he saith, that he was continually with the said bishop, at his coming to Winton: and knew and saw all the proclamations, statutes, and incjuntions, that were set forth then by the king's authority, to be observed duly, and quietly kept and obeyed by the said bishop, and his ministers of the diocese: and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XVth and XVIth he saith, that by all the time that this deponent hath been the said bishop's chaplain, he hath been of the said bishop's household, and still continueth in the same: by all which space, he saith, of his certain sight and knowledge, that the said bishop hath been a man always quiet, peaceable, and never made or caused to be made any tumult or commotion, at any place where he hath kept and been resident within his diocese, or elsewhere: and saith, that his servants have been, and are, men of quiet behaviour, and so using themselves; never making any tumult or commotion: and he saith, that he never knew, heard, or saw, that the bishop at any time commanded his servants to wear harness or weapons, either for the safeguard of his own person, or his family and household, or for to resist the powers, or any other of the king's true subjects, nor yet ever minded any such thing, as he thinketh in his conscience; for he never could perceive or see any likelihood or token of any such thing: but saith, that the said bishop and his servants have lived peaceably and quietly, as men without fear, not looking for danger of enemies. And for such persons, in all places where the said bishop hath been, he and his servants have been commonly taken and reputed, as he saith. And deposeth, that he hath heard the said bishop oftentimes will his servants to be quiet and obedient, and to suffer wrong and injuries, rather than to show themselves ready thereto by any means.

To the XVIIth he saith, that at the time the said master Ayre and master Tonge came to Winton, to be instituted canons there, the said bishop, on the Thursday next before the Sunday that he preached, had the said master Ayre and [master] Tonge to supper, and did gently entertain them, and made them good cheer. And after supper, the said bishop said, 'Ye are now of my church, and you must take this house as your own, as the others of the church do: and saith, that the said bishop caused their writings for their institution and installation speedily to be made. And after supper this deponent and master Watson, for their parts, went with these two to their inns; and there made them good cheer: the like whereof this deponent hath not showed to any man in four years before; for he saith, in four years' space before, he never drank in any layman's house in Winton: and the premises, he saith, are true, of his own sight and knowledge; and otherwise he cannot depose.

To the XVIIIth he saith, that he was present at the said sermon, made by

the said bishop, in the day articulate: and saith, in the same the said bishop did not speak of any thing that should disgrace or reprove the said master Ayre and [master] Tonge, or any of them; or spake any thing of them, that this deponent heard or could perceive: and otherwise he cannot depose.

Edward VI. A.D. 1551.

Upon the Interrogatories:— he answereth as before.

John Seton.

Reprint from the First Edition.

Notes for the Reader.

A BRIEF TABLE OR INDEX OF SUCH NOTES AND SPECIALTIES, WHEREUNTO STEPHEN GARDINER DID AGREE AND GRANT; CONCERNING REFORMATION OF RELIGION.

It may seem to thee, loving reader, we have been too prolix and tedious in reciting the multitude of so many witnesses, which needed not here, peradventure, to have been inserted, considering our other matters more necessary, and the greatness of the volumes: but the cause moving us thereunto was so reasonable, that we could not leave them out. For seeing there be so many yet to this day, that stick so much to Gardiner's wit, learning, and religion, taking him for such a champion, and a firm pillar of the popish church—for such as hitherto have been so deceived in him, we have taken here a little pains: so that if they will either credit his own words, works, sermons, writings, disputations, or else will be judged by his own witnesses on his own part here produced, they shall see how clearly and evidently he withstandeth the pope's supremacy: Page 862.

First, In his writings, as in his book 'De vera Obedientia.'[1]

Secondly, In his disputations and defensions at Louvain, and other places.[2]

Thirdly, In his open sermons and preaching, as where he expoundeth the place 'Tu es Petrus,' nothing at all to make for authority of the Romish bishop, marvelling how the pope could usurp so much to take up that place to build upon, when Christ had taken it up before to build his church.[3]

Item, That the confession of Peter was the confession of all the apostles, like as the blessing given to Peter, pertained as well to all the apostles.[4]

Item, That the place, 'Pasce oves meas,' was not special to Peter alone, but general to all the apostles. Also that the Greek church did never receive the said bishop of Rome for their universal head.[5]

Item, That the authority of the bishop of Rome, was not received of most part of christian princes.[6]

Item, He would not grant, that the said authority was received generally.[7]

Item, That the church was builded upon Christ's faith, and not upon Peter;[8] and though Peter was called 'princeps apostolorum,' that was nothing else but like as it is in an inquest, where the foreman or headman, is not so called because he is best or chiefest of that company; but because he speaketh first.[9]

(1) Page 217. (2) Page 139. (3) Pages 222, 225, 224. (4) Page 225.
(5) Page 225. (6) Page 186. (7) Page 186. (8) Page 204.
(9) Pages 232, 204.

Edward VI. A.D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

Item, When the keys were given, they were given generally to all the apostles.[1]

Item, He taketh away all such scriptures which are thought to serve for the pope's supremacy, as 'super hâc petrâ:' 'pasce oves meas:' 'princeps apostolorum,' &c.: proving, that they serve nothing for his authority.[2]

Item, In his book 'De vera Obedientia,' he did not only write against the pope's supremacy, but also did defend the same at Louvain.[3]

And moreover in his sermons he did allege and preach the same,[4] and that, vehemently[5]—pithily[6]—earnestly[7]—very earnestly[8]—very forwardly.[9]

And not only did so vehemently, pithily, earnestly, and forwardly, preach himself against the pope's supremacy, but also did cause master White (then schoolmaster, after bishop of Winchester), to make certain verses extolling the king's supremacy against the usurped power of the pope, encouraging also his scholars to do the like.[10]

Item, For the space of fourteen years together, he preached against the pope's supremacy in divers sermons, and especially in one sermon before king Henry.[11]

Item, For ceremonies and images, which were abused: to be taken away by public authority, he did well allow it, as a child to have his book taken from him, when he abuseth, or delighteth only in the golden cover.[12]

Item, For dissolving of monkery, nunnery, or friary, and for dissolution of monasteries, he granteth they were justly suppressed.[13]

Concerning images being by king Edward's Injunctions abolished, he exhorted the people in his sermons to be contented therewith.[14]

Monks and friars he calleth flattering knaves.[15]

Friars he never liked in all his life.[16]

Monks he counted but belly-gods.[17]

The going about of St. Nicholas, St. Katherine, and St. Clement; he affirmeth them to be children's toys.[18]

For taking away or transposing of chantry obits, he referreth it to the arbitrement of the politic rulers, granting that in dissolving them it might well be so done.[19]

Item, He wisheth them to be committed to a better use.[20]

The observing of days, hours, number, time, and place, if they be orderly and publicly commanded by the rulers, it is but to set the church in an outward and public order. But if a man inwardly and privately be addicted to the same, thinking his prayer otherwise not availing, but by observing of the same, it is an error.[21]

The Communion set out by king Edward, he liked well.[22]

The Book of Common Service, he was content both to keep it himself and caused it to be kept of others.[23]

For the Homilies he exhorted the people, in his preaching, to come to the church to hear them read.[24]

(1) Page 204. (2) Page 232. (3) Page 189. (4) Page 90.
(5) Page 233. (6) Page 224. (7) Page 218. (8) Page 218.
(9) Page 186. (10) Page 223. (11) Page 219. (12) Pages 225, 231, 213.
(13) Pages 233, 222, 204. (14) Page 212. (15) Page 187. (16) Page 187.
(17) Page 187. (18) Page 187. (19) Page 232. (20) Page 226.
(21) Pages 238, 240. (22) Pages 238, 239. (23) Page 169. (24) Page 217.

In sum: to all injunctions, statutes, and proclamations, set forth by the king and superior powers, he yieldeth and granteth.[1] *Edward VI.*

Item, Cardinal Pole, coming to the French king to stir him up against England, Winchester caused him to be expelled out of France.[2]—Witness: Cuthbert, bishop of Durham. A. D. 1551.

Item, The said bishop sworn against the pope by express clauses in his proxy.[3] *Reprint from the First Edition.*

Now, gentle reader, lay these his writings, preaching, and doings, with his doings in queen Mary's time, and thou shalt see how variable he was, how inconstant and contrary to himself, how perjured, and far differing from the report of one, who, in an English book,[a] set out in queen Mary's time, reported (as it appeareth in the said book to be seen), that there were three only in England, whose consciences had been never distained in religion, of whom, he said, the aforesaid bishop of Winchester was one.

NOTES AND POINTS CONCERNING REFORMATION OF RELIGION, WHEREUNTO HE WOULD NOT GRANT.

Contrary to the real and natural presence of the body in the sacrament, and to transubstantiation, he would not agree or subscribe.[4] Page 868.

Contrary to the mass, he would not clearly grant;[5] but saying it did profit the quick and the dead.[6] Although against the mass of "Scala Cœli," "masses satisfactory," and "masses in number," he could not find them by Scripture.[7]

To the marriage of priests, he would not agree.[8]

To the article of justification, he would not agree;[9] and divers other places.

Also, here is to be noted in these aforesaid depositions, especially in the depositions of Andrew Beynton, and of master Chalenor,[10] how falsely, and traitor-like, Winchester behaved himself against king Henry the Eighth at Ratisbon, insomuch that the said king, for the secret informations which he had of the bishop, caused in all pardons afterward, all treasons committed beyond the seas, to be excepted, which was most meant for the bishop's cause.[11]

Item, He did exempt the said bishop out of his testament, as one being wilful and contentious, and that would trouble them all.[12]

Item, That the said king Henry, before his death, was certainly believed to abhor the said bishop more than any Englishman in his realm.[13]

Item, That the said king exempted also out of his testament the bishop of Westminster, for that he was schooled in Winchester's school.[14]

Item, The said bishop of Winchester, was found to be the secret worker, that, three years before the king's death, divers of the privy chamber were indicted of heresies; for the which the said king was much offended.[15]

(1) Page 227. (2) Page 189. (3) Page 251.
(a) The Book of John Elder sent into Scotland.
(4) Page 224. (5) Page 204. (6) Page 204. (7) Page 204 (8) Page 205.
(9) Page 49. (10) Pages 165, 166. (11) Page 179. (12) Pages 163, 177.
(13) Page 164. (14) Page 163. (15) Page 179.

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

Thus thou seest, reader, Stephen Gardiner here described, what in all his doings he is, and what is to be thought of him; as who is neither a true protestant, nor a right papist: neither firm in his error, nor yet stedfast in the truth: neither a true friend to the pope, nor yet a full enemy to Christ: false in king Henry's time; obstinate in king Edward's time; perjured, and a murderer, in queen Mary's time: but mutable and inconstant in all times. And finally, whereas in his letters to the lord protector and others, usually he vaunteth so much of his late sovereign lord king Henry the Eighth that dead is, and of the great reputation that he was in with him, behold before, in the depositions of the lord Paget;[1] and there ye shall see, that the king, before his death, both excepting him out of his pardons, and quite striking him out of his last will and testament, so detested and abhorred him as he did no Englishman more. And whereas the lord Paget, being sent in message from the king to the bishop, by other words than the king's mind and will was, of his own dexterity gave to him good and gracious words: then, indeed, the king neither knew, nor yet by him sent the same.[2] Whereupon the bishop, persuading himself otherwise of the king's favour towards him than it was in deed, was far deceived.

And this, now, being sufficient concerning the witnesses and their depositions, let us return to the rest of the twentieth act and session of the process, where we left off.[3]

The publication of the witnesses, which next before I have put, being had, as you have heard and granted, the judges, at the like petition of the promoters, did assign to hear final judgment and decree, in this matter, on Friday the 13th day of this month of February, between the hours of eight and ten aforenoon, in this place: The said bishop of Winchester under like protestation as afore dissenting also to the said assignation.

THE TWENTY-FIRST SESSION.

The twenty-first act or session was held on Friday the 13th day of February, between the aforesaid hours, and in the place assigned, before all the judges and commissioners, in the presence of Thomas Argall and William Say, actuaries.

Here, and at this time, final judgment being assigned to be heard, the bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, did exhibit for proof of his matters and additionals, five books in print: videlicet, one entitled thus: 'Stephani Winton, de Vera Obedientia Oratio:' item, another of Peter Martyr, called, 'Tractatio de Sacramentis Eucharistiæ:' item, another called, 'Catechismus. set forth by my lord archbishop of Canterbury: item, another entitled 'De divinis, apostolicis, atque ecclesiasticis Traditionibus, auctore Martino Peresio Guadixiensi, Epistola:' item, 'Injunctions given by the king's majesty that now is, to all his subjects, as well of the clergy, as the laity:' also, 'A Proclamation against those that do innovate, alter, or leave done, any rite or ceremony in the church, of their private authority:' all which he did exhibit (as far as they made for him, and none otherwise) in presence of the promoters, accepting the contents of the same exhibits, as far as they made for the office; and as much as they made against the office, protesting of the nullity and invalidity of the exhibits aforesaid (saving only the king's majesty's injunctions and proclamation) and alleging the same to be such, whereunto no faith ought to be given.

(1) Page 162. (2) Page 165. (3) Page 143.

Edward VI. A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

And as concerning the aforesaid five books, with the injunctions and proclamation, before by the bishop exhibited, because they are in print (here omitting them) we thought best to refer you to the perusing of the same. The said bishop also, under his said protestations, did exhibit certain exceptions in writings against the witnesses, which he desired to be admitted: the promoters protesting of the nullity, inefficacy, overmuch-generality, and invalidity of the same exceptions; and alleging that they were such, whereunto no faith ought to be given nor the same to be admitted. The exceptions, although they were not admitted, yet for divers considerations I thought good to recite them.

Exceptions given, and laid in by the Bishop of Winchester; against such Witnesses as were produced against him.

The bishop of Winchester—under all and singular protestations, heretofore by him made in this matter, and the same always to him saved and reserved, accepting and approving all and singular such parts of the depositions of the witnesses produced and examined against him and by him in this behalf, as the law bindeth him, and as they make for his part, and for this intent and none otherwise—saith, that forasmuch as certain of the witnesses, brought forth by the said bishop and against him, be of the king's majesty's most honourable council; that is to say, the duke of Somerset, the lord treasurer, the lord great master, the lord privy seal, the lord great chamberlain, the lord Cobham, the lord Paget, sir William Harbert: unto whom, for that respect, and also in consideration of their estate, duty requireth seemly and convenable speech to be used of them: [in] which mind of his behaviour in language towards them, the said bishop protesteth, and by way of exception allegeth; and excepting saith, that the said noblemen have been, without any corporal oath by them taken, contrary to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, examined and deposed: unto whom, because the said oath-giving was not by special consent remitted, but especially and expressly by the part of the said bishop required, their deposition by the ecclesiastical laws hath no such strength of testimony, as the judge should or might, for the knowledge of truth, have regard to them. For, albeit the quality of their estate be such, and their sayings also, in words declared to proceed of their faith and honour, with which it becometh no private man to contend,[1] nor to affirm, by objection, that they would otherwise say or depose upon a corporal oath, than they do now: yet, because the order of the law ecclesiastical requireth the oath corporal, lately practised in this realm, in persons of like estate: the said bishop dare the more boldly allege this exception: and so much the rather, that the lord Paget hath, in his deposition, evidently and manifestly neglected honour, faith, and honesty, and showeth himself desirous, beyond the necessary answer, to that was demanded of him (only of ingrate malice), to hinder, as much as in him is, the said bishop, who was in the said lord's youth, his teacher and tutor, afterward his master, and then his beneficial master, to obtain of the king's majesty that dead is, one of the rooms of the clerkship of the signet for him: which ingrate malice of the said lord Paget, the said bishop saith, in the depositions manifestly doth appear, as the said bishop offereth himself ready to prove and show. And moreover, the said bishop against the lord Paget allegeth, at such time as the said lord Paget was produced against the said bishop, the same lord Paget openly, in the presence of the judges, and others there present, said, how the said bishop did fly from justice, which made him notoriously suspected, not to be affected indifferently to the truth (as seemed him); and without cause therein to speak, as enemy to the said bishop. Objecting against the lord Paget, as afore in especial: and generally excepting the omission of the corporal oath in the rest, he saith further—that the sayings of the said noblemen, as they in some points depose only upon hearsay, in some points speaking in general, declaring no specialty, in some points declaring a specialty without such quality as the proof of the fact

Page 864.

The cover-cloaking of Winchester.

His bare shift.

He will not acknowledge the law of the realm in this point.

His railing against lord Paget.

(1) Herein he granteth against himself.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

requireth; without giving such a reason of their saying, as the law in the deposition of a witness requireth, when there is deposition of such matter: the same their sayings do not in law conclude, nor make proof of any matter prejudicial to the said bishop, as upon the consideration of the depositions may appear. And finally, the said bishop, by way of exception, allegeth, and excepting saith, that the lord Paget, being produced against the said bishop, was by the office examined, as appeareth, upon the interrogatories ministered by the office, without making the bishop privy what the said interrogatories were, to the intent he might understand what new matter were deduced, to use his just defence in that behalf. And, although the bishop produced those noblemen, as witnesses to prove his behaviour, at their repair unto him in the Tower, and at his coming to them, when he was commanded to appear before them at the king's majesty's palace, whereby his sayings and answers before them might appear, with their testimony in general of the bishop's estimation in our late sovereign lord's days: yet the same personages be produced again for the office, to be taken and used as witnesses against the said bishop in the principal matter of that they themselves supposed to be true in their process, thereby, with their own testimony, to justify their own doings: whereupon they did proceed so as it appeareth, that the same personages be the judges in the first sentence, and brought here witnesses, whereby to approve the justness of their own former doings; which is against all law, equity, and justice. And touching the other witnesses, such as appear in the acts, to have made a corporal oath,—amongst which be also four of the king's most honourable council, sir Anthony Wingfield, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Edward North, and master Cecil—the said bishop, with due respects to their worships, saith their sayings and depositions, where they be general, and declare no specialty against the said bishop, wherein he should especially offend, conclude no proof in law, nor ought to be prejudicial to the said bishop, as by consideration of the depositions may appear.

Winchester lawyer-like!

Sir A. Wingfield, R. Sadler, E. North, and master Cecil.

And where master Cecil deposeth upon the Xth article, he is therein singular, and concludeth no proof in such a matter of weight, and telleth not that matter touching the king's majesty's young age, as he uttered it, and calleth it a commandment that he uttered not so, leaving out the joining of the council to limit the king's authority; as the said bishop, upon his oath in answer hath affirmed: and in the VIIIth article, the declaration of his knowledge of commandment given to the bishop to preach, by knowledge, from master Smith (as he saith), varieth from master Watson, a witness in that part produced. And as for master Coxe, master Ayre, master Honing, master Cheke, master Chalenor, master Record, and master Smith, the bishop, excepting, allegeth, that either they depose generally, or by hearsay, not concluding any proof, or else so utter their own affection, as they be worthy of no credit, or else show themselves so loth to seem to remember any thing that might relieve the bishop, as they ought to be reputed not indifferent. And moreover, the said bishop saith, that master Coxe had his conversation so touched in the latter end of the bishop's sermon, for priests to marry contrary to a law, and against order, that it was no marvel though he were offended. Master Ayre declareth himself to have complained of the said bishop, whose complaint by witness already produced is reproved. Master Record, saying that the bishop is yet disobedient, and so wrongfully judging of the bishop in his private prejudice, is unworthy all faith in the matter. Master Chalenor showeth himself to mistake the matter, not distinguishing Hampton-court from Westminster. Master Smith, in declaring of his treating with the bishop, doth plainly confound the month of February with June. Master Honing's deposition hath no matter substantial in form of proof declared. And also the said bishop, excepting as afore and under his protestation above mentioned, allegeth, that all and singular the witnesses aforesaid, examined against the said bishop, be, in their pretensed depositions, variable, singular, discrepant, repugnant, and contrary one to another; and not proving, in any wise, such things as they go about and endeavour themselves to depose of. All which matters the said bishop allegeth as they be above respectively mentioned, touching the witnesses concerning the premises against them, as is aforesaid, objected and excepted, as well for the causes before respectively specified, as other causes contained in their pretensed depositions: to whose sayings, credit and faith, sufficient by the law, ought not to be given, as is

Coxe.

Ayre.

Record.

Chalenor.

Smith.

Honing.

Winchester mistrusting his quarrel, useth protestations in every matter.

required for proof and testimony of truth in process, as by their said pretensed depositions more plainly appeareth; unto which and unto the law (as is expedient for him and none otherwise), the said bishop referreth himself in this behalf. And under his said protestations he allegeth, that these things before by him respectively excepted against the said witnesses, were and be true and notorious, as by the acts and depositions of the same witnesses, and by other records and things had, exhibited, done, and made in this matter, doth appear; and also, by proof to be further made by the said bishop, if he may be admitted thereunto, shall appear; and therewith to what is already deposed, to which (as is aforesaid) the bishop answereth himself so far forth as they make for him and none otherwise.

Besides the premises, the said bishop also, under like protestations as afore, did exhibit, for the better information of the judges in this matter, certain papers: one, containing a collation made of the depositions in both parts, what was said, and how it was said in the bishop's sermon; and of the charge and discharge in the same: which collation, for that I have before comprehended it in the table and index of notes,[1] I thought it not here necessary to occupy any more room.— Item, another abridgment of collections touching the said bishop's sermon.—Item, another touching the articles of the council sending to the said bishop to the Tower.—Another entitled "A note of the bishop's conformity in prison, with confutation of that which hath been in general terms called in him, obstinacy and disobedience."— Another entitled, "Answers by evident deeds, to such matter at large in words, as is surmised against the bishop of Winchester:" the promoters protesting also of the nullity of the same exhibits, and requiring judgment to be given.[2]

Page 865.

Then and there the judges assigned again to hear judgment, on the following day, between the hours of nine and eleven of the clock before noon, in the same place: the bishop under his protestation, dissenting to the said assignation, and protesting of a grief, for that he hath not yet all the exhibits again, nor space sufficient to consult with his learned counsel in this behalf: and also requiring another temporal counsellor, because one of them already assigned unto him cannot tarry longer in these parts.

THE TWENTY-SECOND SESSION.

The twenty-second act or session, wherein appeared Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, personally, was sped in the hall of the manor at Lambeth, on Saturday the 14th day of February, before all the judges delegate, in the presence of Thomas Argall, and William Say, actuaries.

On this day and place, according to the assignment in that behalf, between the hours prefixed, the promoters delivering to the archbishop the sentence in writing, required the same to be given in presence of the bishop of Winchester, who, under his former protestations, before the said actuaries and the multitude there assembled, making a certain appellation from the said judges to our sovereign lord the king's most excellent majesty, according as was contained in certain paper-leaves, which he, then and there openly read; and upon the reading thereof, required the said actuaries, to make him an instrument thereof; and the witnesses there present, to bear testimony thereunto:

(1) Page 255.
(2) Concerning these exhibits, as many as came unto our hands, look before between the pages 24 and 93.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

protesting also, that from thenceforth he intended not, by any of his doings or sayings, to recede from the benefit of his said appellation. The copy of which appellation so by the bishop read, here followeth.

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The Appeal of the Bishop of Winchester before the Sentence definitive.

In the name of God, Amen. Before you judges delegates, or commissaries pretensed, under named, and before you notaries public, and authentic persons: and also before you witnesses here present, I Stephen, by the permission of God bishop of Winchester, to the intent to appeal, and likewise principally of nullity to querell under the best and most effectual way, manner, and form of law which I best and most effectually ought to do, and to all purposes and effects of the law that may follow thereof, say, allege, and in this writing propone in law—That, although I have obtained, and do obtain, hold, keep, and occupy the said bishopric of Winchester lawfully; and the same (so by me lawfully had and obtained), with all the rights, and appurtenances of the same, have possessed, by many years, peaceably and quietly; and so, (saving always such things and griefs, as be under written) do possess now, at this present time; and, for the very and true bishop, and lawful possessor aforesaid have been, and am commonly taken, named, had, holden, and reputed, openly and notoriously: and albeit I was and am (as I thought to be) in peaceable possession of the law, to take, have and receive the fruits, rents, provents, obventions, and other rights and profects, whatsoever they be, in any wise to the bishopric aforesaid appertaining, and of the same bishopric, by any manner of means, coming or happening: and though also I was, and am, a man of perfect and full integrity and of good name and fame, and also of life, manners, and conversation, laudable; not suspected, not excommunicated, nor interdicted; neither with any crime, at least notorious or famous, nor with any disobedience or contentions against any my superiors, noted, respersed, or convicted; but to obey the law, and to stand to the commandments, precepts, and monitions of the most noble prince, and our sovereign lord Edward the Sixth (by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in earth of the church of England and Ireland, supreme head), as far forth as they be consonant, conformable, and agreeable with the laws, statutes, parliaments, and injunctions of the said king's majesty, and ordained by his authority, published, made, and admitted—being not repugnant to the same: and as I may obey the same, saving the integrity of my conscience, am always ready likewise, as hitherto I have always been, as far as I am bound, duly to obey the same, and, with God's help so do intend to do hereafter, and all other my superiors:—Yet, nevertheless, the most reverend father in God Thomas, by the sufferance of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan; Nicholas bishop of London; Thomas bishop of Ely, one of the king's majesty's privy council; Henry bishop of Lincoln; sir William Peter, knight, one of the king's majesty's principal secretaries, and one of the king's highness' privy council; sir James Hales, one of the justices of the Common Pleas; John Oliver, and Griffith Leyson, doctors of the civil law; John Gosnall, Richard Goodrick, esquires, commissaries or judges delegate, as they pretend themselves, by virtue of commission to them committed by the king's majesty's proceeding against me (the bishop aforesaid), of their pretensed office, necessarily promoted, as is pretended: laying and objecting against me certain articles, as well for the generality of them as otherwise, of no value, efficacy, or effect: and thereupon, and upon other interrogatories ministered privately by them, without the knowledge of the said bishop, taking away his just defence in that behalf: examining also divers and sundry witnesses upon them, contrary to the due order and deposition of the law, and without any corporal oath due and accustomed in that behalf, to them given, or by them taken, notwithstanding the said witnesses were, and be, laymen, and the cause original (as it is pretended) very urgent, tending to the deprivation of a bishop: which judges, or pretensed commissaries, earnestly and vehemently defend the same, against the said bishop, and, showing themselves manifestly judges not indifferent, but very much affectionate against me; and to be therein to me, and to the truth of my just cause, vehemently, notoriously, and worthily suspected: and that my lord of Canterbury aforesaid,

was one of the judges that caused and commanded me (the said bishop) to the prison in the Tower of London, where I am now prisoner; and upon that commandment have remained as prisoner, almost these three years continually: also master James Hales, master Goodrick, and master Gosnall, commissioners pretensed aforesaid, were of counsel, and gave their counsel and advice concerning the same sending of me to the Tower, and imprisonment aforesaid: moreover my lord of Canterbury, my lord of London, and my lord of Lincoln, commissioners pretensed aforesaid, do, contrary to the laws ecclesiastical of this realm, teach and set forth the manifest and condemned error against the very true presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar; and because I (the said bishop) am, and have been always, of the true catholic faith, contrary to them (who in that, as well by my writings as otherwise, have and do set forth, according to the truth and verity of Christ's word, and the catholic faith and doctrine, that in the same sacrament of the altar, is the very presence of Christ's body and blood). Therefore the same archbishop and bishops have and do show themselves unduly affected against me, and be notoriously in the truth adversaries unto me: and sir William Peter was one of the judges, that decreed the fruits of my bishopric (not according to the order of law, or upon cause sufficient) unjustly, contrary to the laws, to be sequestered; and did sequester them, 'de facto, sed non de jure;' and now is judge in his own cause, concerning his own fact; and so entreateth, and affecteth the maintenance of the same against me (the said bishop), as his own proper cause, both in the place of judgment, and other places: and also all the said judges have so notoriously handled, used, and openly manifested themselves in the distrust, and in their proceeding in this matter against me (the said bishop) that they seem, and appear openly, to indifferent men them hearing and perceiving, rather to be parties, than indifferent judges; and show, and declare manifestly, in words and deeds, their undue affection towards me, in my matter aforesaid; and more earnestly, fervently, and rigorously saying, imagining, and intending, with all their endeavours and industry, what they can possibly say, and do against me, than any other of them that be of counsel against me, do, or can imagine, or invent to say, or do; and at no time do show themselves like indifferent judges, to say, speak, declare, or do in word or deed, any thing or matter besides granting of process, that might touch or return to my just innocency, and just and lawful defence, notoriously known to them as judges in this behalf, opening and manifesting thereby, and by other the premises, their undue affection, purpose, and intent they have to deprive me from my bishopric, and to make their determination by sentence against me: and that notwithstanding the copies of such necessary writings, and exhibits, as were exhibited in this cause by the part of me the said bishop, which be very necessary and expedient for the proof of my part in this behalf, be not yet delivered me, whereupon I might consult with my counsel: and that the fact and state of the cause is not yet fully opened or declared, the said judges having, for their affections, and other the causes aforesaid, no respect thereunto, nor to minister justice in this behalf, having as yet little or no knowledge at all of the cause; and show themselves ready, and, with all their affections, industry, and endeavour, prepare themselves to give sentence of deprivation against me; and, in effect, uttered the same openly in judgment. And to the intent the verity of the fact, and due proof thereof, whereby the innocency of me (the said bishop) might evidently appear, should pass over unknown, and to have the same concealed, cloaked, and hid, the said pretensed commissaries sitting, and unjustly and unlawfully proceeding, in this matter yesterday, being the 13th of this present month of February, then being the first time, that, in the matter, was assigned to hear sentence, and the first opening or declaring of any part of the fact, after the publication and other probations made; having no respect to any of the premises, nor yet that it was almost three of the clock that I returned home to the Tower, to repose and refresh myself; whereunto, without any consideration had in any the premises, [they] assigned the next morrow; videlicet, this day, at nine of the clock aforenoon, to hear definitive sentence in this matter; not first admitting the exceptions laid before them by the said bishop, but refusing so to do, and thereby rejecting the same, no day being of respect betwixt the said days; whereby it is notorious, that the said time assigned was and is so short, that the counsel of me the said bishop, dwelling

Edward VI

A. D. 1551.

Reprint from the First Edition.

Page 866.

Edward VI. A. D. 1551. *Reprint from the First Edition.*

about St. Paul's, and I remaining prisoner in the Tower, where the gates be shut at five of the clock in the evening, and till after six in the morning, that there was no time sufficient for me, and my counsel, to peruse and examine such witnesses, proofs, and writings, as were, as well of my part, as against me, in this behalf produced and exhibited, and deliberately to consult thereupon together; especially this cause being a very urgent, weighty, and arduous cause, concerning the deprivation (as it is intended) of a bishop of many years' continuance therein, from his bishopric: and that I, being of long time kept in close prison, was so pestered the said 13th day, being yesterday, with the populous audience, that I repair this day with the great travail of my body, and make my personal appearance again to the said place of judgment. And that the said injuries and griefs aforesaid, and other the premises, under manner and form above specified, done, and made, were and be true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous. Whereupon I (the said bishop), feeling and perceiving to be grieved of and upon the premises, and of such other things, as, of the acts, facts, doings, and proceedings of the said commissioners may be duly collected, do, from them, and from every of them, appeal in this writing, to the king's majesty aforesaid; and ask apostules, first, secondarily, and thirdly, instantly, more instantly, and most instantly, to be given and delivered to me, with the effect, and of the nullity of the premises do libel principally, and querell: and I protest, that there be not ten days since griefs of appeal have been done unto me, and that these griefs be daily continued: and I protest to add, correct, reform, diminish this my appellation, and to subtract from it, and to reduce and conceive the same in a better and more competent form, according to the counsel of such as be expert and have knowledge of the law; and to intimate the same to all and singular persons, that have or may have any interest in this behalf, for time and place convenient, as the manner and style of the law requireth.

After this, upon debate and discussion of the principal matter had, made, and used on both sides, my lord's grace of Canterbury, with consent of all the rest of the said judges his colleagues there personally and judicially sitting, gave and read openly a final sentence conceived in writing against the said bishop of Winchester, whereby, amongst other, he judged and determined the said bishop of Winchester to be deprived and removed from the bishopric of Winchester, and from all the right, authority, emoluments, commodities, and other appurtenances to the said bishopric in any wise belonging, whatsoever they be: and him did deprive, and remove from the same, pronouncing and declaring the said bishopric of Winchester, to all effects and purposes to be void, according as in the same sentence is more fully contained; the copy whereof here ensueth.[1]

Sentence definitive against Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

In the name of God Amen. By authority of a commission by the high and mighty prince our most gracious sovereign lord Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith; and of the church of England, and also of Ireland, in earth the supreme head, the tenor whereof hereafter ensueth: Edward the Sixth, &c.—We, Thomas, by the sufferance of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan, with the right reverend fathers in God Nicholas bishop of London, Thomas bishop of Ely, and Henry bishop of Lincoln, sir William Peter knight, one of our said sovereign lord's two principal secretaries, sir James Hales knight, one of our said sovereign lord's justices of his common pleas, Griffith Leyson and John Oliver, doctors in the civil law, Richard Goodrick and John Gosnall esquires, delegates and judges assigned and appointed, rightfully and lawfully proceeding according to the form and tenor of the said commission, for the hearing, examination, debating, and final determination of

(1) The reprint from the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments, commencing at page 86 of this volume, closes here.—Ed.

the causes and matters in the said commission mentioned and contained, and upon the contents of the same, and certain articles objected of office against you, Stephen bishop of Winchester, as more plainly and fully is mentioned and declared in the said commission and articles, all which we repute and take here to be expressed; and after sundry judicial assemblies, examinations, and debatings of the said cause and matters, with all incidents, emergents and circumstances to the same or any of them belonging; and the same also being by us oft heard, seen, and well understood, and with good and mature examination and deliberation debated, considered, and fully weighed and pondered, observing all such order and other things, as by the laws, equity, and the said commission, ought or needed herein to be observed, in the presence of you, Stephen bishop of Winchester, do proceed to the giving of our final judgment and sentence definitive in this manner following.

Forasmuch as by the acts enacted, exhibits and allegations proposed, deduced, and alleged, and by sufficient proofs, with your own confession, in the causes aforesaid had and made, we do evidently find and perceive that you, Stephen bishop of Winchester, have not only transgressed the commandments mentioned in the same, but also have of long time, notwithstanding many admonitions and commandments given unto you to the contrary, remained a person much grudging, speaking and repugning against the godly reformations of abuses in religion, set forth by the king's highness's authority within this his realm; and forasmuch as we do also find you a notable, open, and contemptuous disobeyer of sundry godly and just commandments given unto you by our said sovereign lord and by his authority, in divers great and weighty causes touching and concerning his princely office, and the state and common quietness of this realm; and forasmuch as you have, and yet do, contemptuously refuse to recognise your notorious negligences and misbehaviours, contempts and disobediences, remaining still, after a great number of several admonitions, always more and more indurate, incorrigible, and without all hope of amendment—contrary both to your oath sworn, obedience, promise, and also your bounden duty of allegiance; and for that great slander and offence of the people arise in many parts of the realm, through your wilful doings, sayings, and preachings, contrary to the common order of the realm; and for sundry other great causes by the acts, exhibits, your own confession, and proofs of this process, more fully appearing; considering withal that nothing effectually hath been on your behalf alleged, proposed, and proved, nor by any other means appeareth, which doth or may impair or take away the proofs made against you, upon the said matters and other the premises:—

Winchester found to be a transgressor.

Therefore we, Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan, judge delegate aforesaid, having God before our eyes, with express consent and assent of Nicholas bishop of London, Thomas bishop of Ely, Henry bishop of Lincoln, sir William Peter knight, sir James Hales knight, Griffith Leyson and John Oliver, doctors of the civil law, Richard Goodrick and John Gosnall esquires, judges and colleagues with us in the matters aforesaid, and with the counsel of divers learned men in the laws, with whom we have conferred in and upon the premises, do judge and determine you, Stephen bishop of Winchester, to be deprived and removed from the bishopric of Winchester, and from all the rights, authority, emoluments, commodities, and other appurtenances to the said bishopric in any wise belonging, whatsoever they be; and by these presents we do deprive and remove you from your said bishopric, and all rites and other commodities aforesaid; and further pronounce and declare the said bishopric of Winchester, to all effects and purposes, to be void by this our sentence definitive, which we give, pronounce, and declare in these writings.

Gardiner deprived of his bishopric.

This sentence definitive being given, the said bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, dissented from the giving and reading thereof, and from the same, as unjust, and of no efficacy or effect in law; and in that the same containeth excessive punishment, and for other causes expressed in his appellation aforesaid, he did then and there 'apud acta,' immediately after the pronouncing of the sentence, by word of mouth appeal to the king's royal majesty, first, secondly, and thirdly, instantly, more instantly, most instantly; and asked apostules, or letters dimissorial, to be given and granted unto him:

Appealeth from the sentence to the king.

Edward VI. A. D. 1551.

and also, under protestation not to recede from the former appellation, asked a copy of the said sentence; the judges declaring that they would first know the king's pleasure and his council's therein. Upon the reading and giving of which sentence, the promoters willed William Say and Thomas Argall to make a public instrument, and the witnesses then and there present to bear testimony thereunto; *and[1] the bishop of Winchester required us also to make him an instrument upon his said appellation, and the said witnesses to testify thereunto; being present as witnesses at the premises: namely, the earls of Westmoreland and Rutland; the lord William Haward, the lord Russel; sir Thomas Wrothe, sir Anthony Brown, knights; master John Cheke, esquire; John Fuller, Richard Lyall, Galfride Glyn, William Jefferey, Richard Standish, David Lewis, doctors of law; master serjeant Morgan, master Stamford, master Chidley, master Carell, master Dyar, temporal counsellors; and many others in a great multitude then assembled.*

The end of Winchester's story.

And thus have you the whole discourse and process of Stephen Gardiner, late bishop of Winchester, unto whom the papistical clergy do so much lean (as to a mighty Atlas, and upholder of their ruinous religion); *with[2] his letters, answers, preachings, examinations, defensions, exhibits, and attestations, of all such witnesses as he could produce for the most advantage to his own cause, with such notes also, and collections gathered upon the same; whereby, if ever there were any firm judgment or sentence in that man to be gathered in matters of religion, here it may appear what it was, as well on the one side as on the other.*

A good lawyer; but yet a naughty divine, and a worse bishop.

And thus an end of Winchester for a while, till we come to talk of his death hereafter, whom as we number amongst good lawyers, so is he to be reckoned amongst ignorant and gross divines, proud prelates, and bloody persecutors, as both by his cruel life and pharisaical doctrine may appear, especially in the article of the sacrament, and of our justification, and images, and also in crying out of the Paraphrase, not considering in whose person the things be spoken; but what the paraphrast uttereth in the person of Christ, or of the evangelist, and not in his own, that he wresteth unto the author, and maketh thereof heresy and abomination.

As unskilful as wilful.

The like impudency and quarrelling also, he used against Bucer, Luther, Peter Martyr, Cranmer, and almost against all other true interpreters of the gospel. So blind was his judgment, or else so wilful was his mind, in the truth of Christ's doctrine, that it is hard to say, whether in him unskilfulness or wilfulness had greater predomination.

Doctor Redman set to match Gardiner.

But against this Dr. Gardiner, we will now set and match, on the contrary side, Dr. Redman, forasmuch as he, departing this transitory life the same present year 1551, cometh now, by course of history, here to be mentioned; who, for his singular life and profound knowledge, being inferior in no respect to the said Gardiner, shall stand as great a friend in promoting the gospel's cause, as the other seemeth an enemy, by all manner of ways to impair and deface the same: for the more assured declaration whereof we will hereto adjoin (the Lord willing) the learned communication between the said Dr. Redman lying on his death-bed, and master

(1) See Edition 1563, page 867.—Ed.

(2) It is thus that the history proceeds in the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments, p. 867. The author excuses himself from repeating 'the tedious tractation' in later Editions, in consequence of 'the greatness of the volume,' but refers the reader to the original history, which has been faithfully reprinted in the present Edition.—Ed.

Wilkes, master Alexander Nowel, Dr. Young, and other witnesses more; whereof the said master Wilkes thus recordeth, speaking in his own person, and his own words, as followeth:

Edward VI. A. D. 1551.

A Note of the Communication that I, Richard Wilkes, had with Master Doctor Redman, being sick at Westminster on his Death-bed, but of good memory, the 2d day of November, 1551, in the presence of Master Young, and another whom I did not know, and two of Master Doctor Redman's Servants, the one called Ellis, and the other unknown.

I (the aforesaid Richard Wilkes) coming to Dr. Redman lying sick at Westminster, and, first saluting him after my ordinary duty, wished him health both in soul and body; not doubting, moreover, but he did practise the godly counsel in himself, which he was wont to give to others being in his case; and, thanks be to God, said I, who had given him stuff of knowledge to comfort himself withal. To whom he, answering again, said in this wise: "God of all comfort, give me grace to have comfort in him, and to have my mind wholly fixed in him!" Master Young and I said, "Amen."

Then I communed with him of his sickness, and of the weakness of his body, and said, that though he were brought never so low, yet he, if it were his pleasure that raised up Lazarus, could restore him to health again. "No, no," saith he, "that is past, and I desire it not; but the will of God be fulfilled!"

After this, or a little other like communication, I asked if I might be so bold, not troubling him, to know his mind for my learning, in some matters and points of religion. He said, "Yea," and that he was as glad to commune with me in such matters, as with any man. And then I said to his servants, I trusted I should not trouble him. "No," said Ellis, his servant, "my lord of London, Master Nowel and others, have communed with him, and he was glad of it." Then said Master Redman, "No, you shall not trouble me. I pray God ever give me grace to speak the truth, and his truth, and that which shall redound to his glory, and send us unity in his church;" and we said "Amen."

Communication touching the sacrament.

I said, he should do much good in declaring his faith, and I would be glad to know his mind as touching the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.—He said, "As man is made of two parts, of the body and the soul, so Christ would feed the whole man: but what (saith he) be the words of the text? let us take the words of the Scripture." And he rehearsed the text himself thus: "'Accepit Jesus panem;' 'Christ took bread;' wherein his will was to institute a sacrament. 'Accipite, comedite:' 'Take, eat.' Here he told the use of it. What did he give to them? 'Hoc est corpus meum,' he calleth it his body."

Whether Christ be present.

Then I asked him of the presence of Christ.—He said, Christ was present with his sacrament, and in those that received it as they ought. And there was "mira unitio," a wonderful union (for that word was named), betwixt Christ and us, as St. Paul saith: "Vos estis os ex ossibus ejus, et caro ex carne ejus;" "Ye be bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh:" the which union was ineffable.

Corporally, naturally or really.

Then I asked him, what he thought of the opinion, that Christ was there corporally, naturally, and really.—He answered, "If you mean by corporally,[1] naturally and really, that he is there present 'vere,' I grant."

In flesh, blood, and bone.

Then I asked, how he thought of that which was wont commonly to be spoken, that Christ was there flesh, blood, and bone; as I have heard the stewards in their Leets give charge when the Six Articles stood in effect, and charge the inquest to inquire, that if there were any that would deny that Christ was present in the sacrament of the altar, in flesh, blood, and bone, they should apprehend them.—He said, that it was too gross, and could not well be excused from the opinion of the Capernaites.

Then I asked him, "Inasmuch as Christ is there 'vere,' how do we receive him? in our minds and spiritual parts, or with our mouths, and into our bodies; or both?—He said, "We receive him in our minds and souls by faith."

(1) Corporally, that is truly; so Christ is there: otherwise not.

Edward VI

A. D. 1551.

Then, inasmuch as he was much on this point, that there was "mira unitio," "a marvellous union" betwixt us and Christ, in that we were "caro ex carne ejus, et os ex ossibus ejus," "bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh;" I desired to know his opinion, whether we received the very body of Christ with our mouths, and into our bodies, or no?—Here he paused and held his peace a little space; and shortly after he spake, saying, "I will not say so; I cannot tell; it is a hard question: but surely," saith he, "we receive Christ in our soul by faith. When you do speak of it otherways, it soundeth grossly, and savoureth of the Capernaites."

Whether Christ's very body be received.

Then I asked him, what he thought of that which the priest was wont to lift up and show the people betwixt his hands?—He said, "It is the sacrament."

Whether that be to be worshipped which the priest showeth betwixt his hands.

Then said I, "They are wont to worship that which is lifted up."—"Yea," saith he, "but we must worship Christ in heaven; Christ is neither lifted up nor down." "I am glad," said I, "master doctor, to hear you say so much. I would not speak of the holy sacrament otherwise than reverently; but I fear, lest that sacrament, and the little white piece of bread so lifted up, hath robbed Christ of a great part of his honour."—Then said he, looking up and praying, "God grant us grace that we may have the true understanding of his word, whereby we may come to the true use of his sacraments;" and said, he would never allow the carrying about of the sacrament, and other fond abuses about the same.

Whether the carrying about of the sacrament is to be allowed.

Then after a little while pausing, said I, "Master doctor, if I should not trouble you, I would pray you to know your mind in transubstantiation." "Jesus! master Wilkes," quoth he, "will you ask me that?"—"Sir," said I, "not if I should trouble you."—"No, no, I will tell you," said he. "Because I found the opinion of transubstantiation received in the church, when I heard it spoken against, I searched the ancient doctors diligently, and went about to establish it by them, because it was received. And when I had read many of them, I found little for it, and could not be satisfied. Then I went to the school-doctors, and namely to Gabriel, and weighed his reasons. The which when I had done, and perceived they were no pithier, 'Languescabat opinio mea de transubstantiatione,' My opinion of transubstantiation waxed feeble: and then," saith he, "I returned again to Tertullian and Irenæus, and when I had observed their sayings, mine opinion that there should be transubstantiation 'prorsus erat abolita,' was quite dashed."

Transubstantiation not to be found in the doctors.

Then, said I, "You know that the school doctors did hold, that 'panis non remanebat post consecrationem,' 'that bread remained not after the consecration,' as they called it."—"The school doctors," saith he, "did not know what 'consecratio' meaneth:" and here he paused awhile.

What is consecration.

"I pray you," said I, "say you what 'consecratio' means?"—Saith he, "It is 'tota actio,' in ministering the sacrament as Christ did institute it. All the whole thing done in the ministry, as Christ ordained it, that is 'consecratio;' and what," said he, "need we to doubt, that bread remaineth? Scripture calleth it bread, and certain good authors that be of the later time, be of that opinion."

After that I had communed with master Redman, and taken my leave of him, master Young came forth into the next chamber with me, to whom I said that I was glad to see master doctor Redman so well minded. Then said master Young to me, "I am sure he will not deny it; I assure you," saith he, "master doctor hath so moved me, that whereas I was of that opinion before, in certain things, that I would have burned and lost my life for them; now," saith master Young, "I doubt of them. But I see," saith he, "a man shall know more and more by process of time, and reading and hearing of others, and master doctor Redman's saying shall cause me to look more diligently for them."

Talk about Dr. Redman. Young stayed by Redman from his Popish opinion.

Also Ellis, master doctor Redman's servant, showed me, that he did know, that his master had declared to his majesty king Henry VIII., that faith only justifieth; but that doctrine, as he thought, was not to be taught the people, lest they should be negligent to do good works.

Redman touching justification by faith.

The said master Young hath reported (the which also I heard), that master doctor Redman should say, that 'consensus ecclesiæ,' the consent of the church, was but a weak staff to lean to; but did exhort him to read the Scriptures, for there was that which should comfort him, when he should be in such case as he was then.

'Consensus ecclesiæ,' a weak staff to lean to.

Another Communication between Dr. Redman, lying in his Death-bed, and Master Nowel, then Schoolmaster in Westminster, and certain others, with Notes of his Censure and Judgment touching certain Points of Christ's Religion.

Edward VI. A.D. 1551.

Imprimis, the said Dr. Redman sent for master Nowel, of his own mind, and said, he was willing to commune with him of such matters as he had moved the said Dr. Redman of a day or two before; and he, being desired of the said master Nowel to declare his mind concerning certain points of our religion, first said, Ask me what ye will, and I will answer you, before God, truly as I think, without any affection to the world or any worldly person.

Witnesses: Alexander Nowel, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.

II. Item, The said Dr. Redman said, that the see of Rome in these latter days is "sentina malorum," that is, "a sink of all evil."

Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, John Wright, Edward Cratford, Richard Elithorne, Ellis Lomas.

III. Item, That purgatory, as the schoolmen taught it, and used it, was ungodly, and that there was no such kind of purgatory as they fancied.

Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, John Wright.

IV. Item, That the offering up of the sacrament in masses and trentals for the sins of the dead is ungodly.[1] *Offering up of the sacrament.*

Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

V. Item, That the wicked are not partakers of the body of Christ, but receive the outward sacrament only.

Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, John Wright.

(1) When passages of ancient writers have been brought forward by Romanists (at controversial discussions more particularly) in support of the practice of offering up masses for the dead, it has been usual to meet them by other passages of a totally different tendency from the *same* writers, rather than to attempt an explanation of the former. This however may be done, as will be seen by the following extracts from a work entituled, De origine et superstitione Missarum in honorem sanctorum celebratarum, auct. Jo. Fechtio (Rostoch. 1707.) "Offerre pro defunctis in universum, sive sanctis, sive aliis, est munera eorum loco ad ecclesiam adferre et per sacerdotem *Deo*, tanquam ei donata, repræsentare: idque in signum, defunctum in fide atque communione ecclesiæ obiisse. Nimirum postquam offerendi mos (primum, ut supra ostensum, liberrimus) mox ita invaluit, ut qui non offerret, separare se ab ecclesiæ communione, neque cum cæteris vel eodem gaudere jure vel idem onus subire, adeoque gentilium numero haberi velle, existimaretur; ipsaque ideo ecclesia per exclusionem ab hoc ritu exclusos ab ecclesia notaret (cujus rei, nisi fallor, prima post dubios apostolorum canones, et *Cyprianum*, in Conciliis Ancyrano et Eliberitano vestigia occurrunt); morientes quoque, ut testarentur, in ecclesiæ se communione finivisse vitam, neque vel catechumenorum vel pœnitentium vel excommunicatorum numero contineri, oblationes, post mortem etiam, suo nomine suoque loco, voluerunt offerri." Cap. iv. sec. 18.

In another portion of the same volume (cap. vi. sec. 13.) various passages from the fathers are alleged to support this interpretation. "Nunc cæteras hujus moris appellationes compendio persequemur. 'Commemorare nomina' Cyrillus Hierosoly. (siquidem ejus indubitatò sunt catecheses) per 'mentionem demortuorum facere' exprimit: *μνημονεύομεν*, inquit, *καὶ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων*. Ita Augustinus (Confes. lib. 9.): 'Quotquot hæc legerint, nemineriint ad altare tuum Monicæ, famulæ tuæ.' Epiphanio est 'nomina dicere seu pronuntiare;' *Τὰ ὀνόματα λέγειν τῶν τελευτησάντων*: quod antea expresserat ipse Aerius, contra quem scribit—*ὀνομάζειν ὀνόματα τῶν τεθνεώτων*; nominare nomina demortuorum. (Hæres. 75. sec. 3,7.) Eadem 'nominandi' voce Ambrosius alitur: 'Omnibus vos oblationibus frequentabo. Quis prohibebit innoxios nominare? Quis vetabit commendationis prosecutione complecti?' (Orat. in Val. tom iii. p. 12.) Eodem sensu 'memoriam celebrare' et 'memoriam facere' frequenter dicunt Chrysostomus et Augustinus. Ille: *μνήμην ποιοῦμεθα τῶν ἀπελθόντων ἐπὶ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων*, memoriam mortuorum inter sacra mysteria celebramus. (Hom. 41, in I Cor.) Hic vero: 'Nec piorum animæ mortuorum separantur ab ecclesia quæ etiam nunc est regnum Christi. Alioquin nec ad altare Dei fieret eorum memoria in communicatione corporis Christi.' (De Civ. Dei, lib. xx. sec. 9.) Alibi idem Augustinus 'ad altare vel altaris sacramenta recitari' martyres dixit, ceu ad locum paulo ante adductum notat Leonhardus Coqueius. Et Chrysostomus loco citato: 'Clamare super mortuis.' Ita enim: *οὐ δὲ μάτην ὁ προεστὼς τῇ θυσιαστηρίῳ, τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων τελουμένων, βοᾷ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐν Χριστῷ κεκοιμημένων*, non frustra, qui altari præest, cum tremenda mysteria celebrantur, clamat super omnes in Christo dormientes. 'Commemorationis' vox omnium frequentissima est, quâ et usus Augustinus, cum inquit: 'Il, qui corporis et sanguinis Christi communione defuncti sunt, ad ipsum sacrificium suo loco commemorantur.' (Serm. 32, de verb. Apost. tom. 10) Pro commemorationibus defunctorum missas fieri Concilium Vasense II. (cap. 4.) edixit. Concilium Carthaginiense IV. de iis, qui attente leges pœnitentiæ exequuntur, si casu in itinere vel in mari mortui fuerint, sanxit: 'ut memoria eorum et orationibus et oblationibus commendetur.' (cap. 79.) Jo. Damascenus oratione, quòd qui in fide hinc migrarunt sacris operationibus et beneficiis multum juventur, principio statim profitetur ordinasse apostolos, (qua de re postea dicemus) *ἐπὶ τῶν φρικτῶν καὶ ἀχράντων καὶ ζωοποιῶν μυστηρίων μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι τῶν πιστῶς κοιμηθέντων*, id est, (Jo. Œcolampadio interpr.) in tremendis et impollutis vitalibusque sacramentis memoriam eorum, qui fideliter obdormierunt, habendam esse."—Ed.

Edward VI. A. D. 1551.

VI. Item, That the sacrament ought not to be carried about in procession, for it is taught what is the use of it in these words, "Accipite, manducate, et bibite," and "Hoc facite in mei memoriam;" "Take, eat, and drink," and "Do this in remembrance of me."

Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Richard Burton, John Wright, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

VII. Item, That nothing which is seen in the sacrament, or perceived with any outward sense, is to be worshipped.

Witnesses: John Young, Alexander Nowel, Ellis Lomas, Rich. Burton.

A gross opinion.

VIII. Item, That we receive not Christ's body "corporaliter, id est, crasse," corporally, that is to say, grossly, like other meats, and like as the Capernaites did understand it.

Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Richard Burton, Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.

Christ how eaten.

IX. Item, That we receive Christ's body "sic spiritualiter, ut tamen vere;" so spiritually, that nevertheless truly.

Witnesses: John Young, Alexander Nowel, Richard Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.

Of transubstantiation.

X. Item, As touching transubstantiation, that there is not, in any of the old doctors, any good ground or sure proof hereof, or any mention of it, as far as ever he could perceive, neither that he seeth what can be answered to the objections made against it.

Witnesses: John Young, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.

Christ can neither be lifted up nor down.

XI. Item, Being asked of master Wilkes, what that was, which was lifted up between the priest's hands, he answered, "He thought that Christ could neither be lifted up nor down."

Witnesses: John Young, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.

Marriage.

XII. Item, That priests may, by the law of God, marry wives.

Witnesses: Alex. Nowel, Ellis Lomas.

Faith only justifieth. The true faith defined.

XIII. Item, That this proposition, "Sola fides justificat," so that "fides" signify "Veram, vivam, et acquiescentem in Christo fidem, id est, amplexum Christi:" that is to say, that only faith doth justify, so that faith do signify a true, a lively [faith], and a faith resting in Christ, and embracing Christ, is a true, godly, sweet, and comfortable doctrine; so that it be so taught that the people take none occasion of carnal liberty thereof.

Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, John Wright, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorn, Ellis Lomas.

Of works.

XIV. Item, That our works cannot deserve the kingdom of God, and life everlasting.

Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Richard Elithorne, John Wright.

XV. Item, That the said Dr. Redman, at such times as we, the aforesaid persons who have subscribed, heard his communication concerning the aforesaid points of religion, was of quiet mind, and of perfect remembrance, as far as we were able to judge.

Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Richard Elithorne, John Wright.

Also master Young, of himself, doth declare further, touching the former articles, in this wise:

Judas received the same that Peter did, etc.

To the Fifth Article:—Imprimis, That Dr. Redman said more, whereas St. Augustine said, "Quod Judas idem accepit quod Petrus," that Judas received the same that Peter did, he said, that he understood that of the sacrament; and that after the same phrase a man might say, "Quod Simon Magus idem baptisma recepit quod apostoli," "That Simon Magus received the same baptism that the apostles did," when he did receive only the outward sacrament to his condemnation; for he said, that he thought Christ would not vouchsafe to give his holy flesh to an ungodly man: and this, he said, was always his mind, though he knew well that other men did otherwise think.

To the Sixth:—Item, He said, he never liked the carriage about of the sacrament, and preached against it about sixteen years since in Cambridge. *Edward VI.*

To the Tenth:—Item, When he was demanded of transubstantiation, he said, that he had travailed about it, and thinking that the doubts which he perceived did rise thereon, should be made plain by the schoolmen, did read their books; and after that he had read them, the opinion of transubstantiation was every day "Magis et magis languida," that is, weaker and weaker, and that there was no such transubstantiation as they made; adding thereto, that the whole school did not know what was meant by consecration, which he said was the whole action of the holy communion. A. D. 1551. Transubstantiation.

To the Thirteenth:—Item, He said, that he did repent him, that he had so much strived against justification by faith only.

To the Fourteenth:—Item, That works had their crown and reward, but that they did not deserve eternal life, and the kingdom of God; no not the works of grace: "Nam donum Dei vita æterna;" "For everlasting life is the gift of God." Works merit not eternal life.

Although these testimonies above alleged may suffice for a declaration touching the honest life, sound doctrine, and sincere judgment of Dr. Redman, yet (velut ex abundanti) I thought not to cut off in this place the testimonial letter or epistle of Dr. Young, written to master Cheke, specially concerning the premises: which epistle of Dr. Young, as I received it written by his own hand in the Latin tongue, the copy which he himself neither hath nor can deny to be his own, and is extant to be read in the former Book of Acts and Monuments,[1] so I have here exhibited the same faithfully translated into the English tongue, the tenor whereof followeth:

The Letter of Master Young to Master Cheke concerning Dr. Redman, translated out of Latin into English.

Although, right worshipful, I am stricken into no little damp and dolour of mind for the unripe (but that it otherwise pleased Almighty God) and lamentable death of that most blessed and learned man Dr. Redman, insomuch that, all-astonied with weeping and lamenting, I cannot tell what to do or think; yet nevertheless, perceiving it to be your worship's will and pleasure, that so I should do, I gladly call my wits together, and purpose, by God's grace, here, in these my letters, sincerely and truly to open and declare what I heard that worthy learned man speak and confess at the hour of his death, as touching the controversies of religion, wherewith the spouse of Christ is, in these our days, most miserably troubled and tormented.

This Dr. Redman (being continually, by the space of twenty years, or somewhat more, exercised in the reading of the holy Scripture), with such industry, labour, modesty, magnanimity, and prayers to Almighty God, tried and weighed the controversies of religion, that in all his doings, as he would not seem to approve that which was either false or superstitious; so he would never improve that, which he thought to stand with the true worship of God. And albeit in certain points and articles of his faith, he seemed to divers, which were altogether ignorant of that his singular gravity, either for softness, fear, or lack of stomach, to change his mind and belief, yet they, to whom his former life and conversation, by familiar acquaintance with him was thoroughly known (with them also which were present at his departure), may easily perceive and understand, how, in grave and weighty matters, not rashly and unadvisedly, but with constant judgment and unfeigned conscience, he descended into that manner of belief, which at that time of his going out of this world he openly professed. Commendation of Dr. Redman.

I give your wisdom to understand, that when death drew near, he, casting away all hope of recovery, attended and talked of no other thing (as we which

(1) The original letter in Latin is extant in the Edition of 1563, pp. 870 to 872, and will be found in the Appendix to this Edition.—Ed.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1551.

were present heard) but of heaven and heavenly matters, of the latter day, of our Saviour Jesus Christ, with whom most fervently he desired to be; whose incredible love towards us miserable sinners most worthily, and not without tears, he oftentimes used to extol and speak of: and us which were there present he earnestly moved and exhorted to prepare ourselves to Christ, to love one another, and to beware of this most wretched and corrupt world. And besides that, he promised (calling God to witness thereunto, to whom he trusted shortly to come), if any would demand any question, that he would answer him what he thought in his judgment to be the truth. At that time there was present master Alexander Nowel,[1] a man earnestly bent to the true worshipping of God, and one that had alway singularly well loved the said master Redman, to whom he spake on this wise.

Exhortation of Redman to those about him.

"Your excellent learning, and purity of life, I have ever both highly favoured, and had in admiration; and for no other cause (God be my judge) I do ask these things of you which I shall propound, but that I might learn and know of you what is your opinion and belief touching those troublous controversies which are in these our days; and I shall receive and approve your words, as oracles sent from heaven."

To whom, when Dr. Redman had given leave to demand what he would, and had promised that he would faithfully and sincerely answer (all affection set aside) what he thought to be the truth, master Nowel said, "I would," quoth he, "right gladly; but that I fear, by my talk and communication, I shall be unto you, so feeble and now almost spent, a trouble and grief." Then said Dr. Redman, replying, "What shall I spare my carcase," quoth he, "which hath so short a time here to remain? Go to, go to," said he, "propound what you will."

Then master Nowel put forth certain questions, which in order I will here declare; whereunto the said Dr. Redman severally answered, as hereafter followeth.

The see of Rome a sink of all sin.

The first question that he asked of him was, What he thought of the bishop of Rome: unto whom Dr. Redman answered, "The see of Rome, in these our later days, hath much swerved from the true religion and worshipping of God, and is with horrible vices stained and polluted; which I, therefore," quoth he, "pronounce to be the sink of all evil; and shortly will come to utter ruin by the scourge of God, except it do fall the sooner to repentance:" wherewith he briefly complained of the filthy abuse of our English church.

Purgatory.

Being then asked, what his opinion was concerning purgatory, and what the schoolmen judged thereof, he answered, that the subtle reasons of the schoolmen concerning purgatory, seemed to him to be no less vain and frivolous, than disagreeing from the truth; adding thereunto, that when we be rapt to the clouds, to meet Christ coming to judgment with a great number of angels, in all glory and majesty, then every one shall be purged with fire, as it is written, "The fire shall go before him, and shall flame round about his enemies, and the fire shall burn in his sight; and round about him shall be a great tempest;"[2] saying, that divers of the old writers approved this his sentence concerning purgatory.

The wicked eat not the flesh of Christ.

When he was asked, whether wicked and ungodly people, in the Holy Communion, did eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, he answered, that such kind of men did not eat Christ's most blessed flesh, but only took the sacrament to their own damnation; saying, that Christ would not give his most pure and holy flesh to be eaten of such naughty and impure persons, but would withdraw himself from them. "And that," quoth he, "that is objected by St. Augustine, that Judas received the selfsame thing which Peter received, that I think to be understood of the external sacrament. And the like kind of phrase of speaking," said he, "we may use concerning the baptism of Magus,—that Simon Magus received that which the apostles did receive. Indeed, as concerning the sacrament of the external baptism, Simon Magus received that which the apostles did; but that internal grace wherewith the apostles were indued, and that holy Spirit wherewith by baptism they were inspired, he lacked. And so," quoth he, "the wicked and forsaken people, who rashly presume to come to the holy table of the Lord, do receive the sacrament, and the selfsame which good and godly men receive; but the body of Christ they do not receive, for

(1) Alexander Nowel, since dean of Paul's. (2) Psalm xcvii. 50.

Christ doth not vouchsafe to deliver it them." And thus, he said, was his opinion and belief, although he knew others to be of a contrary judgment.

Edward VI. A. D. 1551.

Being then after this demanded, whether he thought Christ's presence to be in the Sacrament, or no; he answered, that Christ did give and offer to faithful and christian men his very real body and blood verily and really, under sacraments of bread and wine; insomuch that they which devoutly come to be partakers of that holy food, are, by the benefit thereof, united and made one with Christ in his flesh and body. And therefore, he said, that Christ did distribute his body spiritually; that he gave it truly: yet not so, nevertheless, that by these, and the like words, we should conceive any gross and carnal intelligence, such as the Capernaites once dreamed of; but that (quoth he) we might labour and endeavour to express, by some kind of words, the ineffable majesty of this mystery. For the manner whereby Christ is there present, and ministereth to the faithful his flesh, is altogether inexplicable; but we must believe (quoth he) and think, that by God's mighty power, and the holy operation of his Spirit, this so notable a mystery was made; and that heaven and earth were joined together in that moment, as the blessed man St. Gregory saith, "The lowest parts are joined with the highest;" by which is understood that holy food, whereby they which be regenerate by the Holy Ghost in baptism, are nourished to immortality. And further he said, that Christ's body was received in the said sacrament by faith; which being received, both body and soul were quickened to everlasting life.

How Christ is present in the sacrament.

The Capernaites' gross error of Christ's bodily presence in the sacrament.

Being then required to say his mind about transubstantiation, he gave answer, that he had much travailed in that point, and that he first much favoured and inclined to that part which maintained transubstantiation; in searching the verity whereof most studiously he had been no little while occupied, and found to arise thereabout infinite and almost inexplicable absurdities, in confuting whereof, when he had but smally contented himself (he said), he took in hand the schoolmen's works, and perused Gabriel and other writers of that sort; for that, by their help and aid, he hoped that all inconveniences which did spring and arise by maintenance of transubstantiation, might be clean convinced and wiped away. Of which his hope he was utterly frustrate (said he), for that he did find in those books many fond and fantastical things, which were both too foolish to be recorded in writing, and also to be alleged, about such a mystery: and truly (said he) ever after the reading of them, my former zeal and opinion touching the maintenance of transubstantiation, did every day more and more decrease; and therefore, in conclusion, he persuaded himself to think, that there was no such transubstantiation as the schoolmen imagined and feigned to be; saying, that indeed the ancient writers were plainly against the maintenance thereof; amongst whom he recited by name, Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian, notorious adversaries to the same. Furthermore he added hereunto, that the whole school understood not what this word "consecratio" was, which he defined to be the full entire action of the whole communion. Being demanded also, whether we ought to worship Christ present in his holy supper; he told us, that we are bound so to do, and that it was most agreeing to piety and godly religion.

Of transubstantiation.

Of consecration.

Likewise being asked, whether he would have the visible sacrament to be worshipped, which we see with our eyes, and is lifted up between the priest's hands, he answered, that nothing which was visible, and to be seen with the eye, is to be adored or worshipped, nor would Christ be elevated into any higher, or pulled down into any lower place, and that he can neither be lifted up higher, nor pulled down lower.

Nothing to be worshipped that may be seen.

Again, being asked his opinion about the custom and manner in carrying about the sacrament in solemn pomps, processions, and otherwise; he said, that he always misliked and reproved that order; insomuch that about sixteen years ago, openly in the pulpit at Cambridge, he spake against that abuse, and disallowed that ceremony; showing that Christ had expressed, by plain and evident words, a very fruitful and right use of this sacrament, when he said, "Take ye," (by which phrase, quoth he, he doth express that he will give a gift:) "eat ye," (by which words he doth declare the proper use and order of that his precious gift:) "This is my body," (whereby he doth evidently and plainly show what, by that gift, they should receive, and how royal and precious a gift he would give them:) and, therefore, he judged such pompous

The sacrament not to be carried about.

Edward VI. and superstitious ostentations utterly to be condemned, and taken as plain mockeries and counterfeit visors.

A. D. 1551. His judgment also being asked about the commemoration of the dead, and the remembrance of them in orisons, whether he thought it profitable or no; he answered, that it seemed to him, to be no less profitable, than religious and godly; and that might be well proved out of the books of Maccabees: the which books, although St. Jerome, adjudging as not authentic, thought good to be read in the temples only for the edifying of the church, and not for the assertion of opinions; yet with him [Dr. Redman], the opinions of the other writers, by whom those books are allowed as canons, prevail, which he, in that point, thinketh good to be read.[1]

Of trental masses. Being, furthermore, required to show his mind about Trental Masses, and masses of "Scala cœli;" he showed them that they were altogether unprofitable, superstitious, and irreligious, flowing out of the filthy and impure fountain of superstition, not yielding the fruit which they promised to bring forth.

Of sacrifice of the mass. The sacrifice of the supper of the Lord—the eucharist I mean—that sacrifice, he said, could not be offered for the sins of the quick and the dead.

Finally, of his own voluntary will, and no man (as far as I can call to remembrance) demanding of him, he showed his opinion concerning justification by Christ. "I lament," said he, "and repent, beseeching God forgiveness of the same, that too seriously and earnestly I have withstood this proposition, 'that only faith doth justify;' but I always feared that it should be taken to the liberty of the flesh, and so should defile the innocency of life which is in Christ. But that proposition, 'that only faith doth justify' is true," quoth he, "sweet, and full of spiritual comfort, if it be truly taken, and rightly understood." And when he was demanded what he thought to be the true and very sense thereof, "I understand," quoth he, "that to be the lively faith, which resteth in our only Saviour Jesus Christ, and embraceth him; so that in our only Saviour Jesus Christ, all the hope and trust of our salvation be surely fixed. And as concerning good works," saith he, "they have their crown and merit, and are not destitute of their rewards; yet, nevertheless, they do not merit the kingdom of heaven. For no works," said he, "could purchase and obtain that blessed, happy, and everlasting immortality; no, nor yet those things which we do under grace, by the motion of the Holy Ghost: for that blessed and immortal glory is given and bestowed upon us, mortal men, of the heavenly Father, for his Son our Saviour Christ's sake, as St. Paul testifieth: 'The gift of God is eternal life.'"[2]

Faith only justifieth.

Works do not merit salvation.

And these be the solutions which I heard him give to the questions of master Nowel proposed; from which his sentence and judgment, so heard by me, and of him uttered (as I remember), he never declined or varied.

Controversies of religion. I beseech our Lord Jesus Christ to cease these troublous storms wherewith the church is tossed, and vouchsafe, for his holy name's sake, tenderly to behold and look upon his poor wretched flock, so miserably scattered and dispersed; beseeching him also, of his goodness, to preserve your worship.

At London the 3d of November.

The History, no less lamentable than notable, of William Gardiner, an Englishman, suffering most constantly in Portugal, for the testimony of God's Truth.

A.D.1552. Coming to the next year following, *now[3] we will for a time depart, and leave the coasts and country of England, whereupon our style hath now long stayed; and, with open sails, as it were, following the tempests of persecution, pass over into Portugal amongst the popish merchants there, whereunto William Gardiner, an Englishman, of necessity calleth me, who was burned in Lisbon, the chief city of Portugal, in the year of our Lord 1552.* A man verily, in my judgment, not only to be compared with the most principal and

(1) In this point the judgment of Dr. Redman is not to be followed. (2) Rom. vi.
(3) See Edition 1563, page 874; also the Latin Edition 1559, page 203.—Ed.

Edward VI. A. D. 1552.

chief martyrs of these our days, but also such a one as the ancient churches, in the time of the first persecutions, cannot show a more famous, whether we do behold the force of his faith, his firm and steadfast constantness, the invincible strength of his spirit, or the cruel and horrible torments; the report only and hearing whereof were enough to put any man in horror or fear. Yet notwithstanding, so far off it was, that the same did discourage him, that it may be doubted whether the pain of his body, or the courage of his mind were the greater; when as indeed both appeared to be very great.

William Gardiner comparable with the martyrs in the primitive church.

Wherefore, if any praise or dignity amongst men, as reason is, be due unto the martyrs of Christ for their valiant acts, this one man, amongst many, seemeth worthy to be numbered, and also to be celebrated in the church, with Ignatius, Laurentius, Ciriatius, Crescentius, and Gordianus. And if the church of Christ do receive so great and manifold benefits by these martyrs, with whose blood it is watered, by whose ashes it is enlarged, by whose constancy it is confirmed, by whose testimony it is witnessed, and, finally, through whose agonies and victories the truth of the gospel doth gloriously triumph; let not us, then, think it any great matter to requite them again with our duty, by committing them to memory, as a perpetual token of our good will towards them. Albeit they themselves receive no glory at our hands, and much less challenge the same, but, referring it wholly unto the Lord Christ, from whom it came, whatsoever great or notable thing there was in them: notwithstanding, forasmuch as Christ himself is glorified in his saints, we cannot show ourselves thankful unto him, except we also show ourselves dutiful unto those, by whom his glory doth increase.

What duty is to be given of christians to the blessed martyrs past

The memory of Christ's martyrs not to be forgotten.

Hereupon I think it came to pass, that the ancient Christians, in the time of the first persecutions, thought good to celebrate yearly commemorations of the martyrdom of those holy men, not so much to honour them, as to glorify God in his soldiers, unto whom all glory and praise doth worthily belong; and moreover that we, being instructed by their example, might be the more prompt and ready in the policies of those wars, to stand more stoutly in battle against our adversaries, and learn the more easily to contemn and despise this world. For, in considering the end and death of these men, who will greatly long or lust after this life, which is so many ways miserable, through so many afflictions dolorous, through so many casualties ruinous, wherein consisteth so little constancy, and less safety, being never free from some hard calamity one or other? What good man would have this world in reputation, wherein he seeth so many good men so cruelly oppressed, and wherein no man can live in quietness, except he be wicked? Wherefore I do not a little marvel, that in this great slaughter of good men, with so many spectacles and examples of cruel torment, Christians do yet live, as it were, drowned in the foolish desires of this world; seeing daily before their eyes so many holy and innocent men yield up their spirits under the hands of such tormentors, to lie in filthy prisons, in bonds, darkness, and tears, and, in the end, to be consumed with fire. We see so many prophets of God, even Christ himself, the Son of God, to be so cruelly and many ways afflicted in this world, turmoiled, scourged, and crucified; and yet we laugh, drink, and give ourselves unto all

How it came to pass that the primitive church had yearly commemorations of martyrs.

What profit cometh by memory of martyrs to us.

Good men most afflicted in this world.

Edward VI. A. D. 1552.

looseness of life, and all lasciviousness. For honour and great possessions we contend; we build; we study and labour by all means to make ourselves rich: unto whom it doth not suffice, that we, with safety and freedom from their afflictions, racks, wheels, scourges, irons red-hot, gridirons, flesh-hooks, mallets, and other kind of torments, may serve our Christ in peace and quiet; but being herewith not content, will give over ourselves to all kind of wickedness, to be led away at the will and pleasure of Satan.

The sufferings of martyrs be lessons to us, to pluck us from this world.

But what do we think in so doing? Either we must reckon those men to be most miserable in this life, or else ourselves to be most unhappy. But if their blessedness be most certain and sure, then let us direct the course of our life to the same felicity. These men have forsaken this life, which they might have enjoyed. But if we cannot willingly put off this life, yet let us not be slow to correct and amend the same; and though we cannot die with them in like martyrdom, yet let us mortify the worldly and profane affections of the flesh, which strive against the spirit; and, at the least, let us not run thus headlong into the licentious desires of the world, as we do. As the life of christian men is now, I pray thee, what do these bonds, prisons, these wounds and scars, these great fires, and other horrible torments of martyrs, but upbraid unto us our slothful sluggishness, and worthily make us ashamed thereof? which martyrs, if in their lives they lived so innocently, and in their deaths continued so constant, what then is to be deemed of us, which suffer nothing for Christ, and will not take upon us the small conflict against vices and our own affections? How would we suffer the cruel looks of tyrants, the fearful kinds of torments, or the violent assaults of the tormentors, in any quarrel of godliness, if in peace and quietness we are (and that with every small breath or wind of temptation) blown away from God—so faint-hearted without any resistance, that we are carried headlong into all kinds of wickedness and mischief? One singeth songs of love; another watcheth all the night at dice: some spend their life and time day by day in hawking and hunting; some tipple so at taverns, that they come home reeling. Others, whatsoever desire of revenge doth put into their heads, that, by and by, they seek to put in practice. Some gape after riches; some swell with ambition; some think they are born for no other purpose but for pleasure and pastime. All the world is full of injury and perjury; nay, rather, it is so rare a thing patiently to suffer injuries done unto us, that except we have the sleight to do injury to others, we think ourselves scarce men. There is no love almost, nor charity among men; neither is there any man that regardeth the good name or fame of his neighbour.

The great difference between Christ's martyrs that have been, and the life of Christians which now is.

But amongst all the rest, unsatiable covetousness and avarice so reigneth, that no man almost is contented with any tolerable estate of life, either that will prescribe himself any measure in having that he possesseth, or in prowling for that which he lacketh; never quiet, but always toiling; never satisfied, but always unsatiable. Whereby it so cometh to pass, that the minds of men which profess themselves to be good Christians, being occupied in such worldly carks and cares, can scarcely find any vacant leisure to think upon heavenly things; and yet notwithstanding, with these minds, we will needs seem

Christians.—But now, setting apart these complaints spent in vain, we will prosecute our purposed story touching good William Gardiner.

Edward VI. A.D. 1552.

And first, as concerning his kindred, he was of an honest stock, born at Bristol, a town of merchandise on the sea-coast of England; honestly brought up, and, by nature, given unto gravity; of a mean stature of body, of a comely and pleasant countenance, but in no part so excellent as in the inward qualities of the mind, which he always, from his childhood, preserved without spot of reprehension. Also his handsome and indifferent learning, did not a little commend and beautify his other ornaments. When he grew unto those years at which young men are accustomed to settle their minds to some kind of life, it happened that he gave himself to the trade of merchandise, under the conduct and guiding of a certain merchant of Bristol, called master Paget, by whom he was at the last (being of the age of twenty-six years or thereabout) sent into Spain; and by chance the ship arriving at Lisbon (which is the chief city of Portugal), he tarried there about his merchandise, where, at the last, he, having gotten understanding of the language, and being accustomed to their manners, became a profitable servant both unto his master and others, in such things as pertained unto the trade of that vocation; whereunto he did so apply himself, that nevertheless he, in that popish country, reserving still the religion of his own country of England, ever kept himself sound and undefiled from the Portuguese superstition. There were also, besides him, divers other good men in the same city. Neither did he lack good books, or the conference of good and honest men, unto whom he would oftentimes bewail his imbecility and weakness, that he was neither sufficiently touched with the hatred of his sins, nor yet inflamed with the love of godliness.

The first bringing up and trade of William Gardiner.

The godly disposed mind of William Gardiner.

Whilst he was there abiding, it happened that there should be a solemn marriage celebrated the first of September in the year above-said, betwixt two princes; that is to say, the son of the king of Portugal, and the Spanish king's daughter. The marriage day being come, there was great resort of the nobility and estates. There lacked no bishops with mitres, nor cardinals with hats, to set out this royal wedding. To be short, they went forward to the wedding with great pomp, where a great concourse of people resorted, some of good will, some for service' sake, and some (as the matter is) to gaze and look. Great preparation of all parties was there throughout the whole city, as in such cases is accustomed, and all places were filled with mirth and gladness. In this great assembly of the whole kingdom, William Gardiner, albeit he did not greatly esteem such kind of spectacles, yet being allured through the fame and report thereof, was there also; coming thither early in the morning, to the intent he might have the more opportunity, and better place, to behold and see.

A solemn marriage between the king of Portugal's son, and the king of Spain's daughter.

The hour being come, they flocked into the church with great solemnity and pomp; the king first, and then every estate in order; the greater persons, the more ceremonies were about them. After all things were set in order, they went forward to the celebrating of their mass; for that alone serveth for all purposes. The cardinal did execute, with much singing and organ-playing. The people

A popish celebration of a marriage.

Edward VI. A. D. 1552.

stood with great devotion and silence, praying, looking, kneeling, and knocking; their minds being fully bent and set, as it is the manner, upon the external sacrament. How grievously these things did prick and move this young man's mind, it cannot be expressed—partly to behold the miserable absurdity of those things, and partly to see the folly of the common people; and not only of the common people, but, especially, to see the king himself, and his council, with so many sage and wise men as they seemed, to be seduced with like idolatry as the common people were; insomuch that it lacked very little, but that he would, even that present day, have done some notable thing in the king's sight and presence, but that the great press and throng that was about him, letted that he could not come unto the altar. What need many words? When the ceremonies were ended, he cometh home very sad and heavy in his mind, insomuch that all his fellows marvelled greatly at him; who, albeit upon divers conjectures they conceived the cause of his sadness, notwithstanding they did not fully understand that those matters did so much trouble his godly mind; neither yet did he declare it unto any man: but, seeking solitariness and secret places, falling down prostrate before God, with manifold tears he bewailed the neglecting of his duty, deliberating with himself how he might revoke that people from their impiety and superstition.

The godly zeal of Gardiner in seeing the idolatry of the people, and the great disworship of God.

He clereth his books of accounts.

In this deliberation and advice his mind being fully settled, and thinking that the matter ought not to be any longer deferred, he renounced the world, making up all his accounts so exactly (as well of that which was due unto him, as that which he owed unto others), that no man could justly ask so much as one farthing. Which thing done, he continued night and day in prayer, calling upon God, and in continual meditation of the Scriptures, that scarcely he would take any meat by day, or sleep by night, or at the most above one hour or two of rest in the night; as Pendigrace, his fellow companion both at bed and board, being yet alive, can testify.

And continueth in watching and prayer.

His advised preparation to this accomplishment of his purpose.

The Sunday came again to be celebrated either with like pomp and solemnity, or not much less, whereat the said William was present early in the morning, very cleanly apparelled, even of purpose, that he might stand near the altar without repulse. Within a while after, cometh the king with all his nobles. Then Gardiner setteth himself as near the altar as he might, having a Testament in his hand, which he diligently read upon, and prayed, until the time was come, that he had appointed to work his feat. The mass began, which was then solemnized by a cardinal. Yet he sat still. He which said mass, proceeded: he consecrated, sacrificed, lifted up on high, showed his god unto the people. All the people gave great reverence, and as yet he stirred nothing. At last, they came unto that place of the mass, where they use to take the ceremonial host, and toss it to and fro round about the chalice, making certain circles and semicircles. Then the said William Gardiner, being not able to suffer any longer, ran speedily unto the cardinal; and (which is incredible to be spoken) even in the presence of the king and all his nobles and citizens, with the one hand he snatched away the cake from the priest, and trod it under his feet, and with the other hand overthrew the chalice. This matter at first made them all abashed, but, by and by, there arose a

The cardinal at his mass.

Gardiner plucketh the cardinal's idol out of his hands at mass, as it was leaping about the chalice.

great tumult, and the people began to cry out. The nobles and the common people ran together, amongst whom one, drawing out his dagger, gave him a great wound in his shoulder; and, as he was about to strike him again to have slain him, the king twice commanded to have him saved. So, by that means, they abstained from murder.

Edward VI. A. D. 1552.

After the tumult was ceased, he was brought to the king; by whom he was demanded what countryman he was, and how he durst be so bold to work such a contumely against his majesty, and the sacraments of the church? He answered, "Most noble king, I am not ashamed of my country, who am an Englishman both by birth and religion, and am come hither only for traffic of merchandise. And when I saw, in this famous assembly, so great idolatry committed, my conscience neither ought nor could any longer suffer, but that I must needs do that, which you have seen me presently do. Which thing, most noble prince, was not done or thought of me, for any contumely or reproach of your presence, but only for this purpose, as before God I do clearly confess—to seek only the salvation of this people."

Brought before the king.

His oration before the king.

When they heard that he was an Englishman, and called to remembrance how the religion was restored by king Edward, they were, by and by, brought in suspicion, that he had been suborned by Englishmen thus to do, to mock and deride their religion: wherefore they were the more earnest upon him to know, who was the author and procurer, that he should commit that act. Unto whom he answered, desiring them that they would conceive no such suspicion of him, forasmuch as he was not moved thereunto by any man, but only by his own conscience. For, otherwise, there was no man under the heaven, for whose sake he would put himself into so manifest danger; but that he owed this service, first, unto God, and secondarily, unto their salvation. Wherefore, if he had done any thing which were displeasant unto them, they ought to impute it unto no man, but unto themselves, who so irreverently used the holy supper of the Lord unto so great idolatry; not without great ignominy unto the church, violation of the sacrament, and the peril of their own souls, except they repented.

The suspicion of the Portuguese.

The answer of Gardiner thereto.

While he spake these, with many other things more unto this effect, very gravely and stoutly, the blood ran abundantly out of the wound, so that he was ready to faint; whereupon surgeons were sent for, whereby he might be cured, if it were possible, and be reserved for further examination, and more grievous torment. For they were fully persuaded, that this deed had divers abettors and setters-on; which was the cause that all the other Englishmen, also, in the same city, came into suspicion, and were commanded to safe custody: amongst whom Pendigrace, because he was his bedfellow, was grievously tormented and examined more than the residue, and scarcely was delivered after two years' imprisonment. The others were much sooner set at liberty, at the intercession of a certain duke. Notwithstanding, their suspicion could not yet be thus satisfied, but they came into his chamber, to seek if there were any letters, to understand and find out the author of this enterprise. And when they could find nothing there, they came again unto him, being grievously wounded, with torments to extort of him the author of

His bed fellow imprisoned upon suspicion.

His own chamber searched.

Edward VI. A.D. 1552.

this fact, and to accuse him as guilty of most grievous heresy: of both which points, with such dexterity as he could, he cleared himself; wherein albeit he spake in the Spanish tongue well, yet he used the Latin tongue much more exactly.

But they, not being therewith satisfied, added another strange kind of torment, which (as I suppose) passeth the bull of Phalaris.[1] Because there should no kind of extreme cruelty be left unassayed, they caused a linen cloth to be sewed round like a ball, the which they with violence put down his throat unto the bottom of his stomach, tied with a small string which they held in their hands; and when it was down, they pulled it up again with violence: plucking it to and fro through the meat pipe, in such sort as that with much less grief, they might have rid him out of his life at once.

Thus at the last, when all torments and tormentors were wearied, and that it did nothing at all prevail to go this way to work, they asked him, whether he did not repent his wicked and seditious deed? As touching the deed, he answered, that it was so far off that he did repent, that if it were to do again, he thought he should do the same. But as touching the manner of the deed, he was not a little sorry that it was done in the king's presence, to the disquietness of his mind. Howbeit, that was not to be imputed unto him, who neither enterprised nor thought upon any such matter; but was rather to be ascribed unto the king, in that he, having power, would not prohibit so great idolatry used among his people.—This he spake with great fervency.

Gardiner not repenting his fact

The right hand of William Gardiner cut off in the vestry; the left hand in the market-place.

After they had used all kind of torments, and saw that there could nothing more be gathered of him, and also that through his wounds and pains he could not long live, they brought him, three days after, to execution. And first of all, bringing him into the vestry, they cut off his right hand, which he, taking up with his left hand, kissed. Then he was brought into the market-place, where his other hand also was cut off; which he, kneeling down upon the ground, also kissed. These things thus done, after the manner and fashion of Spain, his arms being bound behind him, and his feet under the horse's belly, he was carried to the place of execution.

The wretched cruelty of the Portuguese in burning a christian martyr.

There was in that place a certain engine, from which a great rope coming down by a pulley was fastened about the middle of this christian martyr, which first pulled him up. Then was there a great pile of wood set on fire underneath him, into which he was, by little and little, let down, not with the whole body, but so that his feet only felt the fire. Then was he hoisted up, and so let down again into the fire; and thus oftentimes pulled up and down. In this great torment, for all that, he continued with a constant spirit, and the more terribly he burned, the more vehemently he prayed.

At his burning, willed again to repent.

At last, when his feet were consumed, the tormentors asked him whether he did not yet repent him of his deed; and exhorted him to call upon our Lady and the saints. Whereunto he answered, that as he had done nothing whereof he did repent him, so he had the less need of the help of our Lady, or any other saint; and what external torments soever they used, the truth, he said, remaineth

(1) The bull of Phalaris, a certain tyrant, was a kind of torment made of brass, like a bull, with fire under it, to torment such as were put into it, to make them to roar like a bull.

THE CRUEL HANDLING OF WILLIAM GARDINER, IN PORTUGAL.

always one, and like unto itself; the which as he had before confessed in his life, so would he not now deny it at his death: desiring them to leave off such vanities and folly; for when Christ did cease any more to be our Advocate, then he would pray to our Lady to be his Advocate. And said, "O eternal God, Father of all mercies, I beseech thee look down upon thy servant," &c. And when they sought, by all means possible, to stop or hinder his praying to, and praising God in this sort, he cried out with a loud voice, rehearsing the forty-third Psalm, "Judica me, Deus, et discerne causam meam de gente non sanctâ." "Judge me, O God, and defend my cause against the unmerciful people."

Edward VI. A.D. 1552.

Would not pray to our Lady, so long as he had Christ to be his Advocate.

He was not come unto the latter end of the Psalm, when, as they pulling him up and down in the fire for the more torment, the rope being burnt asunder, he fell down into the midst thereof; where, giving his body for a sacrifice, he changed his temporal pains for perpetual rest and quietness.

Thus it seemed good in the sight of God, by this messenger to provoke the Portuguese to the sincere knowledge of him; and therefore they ought the more to have acknowledged the great love and kindness of God offered unto them, and also the more to be mindful of their own duty and thankfulness towards him. And, if it be so great an offence to violate the ordinances of man's law, and to contemn the ambassadors of kings and princes, let the Portuguese, and all others, look well unto it, what it is so cruelly to handle the heavenly messenger of the high God. Neither was this their cruelty altogether unrevenged by the mighty hand of God, when as not only the very same night, amongst divers of the king's ships which were in the next haven ready to sail, one was burned, being set on fire by a sparkle of Gardiner's fire driven thither with the wind,[1] but also the king's son, who then was married, died within half a year, and, in the next year after, the king himself also died; and so both within one year after the tormenting of this blessed martyr.

A lesson for the Portuguese.

The just hand of God upon persecutors.

Thus the body of the said Gardiner being consumed, yet the rage and fury of the common people so ceased not, but they were as cruel against him, being dead, as they were when he was alive, and with their tongues tormented this martyr, when they could do no more with their hands; yea, for very madness, they would scarce tarry until he were burned, but every man, as they could catch any piece of him half burned, threw it into the sea.

The blind and miserable cruelty of the Portuguese against a poor Englishman.

This sacrifice thus ended, the clergy to pacify God's wrath, which they feared for the violating of their altar, appointed a solemn fast of certain days, for penance to purge that fact; which fact rather should have taught them to purge themselves, and to put away their filthy idolatry; and much rather they should have fasted and repented for that their extreme cruelty, which they had showed unto the lively member of Christ.

A pope holy fast for pacifying the wrath of their god of the altar.

Albeit this death of William Gardiner seemeth to have profited very many of them little or nothing; yet, for all that, there are some (as I have heard divers report), out of whose minds the remembrance of this constant martyr can never be pulled, and is so fresh yet

(1) It is reported that a sparkle lighted among gunpowder.

Edward VI. A. D. 1552.

amongst them, as if it were now lately done: and finally, albeit it be a good while since he was put to death, yet the memory of his death, as fruitful seed, hath taken such root in some, that even unto this present day he is a lively and diligent preacher unto them, against superstition and idolatry used in their churches.[1]

*In[2] Gulielmi Gardineri felicem Memoriam, sacrumque et constans Martyrium.

I. F.

Per mare, per gladios, per tot tormenta, per ignes,
Vulnera, et indignis stigmata inusta modis,
Cæsus, et affectus diris per viscera pilis,
Obrutus et sannis omnigenisque probris,
Martyrio functus, post tot, Gardnere, labores
Regna Dei, manibus sis licet absque rapis,
Regna per angustos aditus scandisque rapisque,
Te licet hæc teneat machina, celsa Dei.
Barbara non hominum te vis, non Tartara, non te
Mors, non quicquid habet terra, tenere potest.
Te licet hæreticum spernant Hispanica regna,
Inque tuum spiret turba nefanda caput;
Vulneribus rubicunda tuis Ecclesia Christi
Pullulat, inque tuâ robora morte capit.
Vos utinam admoneant Gardneri dogmata vestri,
Cives, qui colitis Lisbona regna, boni,
Equè bonis reddant vos, Lysbonii, meliores,
Vestra hæc quo fiat bis-bona Lisbonia.*

The Tragical History of the worthy Lord Edward Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, with the whole cause of his Troubles and Handling.

Worldly prosperity not to be trusted unto.

After so many troublous matters in this history afore-passed, coming now to the lamentable and tragical narration of the lord Edward duke of Somerset, the king's uncle, and protector of his person and of his realm, I could not well enter into the story of him without some premonition, first, to all noble personages, of what honour or calling soever within this realm, by way of history, briefly to admonish them, no man to plant any trust or assurance upon the brickle pillars of worldly prosperity, how high soever it seemeth, considering that there is no state so high, but it hath his ruin; no wisdom so circumspect, but it may be circumvented; no virtue so perfect, but it may be envied; neither any man's trade so simple, but it may be beguiled. And therefore, seeing the condition of mortal things is so, that no man can always stand in this so ruinous a world, the surest way is, for every man to choose his standing so, that his fall may be the easier. But, because my purpose is (as I have said in the stories before) to abridge and make short, I will here stay; referring thee to the secret consideration of that which remaineth further by me in this matter to be uttered: and so, falling into the story of the lord protector, duke of Somerset, we will (the Lord willing) declare in order the original and whole occasion of his trouble and decay, even from the beginning.

King Edward, after that both his father and mother were dead,

(1) Ex testimonio N. Fildi, Pendigrace, et aliorum, qui rei gestæ interfuerunt.
(2) See the Latin Edition 1559, page 269.—Ed.

Edward VI.

A.D. 1549 to 1552.

had three uncles left him by his mother's side, Edward, Thomas, and Henry Seymour; of the which two first, one was made protector of the realm, and the other high admiral of the same. These two brethren, so long as they were knit and joined together in amity and concord, preserved both themselves, the king their nephew, and the whole commonwealth, from the violence and fear of all danger. But the subtle old serpent, always envying man's felicity, through slanderous tongues sought to sow matter, first of discord between them; then of suspicion; and last of all, extreme hatred: insomuch that the protector suffered his brother, being accused (whether truly or falsely the Lord knoweth), to be condemned, and to lose his head. Whereby it came to pass (whether by the correction of God's judgment upon him, or whether that he, after the death of his brother, and the king, being yet but young and tender of age, was the less able to shift for himself), that, not long after, he was overmatched and overthrown of his enemies; and so cast into the Tower, and at last lost his head also—to the great lamentation of many good men, as in the sequel of this history followeth to be declared. For the better introduction of which history, first to begin with the aforesaid brother of the lord protector, namely sir Thomas Seymour, high admiral of England, and the king's uncle, here is to be understood, that he had married queen Katharine, late wife to king Henry the Eighth, of whom ye heard before. Now it happened (upon what occasion I know not), that there fell a displeasure betwixt the said queen and the duchess of Somerset, and thereupon also, in the behalf of their wives, displeasure and grudge began between the brethren; which, albeit, through persuasion of friends, it was for a time appeased between them, yet, in short space after (perchance not without the privy setting-forward of some, who were back friends to the gospel), it brake out again, both to the trouble of the realm, and especially to the confusion of them both, as after it proved. First, to the lord admiral's charge it was laid, that he purposed to destroy the young king, and translate the crown unto himself; and for the same being attainted and condemned, he did suffer at Tower-hill the twentieth of March, 1549.[1] As many there were, who reported that the duchess of Somerset had wrought his death; so many more there were, who, misdoubting the long standing of the lord protector in his state and dignity, thought and affirmed no less, but that the fall of the one brother, would be the ruin of the other; the experiment whereof, as it hath often been proved, so, in these also, eftsoons it ensued.

Concord maketh brethren strong.

Sir Thomas Seymour lord admiral.

Displeasure between the queen and the duchess of Somerset; ending in discord between the protector and the lord admiral his brother.

The admiral beheaded at Tower-hill.

It was not long after the beheading of the lord admiral, that insurrections began to kindle, the same year, in divers quarters of the realm, as is above storied; by the occasion whereof the lord Russel, lord privy seal, was sent to the west parts, and the lord Dudley, earl of Warwick, was sent with an army into Norfolk, where both he himself, and a great number of gentlemen that were with him, meeting with the rebels, were in great danger: notwithstanding, in the end the overthrow was given to the rebels; which was about the beginning of September, 1549. After this victory achieved, in the next month following, which was October, how the matter fell out between the lord protector and certain other lords, I know not, but,

John Dudley earl of Warwick; afterwards duke of Northumberland.

(1) En quo discordia fratres perducit miseros!

Edward VI. A.D. 1549 to 1552.

at the return of the earl of Warwick aforesaid, great working and consultation there was among the lords, assembling themselves in the house of master York, and at Baynard's-castle, and in the lord mayor's house, at London, against the lord protector, remaining then with the king at Hampton-court. Of the which business and trouble, thus the lord protector writeth, in his letters to the lord Russel in the west country, as followeth.

A Letter of the Lord Protector, to the Lord Russel, Lord Privy Seal, concerning Troubles working against him.

After our right hearty commendations to your good lordship: here hath of late risen such a conspiracy against the king's majesty and us, as never hath been seen, the which they cannot maintain but with such vain letters and false tales surmised, as was never meant or intended of us. They pretend and say, that we have sold Boulogne to the French, and that we do withhold wages from the soldiers; and other such tales and letters they do spread abroad (of the which if any one thing were true, we would not wish to live): the matter now being brought to a marvellous extremity, such as we would never have thought it could have come unto, specially of those men, towards the king's majesty and us, of whom we have deserved no such thing, but rather much favour and love. But the case being as it is, this is to require and pray you to hasten you hither to the defence of the king's majesty, with such force and power as you may, to show the part of a true gentleman, and of a very friend: the which thing we trust God shall reward, and the king's majesty, in time to come, and we shall never be unmindful of it too. We are sure you shall have other letters from them; but, as you tender your duty to the king's majesty, we require you to make no stay, but immediately repair, with such force as ye have, to his highness in his castle of Windsor, and cause the rest of such force as ye may make, to follow you. And so we bid you right heartily farewell.

From Hampton-court the 6th of October.

Your lordship's assured loving friend,
Edward Somerset.

Substance of a Letter of the Lord Russel in Answer to the Lord Protector's Letter.

To this letter of the lord protector sent the 6th of October, the lord Russel returning answer again upon the 8th of the said month, first lamenteth the heavy dissension fallen between the nobility and him, which he taketh for such a plague, as a greater could not be sent of Almighty God upon this realm, being the next way, saith he, to make of us conquerors, slaves, and like to induce upon the whole realm a universal calamity and thraldom, unless the merciful goodness of the Lord do help, and some wise order be taken in staying these great extremities. And as touching the duke's request in his letters, forasmuch as he heard before, of this broil of the lords, and fearing lest some conspiracy had been meant against the king's person, he hasted forward with such company as he could make, for the surety of the king, as to him appertained. Now, perceiving by the lords' letters sent unto him the same 6th day of October these tumults to rise upon private causes between him and them, he therefore thought it expedient, that a convenient power should be levied, to be in a readiness to withstand the worst (what perils soever might ensue), for the preservation both of the king and state of the realm from the invasion of foreign enemies, and also for the staying of bloodshed, if any such thing should be intended between the parties in the heat of this faction. And this, he, thinking best for discharge of his allegiance, humbly beseecheth his grace to have the same also in special regard and consideration, first, that the king's majesty be put in no fear; and that if there be any such thing wherein he hath given just cause to them thus to proceed, he will so conform himself as no such private quarrels do redound to the public disturbance of the realm; certifying, moreover, the duke, that if it were true, which he understandeth by the letters of the lords, that he should

send about proclamations and letters for raising up of the commons, he liked not the same. Notwithstanding, he trusted well that his wisdom would take such a way as no effusion of blood should follow.

And thus much being contained in his former letter of the 8th of October, in his next letter again, written the 11th day of October, the said lord Russel wrote to this effect:

The Contents of another Answer of Lord Russel to the Protector.

Lord Russel a solicitor for peace.

He (rejoicing to hear of the most reasonable offers of the lord protector made unto the lords) writeth unto him, and promiseth to do what, in the uttermost power of him (and likewise of sir William Harbert joined together with him) doth lie, to work some honourable reconciliation between him and them; so as his said offers being accepted and satisfied, some good conclusion might ensue, according to their good hope and expectation: signifying moreover, that as touching the levying of men, they had resolved to have the same in readiness for the benefit of the realm, to occur all inconveniences, whatsoever (either by foreign invasion or otherwise) might happen; and so, having their power at hand, to draw near, whereby they might have the better opportunity to be solicitors, and a means for this reformation on both parts, &c.

And thus much for answer of the lord Russel to the lord protector's letters.

The lords of the council assemble against the lord protector.

But now to the matter again of the lords, who, together with the earl of Warwick (upon what occasion God knoweth) being assembled at London, as ye heard, against the lord protector; when the king with his council at Hampton-court heard thereof, first secretary Peter with the king's message was sent unto them, whom the lords, notwithstanding, detained still with them, making as yet no answer to the message. Whereupon the lord protector writeth to them in this manner as followeth:

A Letter of the Lord Protector to certain Lords of the Council assembled at London.

My lords, we commend us most heartily unto you: and whereas the king's majesty was informed that you were assembled in such sort as you do now also remain; and was advised by us, and such other of his council as were then here about his person, to send master secretary Peter unto you, with such message as whereby might have ensued the surety of his majesty's person, with preservation of his realm and subjects, and the quiet both of us and yourselves, as master secretary can well declare to you: his majesty, and we of his council here, do not a little marvel that you stay still with you the said master secretary, and have not, as it were, vouchsafed to send answer to his majesty, either by him or yet any other. And for ourselves, we do much more marvel, and are right sorry, as both we and you have good cause to be, to see the manner of your doings bent with force of violence, to bring the king's majesty and us to these extremities. Which as we do intend, if you will take no other way but violence, to defend (as nature and our allegiance doth bind us) to extremity of death, and to put all to God's hand, who giveth victory as it pleaseth him: so that if any reasonable conditions and offers would take place (as hitherto none have been signified unto us from you, nor do we understand what you do require or seek, or what you do mean), and that you do seek no hurt to the king's majesty's person; as touching all other private matters, to avoid the effusion of christian blood, and to preserve the king's majesty's person, his realm and subjects, you shall find us agreeable to any reasonable condition that you will require. For we do esteem the king's wealth and tranquillity of the realm, more than all other worldly things; yea more than our own life. Thus, praying you to send us your

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

determinate answer herein by master secretary Peter, or, if you will not let him go, by this bearer, we beseech God to give both you and us grace to determine this matter, as may be to God's honour, the preservation of the king, and the quiet of us all; which may be, if the fault be not in you. And so we bid you most heartily farewell.

From the king's majesty's castle of Windsor, the 7th October, 1549.

Your lordships' loving friend,

E. Somerset.

A solemn watch commanded in London.

After these letters received, and the reasonable conditions of the lord protector offered, and yet not much regarded of the lords, they, persisting still in their intended purpose, took this advice, first to keep themselves in the city of London, as strong as they might; and therefore, calling upon the mayor and the aldermen, they willed them in any case to provide a good and substantial watch by night, and a good ward by day, for the safeguard of their city, and the ports and gates thereof; which was consented unto, and the companies of London, in their turns, warned to watch and ward accordingly.

The city of London pressed with 500 men to fetch the lord protector.

Then the said lords and councillors demanded of the lord mayor and his brethren five hundred men to aid them to fetch the lord protector out of Windsor from the king; but thereunto the mayor answered, that he could grant no aid without the assent of common-council of the city: whereupon, the next day, a common-council was warned. But, in the mean time, the said lords of the council assembled themselves at the lord mayor's house of London, who then was sir Henry Amcottes,[1] fishmonger, and William Locke, mercer, and sir John Aileph, sheriffs of the said city; and there the said council did agree and publish a proclamation forthwith, against the lord protector, the effect of which proclamation was as followeth:

The Effect of the Proclamation set out against the Lord Protector.

First, That the lord protector, by his malicious and evil government, was the occasion of all the sedition that of late happened within the realm.

2. The loss of the king's pieces in France.

3. That he was ambitious, and sought his own glory, as appeareth by building of most sumptuous and costly houses in the time of the king's wars.

4. That he esteemed nothing the grave counsel of the councillors.

5. That he sowed division between the nobles, the gentlemen, and commons.

6. That the nobles assembled themselves together at London for no other purpose, but to have caused the protector to have lived within limits, and to have put such order for the surety of the king's majesty, as appertained, whatsoever the protector's doings were; which, they said, were unnatural, ingrate, and traitorous.

7. That the protector slandered the council to the king, and did what in him lay, to cause variance between the king and the nobles.

8. That he was a great traitor; and, therefore, the lords desired the city and commons to aid them, to take him from the king.

And in witness and testimony of the contents of the said proclamation, the lords subscribed their names, which were these:

The lord Riche, lord chancellor.
The lord St. John, lord great master, and president of the council.
The lord marquis of Northampton.
The earl of Warwick, lord great chamberlain.
The earl of Arundel, lord chamberlain.
The earl of Shrewsbury.

(1) According to Maitland, in his History of London, (fol.) vol. ii. p. 1196, Amcotes was lord mayor in 1548, and sir Rowland Hill, in 1549. The sheriffs here named, are also those of 1548.—Ed.

The earl of Southampton (Wriothesley).
Sir Thomas Cheney knight, treasurer of the king's house, and lord warden of the Cinque Ports.
Sir John Gage knight, constable of the Tower.
Sir William Peter knight, secretary.
Sir Edward North knight.
Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas.
Sir Ralph Sadler.
Sir John Baker.
Sir Edward Wootton.
Dr. Wootton, dean of Canterbury.
Sir Richard Southwell.

The lords coming into Guildhall.

After the aforesaid proclamation was proclaimed, the lords, or the most part of them, still continuing and lying in London, came the next day to the Guildhall, during the time that the lord mayor and his brethren sat in their court or inward chamber, and entered and communed a long while with the mayor; and at last, the mayor and his brethren came forth unto the common-council, where was read the king's letter sent to the mayor and citizens, commanding them to aid him with a thousand well-appointed men out of their city, and to send the same with all speed to his castle at Windsor.

This letter by name was directed to sir Henry Amcottes knight, lord mayor, to sir Rowland Hill knight, mayor elect; and to the aldermen and common-council of the city of London. The day and date of the letter was the 6th of October, in the third year of his reign, being signed with the hand of the king, and the lord protector; the contents of which letter, for the satisfaction of the reader, are here to be seen in manner and form as followeth.

Letter of the King to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of London, in behalf of the Lord Protector.

EDWARD.

By the King.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We charge and command you most earnestly, to give order, with all speed, for the defence and preservation of that our city of London for us; and to levy out of hand, and to put in order, as many as conveniently you may, well weaponed and arrayed, keeping good watch at the gates; and to send us hither, for the defence of our person, one thousand of that our city, of trusty and faithful men, to attend upon us, and our most entirely beloved uncle, Edward duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of our realms, dominions, and subjects, well harnessed, and with good and convenient weapon; so that they do make their repair hither unto us this night, if it be possible, or at least to-morrow before noon; and, in the mean time, to do what appertaineth unto your duty, for ours and our said uncle's defence against all such as attempt any conspiracy or enterprise of violence against us or our said uncle, as you know best for our preservation and defence at this present.

Given under our signet, at our manor of Hampton-court, the sixth of October, the third year of our reign.

You shall further give credit to our trusty and well-beloved Owen Cleydon, the bearer hereof, in all such things as he shall further declare unto you on the behalf of us, and our said uncle the lord protector.

EDWARD.
SOMERSET.

This letter of the king, and of the lord protector, was not so secretly devised, nor so speedily sent, but the lords keeping at

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

London had knowledge immediately thereof (by the means, as some suppose, of the lord Paget, who was then with the king and the protector, but the truth the Lord knoweth), being there ready furnished with their own bands of serving men, and other soldiers and men of arms; who, forthwith upon the same, addressed their letters in semblable wise to the said lord mayor and aldermen in the king's name, not only for a supportation of armed men to serve their purposes, and for a sufficient watch to fortify their city; but also, that they should not obey any such letters, proclamations, or injunctions sent to them from the duke: which letter of the lords at the same instant came likewise to the lord mayor and his brethren, the 6th day of the said month of October; the tenor and copy of which letter here ensueth.

Letter of certain of the Council to the Lord Mayor, etc. against the Lord Protector.

To our very good lord, the lord mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London.

After our right hearty commendations unto your good lordship: knowing your hearty favour and earnest zeals to the preservation of the king's majesty, and of this realm, and other his majesty's realms and dominions, we have thought good to advertise you, that notwithstanding all the good advice and counsel that we could give to the duke of Somerset, to stay himself within reasonable limits, and to use his government now, in the tender age of his majesty, in such sort as might tend to his highness's surety, to the conservation of his estate, and to his honour; the said duke, nevertheless, still continuing in his pride, covetousness, and ambition, ceaseth not daily, by all the ways and means he can devise, to enrich himself without measure, and to impoverish his majesty.

Crimes laid to the lord protector by the lords.

He buildeth in four or five places most sumptuously, and leaveth the poor soldiers unpaid of their wages, unvictualled, and in all things so unfurnished, as the losses lately sustained, to the greatest dishonour that ever came to the king and this realm, do declare. He soweth daily division between the nobles and gentlemen, and commons. He rewardeth and entertaineth a number of those that were captains of the commons in these late insurrections; and finally, in such wise subverteth all laws, justice, and good order (as it is evident), that, putting his trust in the commons, and perceiving that the nobles and gentlemen should be an impediment to him in his devilish purposes, he laboureth first to have them destroyed, and thinketh after, easily enough to achieve his desire; which, it appeareth plainly, is, to occupy the king's majesty's place. For his doings, whosoever list to behold them, do manifestly declare, that he mindeth never to render account to his majesty of his proceedings.[1]

These things, with many more too long to recite, considered, we pondered with ourselves, that either we must travail for some reformation, or we must, in effect as it were, consent with him to the destruction of our sovereign lord and country. Whereupon, laying apart all respects, and resting only upon our duties, we joined in counsel, and thought quietly to have treated the matter with him; who, perceiving that we joined for the king, and would have such order as might be for the surety of his majesty's person and the commonwealth, strait put himself in force, and resteth at plain point (as it appeareth), either to go through with his detestable purpose in such sort as he hath done, or to try it by the sword.

Now, forasmuch as we see presently, that unless there be a reformation, the person of the king's majesty is in most certain danger, and this realm, our natural country, like to be destroyed, with all our posterities; like as we have again fully resolved with God's help, either to deliver the king's majesty and the realm from this extreme ruin and destruction, or to spend our lives for the declaration of our faithful hearts and duties; so, knowing your hearty good wills and truth to his majesty, and therefore nothing doubting of your readiness to join with us in our godly purpose, we thought good to let you know the very

(1) "Juste judicate, filii hominum."

truth of our enterprise, and, in the king's majesty's behalf, to require you not only to put good and substantial order for watch and ward, but also to have an earnest continual regard to the preservation, within your city, of all harness, weapons, and munitions, so as none be suffered to be conveyed to the said duke, nor any others attending about him; and besides, that you from henceforth obey no letters, proclamations, nor other commandments to be sent from the said duke. And thus we bid your lordship most heartily farewell.

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

From London, the 6th of October.

Your lordship's assured loving friends,

William St. John.	Arundel.	Edward North.
W. Northampton.	Th. Southampton.	John Gage.
John Warwick.	William Peter.	Richard Southwell.

The city of London urged with two contrary letters at one instant.

After the receiving of these two letters above mentioned, the one from the king, the other from the lords, which came both at one instant, with contrary commandment to the lord mayor and citizens of London, the case seemed hard to them, and very doubtful (as it was indeed) what way to take, and what were best for the citizens of London to do. On the one side, the name and authority of the king was much; on the other side the power and garrisons of the lords, lying then in London, was not little, which seemed then to be such as would have no repulse.

The recorder speaketh for the lords.

The case thus standing perplexedly, first by the mouth of the recorder it was requested, that the citizens would grant their aid rather unto the lords, for that the protector had abused both the king's majesty and the whole realm; and that without he were taken from the king, and made to understand his folly, this realm was in great hazard; and he therefore required, that the citizens would willingly assent to aid the lords with five hundred men.

Hereunto of a great part in the common-council was no other answer made but silence. But the recorder (who at that time was master Brook) still rested upon them for answer. At last stepped up a wise and good citizen, named George Stadlow, and said:

The grave oration of a discreet citizen speaking for the king.

"In this case it is good for us to think of things past, to avoid the danger of things to come. I remember," saith he, "in a story written in Fabian's chronicle, of the war between the king and his barons, which was in the time of king Henry the Third, and the same time the barons (as our lords do now) demanded aid of the mayor and city of London, and that in a rightful cause, for the commonwealth, which was for the execution of divers good laws against the king, who would not suffer those laws to be put in execution. And the city did aid them, and it came to an open battle, and the lords prevailed against the king, and took the king and his son prisoners; and, upon certain conditions, the lords restored the king and his son again to their liberties, and among all other conditions this was one, that the king should not only grant his pardon to the lords, but also to the citizens of London; the which was granted, yea and the same was ratified by act of parliament. But what followed of it? Was it forgotten? No surely, nor forgiven neither, during the king's life. The liberties of the city were taken away, strangers appointed to be our heads and governors, the citizens given away body and goods, and from one persecution to another were most miserably afflicted. Such a thing is it, to enter into the wrath of a prince; as Solomon saith, 'The wrath and indignation of a prince is death.' Wherefore, forasmuch as this aid is required of the king's majesty, whose voice we ought to hearken unto (for he is our high shepherd), rather than unto the lords, and yet I would not wish the lords to be clearly shaken off; my counsel is, that they with us, and we with them, may join in suit, and make our most humble petition to the king's majesty, that it would please his highness to hear such complaint against the government of the lord protector,

The wrath of a king not rashly to be provoked.

Edward VI.

A.D. 1549 to 1552.

as may be justly alleged and proved; and I doubt not but this matter will be so pacified, that neither shall the king, nor yet the lords, have cause to seek for further aid, neither we to offend any of them both."

After this tale the commons stayed, and the lord mayor and his brethren for that time brake up, till they had further communed with the lords.[1] To make short, I let pass what order by the city was taken; but the conclusion was, that the lords (upon what occasion I know not) sat the next day in council in the Star-Chamber, and from thence sent sir Philip Hobby with their letter of credence to the king's majesty, beseeching and requesting his majesty to give credit to that which the said sir Philip should declare unto his majesty in their names. And the king gave him liberty to speak, and most gently heard all that he had to say; who so handled the matter, declaring his message in the name of the lords, that in the end the lord protector was commanded from the king's presence, and shortly was committed to ward in a tower within the castle of Windsor, called Beauchamp Tower; and soon after were stayed sir Thomas Smith, master Whalley, master Fisher, and many other gentlemen that attended upon the lord protector. The same day the lords of the council resorted to the king; and the next day they brought from thence the lord protector, and the others that were there stayed, and conveyed them through the city of London unto the Tower, and there left them.

The lord protector committed to prison in Windsor-castle, and from thence to the Tower.

Shortly after the lords resorted unto the Tower, and there charged the lord protector with sundry articles, which follow:

Articles objected against the Lord Protector.

Inprimis, You took upon you the office of protector and governor, upon condition expressly and specially, that you would do nothing in the king's affairs, publicly or privately, but by the assent of the late king's executors.

II. Also you, contrary to the said condition, of your own authority did stay and let justice, and subverted the laws, as well by your letters, as by your commandments.

III. Also, you caused divers persons being arrested and imprisoned for treason, murder, manslaughter, and felony, to be discharged and set at large, against the king's laws and statutes of this realm.

IV. Also, you have made and ordained lieutenants for the king's armies, and other weighty affairs, under your own writing and seal.

V. Also, you have communed with the ambassadors of other realms, discoursing alone with them the weighty causes of this realm.

VI. Also, you have sometime rebuked, checked, and taunted, as well privately as openly, divers of the king's most honourable councillors, for showing and declaring their advices and opinions against your purposes, in the king's weighty affairs; saying sometimes to them, that you need not to open matters unto them, and would therefore be otherwise advised; and that you would, if they were not agreeable to your opinion, put them out, and take others at your pleasure.

VII. Also, you had and held, against the law, in your own house, a court of requests; and thereby did enforce divers the king's subjects to answer for their freeholds and goods, and determined the same to the subversion of the same laws.

VIII. Also you, being no officer, without the advice of the council, or the more part of them, did dispose of the offices of the king's gift for money, and granted leases and wards of the king's, and gave presentations to the king's benefices and bishoprics, having no authority so to do. And further, you did meddle with the selling of the king's lands.

(1) Here is to be noted that the city levied five hundred men, but they were not sent.

IX. Also, you commanded multiplication and alchymy to be practised, to abuse the king's coin.

X. Also, you caused a proclamation to be made concerning enclosures, whereby the common people have made divers insurrections, and levied open war, and distrained and spoiled divers of the king's subjects; which proclamation went forth against the will of the whole council.

XI. Also, you have caused a commission, with certain articles thereunto annexed, to be made out concerning enclosures of commons, high-ways, decaying of cottages, and divers other things, giving the commissioners authority to hear and determine the same causes, to the subversion of the laws and statutes of this realm; whereby much sedition, insurrection, and rebellion, have risen and grown amongst the king's subjects.

XII. Also, you have suffered the rebels and traitors to assemble, and to lie in camp and armour against the king, his nobles and gentlemen, without any speedy subduing or repressing of them.

XIII. Also, you did comfort and encourage divers of the said rebels, by giving of them divers sums of your own money, and by promising to divers of them, fees, rewards, and services.

XIV. Also, you in favour of the said rebels did, against the laws, cause a proclamation to be made, that none of the said rebels or traitors should be sued or vexed by any person for any their offences in the said rebellion; to the clear subversion of the same law.

XV. Also you have said, in the time of the rebellion, that you liked well the doings and proceedings of the said rebels and traitors; and said, that the covetousness of the gentlemen gave occasion to the common people to rise; saying also, that better it were for the commons to die, than perish for lack of living.

XVI. Also you said, that the lords of the parliament were loth to incline themselves to reformation of enclosures and other things; therefore the people had good cause to reform the things themselves.

XVII. Also you, after the report and declaration of the defaults and lacks reported to you by such as did survey Boulogne and the pieces there, would never amend the same defaults.

XVIII. Also, you would not suffer the king's pieces beyond the seas, called Newhaven and Blacknest, to be furnished with men and victuals, although you were advertised of the defaults therein by the captains of the same pieces and others, and were thereto advertised by the king's council; whereby the French king, being the king's open enemy, was encouraged and comforted to invade and win the said pieces; to the king's great loss, and dishonour of his realm.

XIX. Also, you declared and published untruly, as well to the king's majesty, as to other the young lords attendant upon his grace's person, that the lords of the council at London minded to destroy the king; and you required the king never to forget it, but to revenge it: and likewise you required the young lords to put the king in remembrance thereof, to the intent to make sedition and discord between the king and his lords.

XX. Also, whereas the king's majesty's privy council, of their love and zeal that they did bear unto the king and his realm, did consult at London, to have communed with you, to the intent to move you charitably to amend your doings and misgovernment, you, hearing of their said assembly, caused to be declared, by letters in divers places, the said lords to be high traitors to the king, to the great disturbance of the realm.

The merciful working of the Lord for the protector.

And thus much hitherto, concerning the first trouble of the lord protector, duke of Somerset, with the crimes and articles objected against him, with his imprisonment also in the Tower, and the terrible proclamation given out against him. All which purposes of man, though they seemed fully to intend no less than the spilling of his blood; yet the Lord above, the only disposer of all men's purposes, so ordered the matter, by the means of the king labouring for his uncle, that in short while after, he was let out of the Tower, and that proclamation which before had made him a traitor, within three days

Edward VI.

A.D. 1549 to 1552.

after was called in again (a Domino factum est illud), and, with commandment given, none of them to be sold. And so the duke of Somerset, graciously escaping this adversity, was again restored, though not to the former office, yet unto liberty, wherein he continued the space of two years and two days.[1] After the which time of respite being expired, the said duke of Somerset was apprehended and committed again to the Tower, and with him also sir Michael Stanhope, sir Ralph Vane, sir Miles Partridge, and others, &c. At length the time being come of his arraignment, the aforesaid good duke, being brought from the Tower, was conveyed through London with the axe of the Tower before him, and with great preparance of bills, halberts, pikes, and poleaxes, in most forcible wise; a watch also set and appointed before every man's door through the high street of London: and so was he brought into Westminster-hall, where the lords of the council, sitting as his judges in the middle of the hall, upon a new scaffold, he was there before them arraigned and charged both with treason and felony.

His deliverance out of the Tower. The second trouble of the duke of Somerset. The duke of Somerset again brought to the Tower.

In that judgment I pass over the unseemly speech, the vile taunts and despiteful rebukes, without all modesty or honesty, used by certain of the serjeants and justices, and some others sitting there. All which, notwithstanding, he patiently and quietly did suffer, neither storming inwardly in stomach, nor reviling them with words again; but like a lamb, following the true Lamb and example of all meekness, was contented to take all things at their hands, and with no less patience to bear now their ungentle and cruel railings, than he did before their glavering words and flatterings, in time of his high estate and prosperity. And as the patience of this good duke was marvellous in forbearing his enemies, so also was his discretion and temperance no less seen in answering for himself to the articles to him objected; whereunto he wisely and substantially replied, putting himself, in the end, to be tried by his peers; who then, at length, after consultation had, did frame and temper their verdict thus: That as concerning the case of treason, wherewith he was charged, they discharged him, but they accounted him guilty of felony. When the people (which were there present to a great number) heard the lords say, "not guilty" (meaning by the case of treason), supposing no less but that he had been clearly acquitted by these words, and especially seeing the axe of the Tower to be carried away, for great joy and gladness they made an outcry; well declaring their loving affection and hearty favour unto the duke, whose life they greatly desired. But this opinion of the people was deceived, and the innocent duke condemned to die for felony; which act of felony had been made a little before against the rebels and unlawful assemblies, such as should seek or procure the death of any councillor, so that every such attempt and procurement, according to the act, should be adjudged felony.[2] By the virtue of which act the duke being accused, with certain others his complices, to intend and purpose the death of the duke of Northumberland, and of certain besides, was therefore cast and condemned of felony, and so was returned toward the Tower

The vile taunts of certain justices and others sitting in judgment against the good duke of Somerset. His great patience in taking rebukes.

His discreet behaviour in answering for himself.

The hearty affection of the people towards him.

The duke of Somerset condemned of felony.

Somerset accused for seeking the death of the duke of Northumberland.

(1) Foxe calculated here from erroneous data. The duke had been liberated on the 6th of February, 1550. The recommittal to the Tower took place on the 16th of October, 1551. See Stow's Annals (fol. 1631) pp. 603—605.—Ed.

(2) Stat. an. 5. Reg. Edw. VI.

again; at whose passage through the city, great exclamations and outcries were made again of the people, some rejoicing that he was acquitted, some bewailing that he was condemned.

Edward VI. A. D. 1552.

Thus the good duke, passing through a great part of the city, landing at the Crane in the Vintry, was conveyed to the Tower, where he endured till the 22d of January; upon the which day, at the coming down of the letter of execution from the king and the council, the aforesaid duke and uncle to the king, being found no traitor, only being cast by the act of felony, was delivered unto the sheriffs, and so brought to the place of execution.

Touching which execution a few words here would be [well] bestowed, in describing the wonderful order and manner thereof, as it hath faithfully been suggested to us upon the credit of a certain noble personage, who not only was there present at the deed-doing, but also, in a manner, next unto him upon the scaffold, beholding the order of all things with his eyes; and with his pen, also, reporting the same in order and manner as here followeth.

An Account of the Execution of Edward Duke of Somerset, furnished by a Noble Personage, who witnessed it.

In the year of our Lord 1552, the two and twentieth of January, in the fifth year of the reign of king Edward the Sixth, he being yet under age and governance of tutors, the noble duke of Somerset, uncle to king Edward, was brought out of the Tower of London, and, according to the manner, delivered to the sheriffs of the city; and, compassed round about with a great number of armed men, both of the guard and others, he was brought unto the scaffold on Tower-hill, where he, nothing changing either voice or countenance, but in a manner with the same gesture which he commonly used at home, kneeling down upon both his knees, and lifting up his hands, commended himself unto God.

The cheerful countenance of the duke of Somerset at his death.

After that he had ended a few short prayers, standing up again, and turning himself toward the east side of the scaffold, nothing at all abashed (as it seemed to me, standing about the midst of the scaffold, and diligently marking all things) either with the sight of the axe, or yet of the hangman, or of present death; but with the like alacrity and cheerfulness of mind and countenance as beforetimes he was accustomed to hear the causes and supplication of others, and especially the poor (towards whom, as it were with a certain fatherly love to his children, he always showed himself most atttentive), he uttered these words to the people:

The words of the duke of Somerset to the people at his death.

"Dearly beloved friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against the king either by word or deed, and have been always as faithful and true unto this realm as any man hath been. But forsomuch as I am by a law condemned to die, I do acknowledge myself, as well as others, to be subject thereunto. Wherefore, to testify my obedience which I owe unto the laws, I am come hither to suffer death; whereunto I willingly offer myself, with most hearty thanks unto God, that hath given me this time of repentance, who might, through sudden death, have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him, nor myself.

His care in setting forth true religion.

"Moreover, dearly beloved friends, there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching christian religion; which so long as I was in authority I always diligently set forth and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent me of my doings, but rejoice therein, since that now the state of christian religion cometh most near unto the form and order of the primitive church; which thing I esteem as a great benefit, given of God, both unto you and me: most heartily exhorting you all, that this which is most purely set forth unto you, you will, with like thankfulness, accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living. Which thing if you do not, without doubt greater mischief and calamity will follow."

Edward VI.

A. D. 1552.

A sudden noise and fear of the people at the death of the duke of Somerset.

When he had spoken these words, suddenly there was a terrible noise heard; whereupon there came a great fear upon all men. This noise was as it had been the noise of some great storm or tempest, which, unto some, seemed to be heard from above; like as if a great deal of gunpowder being enclosed in an armory, and having caught fire, had violently broken out. But unto some, again, it seemed as though it had been a great multitude of horsemen running together, or coming upon them. Such a noise then was in the ears of all men, albeit they saw nothing. Whereby it happened that all the people, being amazed without any evident cause, without any violence or stroke stricken, or any man seen, they ran away, some into the ditches and puddles, and some into the houses thereabouts: others, being afraid of the horror and noise, fell down grovelling unto the ground, with their poleaxes and halberts; and most of them cried out, "Jesus save us, Jesus save us." Those who tarried still in their places, for fear knew not where they were; and I myself who was there present among the rest, being also afraid in this hurly-burly, stood still altogether amazed, looking when any man would knock me on the head. It happened here, as the evangelists write it did unto Christ, when the officers of the high priests and pharisees, coming with weapons to take him, being astonied, ran backwards and fell to the ground.[1]

The great favour of the people to the duke of Somerset.

In the mean time, while these things were thus in doing, the people by chance spied one sir Anthony Brown riding under the scaffold; which was the occasion of a new noise. For when they saw him coming, they conjectured that which was not true, but notwithstanding which they all wished for—that the king, by that messenger, had sent his uncle pardon; and therefore, with great rejoicing and casting up their caps, they cried out, "Pardon, pardon is come; God save the king." Thus this good duke, although he was destitute of all man's help, yet he saw, before his departure, in how great love and favour he was with all men. And truly I do not think that, in so great slaughter of dukes as hath been in England within these few years, there were so many weeping eyes at one time; and not without cause. For all men did see in the decay of this duke, the public ruin of all England; except such as indeed did perceive nothing.

But now to return from whence we have strayed; the duke in the mean time standing still in the same place, modestly, and with a grave countenance, made a sign to the people with his hand, that they would keep themselves quiet; which thing being done, and silence obtained, he spake unto them in this manner:

The words of the duke to the people.

"Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter here in hand as you vainly hope or believe. It seemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient unto. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer; and let us now join in prayer unto the Lord for the preservation of the king's majesty, unto whom hitherto I have always showed myself a most faithful and true subject. I have always been most diligent about his majesty in his affairs, both at home and abroad, and no less diligent in seeking the common commodity of the whole realm:" at which words all the people cried out and said, "It was most true."

Testimony of the people.

Then the duke proceeding, said, "Unto whose majesty I wish continual health, with all felicity and all prosperous success:" whereunto the people again cried out, "Amen."

"Moreover, I do wish unto all his councillors the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule in all things uprightly with justice. Unto whom I exhort you all, in the Lord, to show yourselves obedient (as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation), and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the king's majesty.

The confession of the duke.

"Moreover, forsomuch as heretofore I have had oftentimes affairs with divers men, and hard it is to please every man, therefore, if there be any that hath been offended and injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness, but especially Almighty God, whom, throughout all my life, I have most grievously offended; and all others whatsoever they be that have offended me, I do with my whole heart forgive them. Now I once again require you, dearly beloved in the Lord, that you will keep yourselves quiet and still, lest, through

(1) The like story you shall read of Caius Marius, in Maximus, book ii. cap. 5.

your tumult, you might trouble me. For albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering, and, through your quietness, I shall be much more quiet. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness, that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ; desiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same unto my life's end."

The duke of Somerset dieth in the faith of Jesus Christ.

After this, he, turning himself again about like a meek lamb, kneeled down upon his knees. Then Dr. Coxe, who was there present to counsel and advertise him, delivered a certain scroll into his hand, wherein was contained a brief confession unto God; which being read, he stood up again upon his feet, without any trouble of mind (as it appeared), and first bade the sheriffs farewell, then the lieutenant of the Tower, and others, taking them all by the hands who were upon the scaffold with him. Then he gave the hangman certain money; which done, he put off his gown, and kneeling down again in the straw, untied his shirt-strings. After that, the hangman, coming unto him, turned down his collar round about his neck, and all other things which did let or hinder him. Then, lifting up his eyes to heaven, where his only hope remained, and covering his face with his own handkerchief, he laid himself down along, showing no manner of token of trouble or fear, neither did his countenance change, but that, before his eyes were covered, there began to appear a red colour in the midst of his cheeks.

Dr. Coxe his ghostly father.

The godly end of the duke of Somerset.

Thus this most meek and gentle duke, lying along, and looking for the stroke, because his doublet covered his neck, he was commanded to rise up and put it off; and then laying himself down again upon the block, and calling thrice upon the name of Jesus saying, "Lord Jesu, save me!" as he was the third time repeating the same, even as the name of Jesu was in uttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head and life, and slept in the Lord Jesus, being taken away from all the dangers and evils of this life, and resting now in the peace of God; in the preferment of whose truth and gospel he always showed himself an excellent instrument and member, and therefore hath received the reward of his labours.

*In[1] illustrissimum ducem Somersetum distichon epitaphicum Johannis Foxi.

Innumeras uno laudes, ut carmine dicam:
Anglia tota ruit cæde, Semere, tuâ.*

The virtues of the duke of Somerset.

Thus, gentle reader, thou hast here the true history of this worthy and noble duke, and if any man report it otherwise, let it be counted as a lie. As touching the manners, disposition, life, and conversation of the said duke and the king's uncle, what shall we need to speak, when he cannot be sufficiently commended according to the dignity of his virtues? There was always in him great humanity, and such meekness and gentleness, as is rare to be found in so high estate. He was prone and ready to give ear unto the complaints and supplications of the poor, and no less attentive unto the affairs of the commonwealth, to which, if he had lived together with king Edward, he was like to do much good, in reforming many misorders within this realm. He was utterly ignorant of all craft and deceit, and as far void of all pride and ambition, as he was from doing of injury; being indeed utterly void of both. He was of a gentle disposition, not coveting to be revenged; more apt and ready to be deceived, than to deceive. His ancient love and zeal of the gospel and of religion, he brought with him to the state of this his dignity. The proof whereof sufficiently was seen, in his constant standing to God's truth, and zealous defence thereof, against the bishops of Chichester, Norwich, Lincoln, London, and others more, in the consultation had at Windsor, the first year of the king's reign.

His zealous standing in defence of the truth against the bishops at Windsor.

(1) See the Latin Edition 1559, p. 214.—Ed.

Edward VI. A. D. 1552.

A comparison.

Briefly, considering the nature and virtues of this duke, I may (as seemeth) not unaptly compare and resemble him unto duke Humphrey, the good duke of Gloucester; who, likewise, being uncle unto king Henry the Sixth, and protector of the realm (as this was, also, to king Edward the Sixth), yet he wanted not his enemies and privy enviers, especially Henry Beaufort, cardinal, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor of England; who, at that time disdaining and envying the rule and authority of this duke, procured much trouble against him, and great division in the whole realm, insomuch that all the shops within the city of London were shut in,[1] for fear of the favourers of these two great personages; for each party had assembled no small number of people. For pacifying whereof, the archbishop of Canterbury and the duke of Coimbra (called the prince of Portugal), rode seven times in one day between the two adversaries. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous division within the realm, between these two, as is before expressed; not much unlike to the troublesome discord betwixt parties in this protector's days. And as, in their afflictions and troubles, these two dukes[2] seemed not much unlike, so, in matters of religion, and in discerning truth from falsehood, their zeals seemed not much discrepant. Although the light of the gospel did not so fully then shine out, as in the time of this latter duke (the Lord be praised there-for), yet the wisdom and towardness of the other duke also, touching the same, was not utterly unworthy of his commendation. For the more manifest declaration whereof, amongst many other his godly doings, we may take for example the prudent and famous act of that noble duke, in discerning and trying out the false lying miracle and popish hypocrisy of the blind beggar at St. Alban's, mentioned in his story before;[3] for which cause, and for his diligent study in reforming that, and such other blind abuses of feigned religion, he was the more hated of the spiritualty, and such as Winchester afterwards was.

A false miracle detected by duke Humphrey, of Gloucester.

Finally, as this lord protector, duke of Somerset, the king's uncle, by certain of the council was then accused, arraigned, and condemned, for the trespass (as it was given forth) of felony (although I never heard he murdered or robbed any), so the other uncle of king Henry the Sixth was made away; of whose decease thus writeth master Tyndale in his Practice of Prelates: "At the last, they found the means to contrive a drift to bring their matters to pass, and made a parliament far from the citizens of London, where was slain the said good duke, and the only wealth of the realm, and the mighty shield which so long had kept it from the sorrow, which, shortly after his death, fell upon them by heaps. But the chronicles," saith he, "cannot tell wherefore he died, nor by what means. Nevertheless, this they testify, that he was a virtuous man, godly and good to the commonwealth."

The testimony of Tindal of the good duke.

But, to leave duke Humphrey, and to return to the manners and virtues of the duke of Somerset, which before we were about to describe:—As he was a gentle and courteous duke at home, so was he no less fortunate a captain in warfare abroad; under whose government and guiding not only divers rebellious commotions were happily

Happy success of the duke of Somerset.

(1) See Hall's Chronicle. (London, 1809), p. 130.—Ed.
(2) Touching the troubles of the duke of Gloucester read before.
(3) See vol. iii. page 713, of this Edition.—Ed.

suppressed here at home; but also abroad, in the expedition of Scotland, such a victory was given him of God, that with the loss of scarce six hundred of his own men, there were, of the enemies, as good or little less than ten thousand slain and put to flight; and even the very same day and time in which all the idolatrous images were here burnt at London. And yet, all these wars notwithstanding, whereunto he was against his will compelled, he was a man of nature singularly given to peace, as may be seen by the sweet and peaceable exhortation by him set forth in print before, and sent to the realm of Scotland. But as there is nothing in this world so perfect in all respects, which is not blotted or darkened with some spot of vice adjoined withal; so, amongst the manifold commendations of this duke, one thing there was too, which both distained his honour and estimation much, and also more impaired and hindered his own life and safety; which was, that he, in condescending to the death of his brother, followed too rashly the persuasion of certain whosoever they were: for that matter lacked not, perchance, some singular fetch and policy of some more craftily than godly disposed persons; as many good men have supposed.

Edward VI. A.D. 1552.

God's chastisement upon the duke of Somerset.

But whatsoever of that matter is to be deemed, credible it is, that the said duke, in suffering or procuring the death of his brother, not only endamaged himself, and weakened his own power, but also provoked the chastisement of God's scourge and rod, which did so light upon him.

Furthermore, as touching the death and decay of the lord Henry earl of Surrey, who also suffered at the Tower next before the lord admiral, the lord protector's brother; because the casting of him was so near to the death of king Henry, as I know not upon whom or what cause the same did proceed, so I pass it over and leave it to the Lord. Notwithstanding, as for the duke of Somerset, whatsoever his other vices and virtues were, this is certain, that his end (the Lord so working with him) was constant in Christ's truth, as his life was before a great maintenance of the same.

The beheading of the earl of Surrey.

Moreover, on the 26th day of February in the same year, were sir Ralph Vane and sir Miles Partridge both hanged at the Tower-hill, and sir Michael Stanhope, and sir Thomas Arundel beheaded upon the scaffold; all which four were condemned by the said act of unlawful assembly, and as accessaries unto the duke of Somerset.

Other executions at Tower-hill.

PETER MARTYR'S DISPUTATIONS HOLDEN AT OXFORD, ABOUT THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Not long after the death of the duke of Somerset, in the next year following, deceased the king himself about the month of June,[1] whereof more shall be said (the Lord granting) in his due order and course hereafter. In the mean season, before we come to close up the latter end and story of this good king, the place here present seemeth not unfit to intermit, by the way, a few other things before happening within the time of his reign; namely, concerning matters incident of the church, and of religion. Which state of religion began well to grow, and to come happily forward during this king's days, had not the unhappy troubles of the outward state, among the

Religion hindered by discord.

(1) July the sixth, 1553.—Ed.

Edward VI. A.D. 1552.

lords, not agreeing within themselves, disquieted the good towardness of things begun. But the malice of the devil, how subtilely worketh it, if men could see it! So long as the lords agreed in concord among themselves, Winchester and Bonner, with all that faction, were cut short, and began to condescend to good conformity. But afterward, perceiving the states and nobles of the realm to be among themselves divided, and the lord protector the king's uncle displaced, and his brother the admiral before beheaded, and the young king now left in that case, they began upon some hope to take more heart to them, till, at last, it came to pass as they themselves desired. And thus, though nothing else will lead us, yet experience may teach us, what discord worketh in public weals; and contrarily, what a necessary thing concord is, to the advancement especially of God's matters appertaining to his church. Examples of this in this king's days be not far to seek; for, as touching the success of the gospel of peace, while public peace and the gospel did join together, marvellous it was how Error and Popery were in themselves confounded, and ashamed almost to show their faces: insomuch that then, both Drs. Smith, Chedsey, Standish, Young, and Oglethorpe, with many more recanted their former ignorance, whose recantations I have to show. Bonner then, with his own hand, subscribed unto the king's supremacy, and promoted his injunctions.

Discord worketh decay in a commonwealth.

Many reclaimed from their errors.

The same, also, did Stephen Gardiner, subscribing with his own hand to the first book of the king's proceedings; and no doubt had done [no] less to the second book also set forth by the king, had not the unfortunate discord fallen amongst the nobles, in a time so unfortunate as then it did. Briefly, during all that time of peace and concord, what papist was found in all the realm, who, for the pope's devotion, would or did once put his neck in the halter, to die a martyr for his sake?

The gospel flourished, so long as peace continued.

A.D. 1549 to 1552.

I showed before, how, in these peaceable days of king Edward, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius, with other learned men more were entertained, placed, and provided for, in the two universities of this realm, Oxford and Cambridge, who there, with their diligent industry, did much good. The learned and fruitful disputations of whom I have likewise present in my hands here to insert, but that the bigness of this volume driveth me to make short, especially seeing their disputations to be so long and prolix as they be, and also in Latin; and require of themselves a whole volume to comprehend them.

Martyr, Bucer, and Phagius placed in the universities.

First, Peter Martyr, being called by the king to the public reading of the divinity lecture in Oxford, amongst his other learned exercises did set up in the public schools three conclusions of divinity, to be disputed and tried by argument; at which disputations were present the king's visitors, to wit, Henry bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Coxe, chancellor of that university, Dr. Hains, dean of Exeter, master Richard Morison esquire, and Christopher Nevinson doctor of civil law. The conclusions propounded were these:

The king's visitors at the disputation.

The conclusions to be disputed.

First: "In the sacrament of thanksgiving there is no transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ."

Secondly: "The body and blood of Christ be not carnally or corporally in the bread and wine, nor, as others use to say, under the kinds of bread and wine."

Thirdly: "The body and blood of Christ be united to bread and wine sacramentally."

Edward VI. A.D. 1549 to 1552.

They that were the chief disputers against him on the contrary side, were Dr. Tresham, Dr. Chedsey, and Morgan. The reasons and principal arguments of Peter Martyr hereunder follow.

Disputers of the contrary part.

The Argument of Peter Martyr upon the First Conclusion.

The first argument of Peter Martyr against transubstantiation.

The Scriptures most plainly do name and acknowledge bread and wine. In the evangelists we read that the Lord Jesus took bread, blessed it, brake it, and gave it to his disciples. St. Paul, likewise, doth ofttimes make mention of bread.

Ergo, We also, with the Scriptures, ought not to exclude bread from the nature of the Sacrament.

Cyprian [saith], "As in the person of Christ, his humanity was seen outwardly, and his divinity was secret within: so, in the visible sacrament, the divinity inserteth itself in such sort as cannot be uttered; that our devotion about the sacraments might be the more religious."[1]

Ergo, As in the person of Christ, so in the sacrament, both the natures ought still to remain.

Gelasius [saith], "The sacraments which we receive of the body and blood of Christ, are a divine matter; by reason whereof, we are made partakers, by the same, of his divine nature; and yet it ceaseth not still to be the substance of bread and wine. And certes the representation and similitude of the body and blood of Christ be celebrated in the action of the mysteries," etc.[2]

Augustine [saith], "As the person of Christ consisteth of God and man, when, as he is true God and true man: for every thing containeth in itself the nature and verity of those things whereof it is made. Now the sacrament of the church is made of two things; that is, of the sacrament that signifieth, and of the matter of the sacrament that is signified," etc.[3]

Theodoret [saith], "These visible mysteries which are seen, he hath honoured with the name of his body and blood, not changing the nature, but adding grace unto nature," etc.[4] And the same Theodoret again saith, "Those mystical sacraments, after sanctification, do not pass out of their own proper nature, but remain still in their former substance, figure, and shape," etc.[5]

Ergo, Like as the body of Christ remained in him, and was not changed into his divinity; so, in the sacrament, the bread is not changed into the body, but both the substances remain whole.

Origen [saith], "If whatsoever entereth into the mouth, goeth down into the belly, and so passeth through a man; even that meat, also, which is sanctified by the word of God, and by prayer, as touching that part which it hath material within it, passeth into the belly, and so voideth through a man. But through prayer, which is adjoined to it, according to the measure of faith, it is profitable and effectual," etc. And he addeth moreover, "For it is not the outward matter of bread, but the word that is spoken upon it, that profiteth him which eateth it worthily," etc.[6]

Irenæus [saith], "Jesus, taking bread of the same condition which is after us," that is, taking bread of the same nature and kind, which we use commonly to eat, "did confess it to be his body. And taking likewise the cup, which is of the same creature which is after us," that is, which we commonly use to drink, "confessed it to be his blood," etc.[7] Also "Like as bread which is of the earth, receiving the word and calling of God, is now not common bread, but

(1) Cypri. in serm. De Cœna Dom.
(2) Gelasius contra Eutichen.
(3) Aug. de Consec. Dist. 2. ex Sententiis Prosperi.
(4) Theod. Dial. 1. contra Eutich.
(5) Theod. Dial. 2. contra Eutich.
(6) Orig. in Matt. xv.
(7) Irenæus, lib. iv. contra Hæres.

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

the eucharist, consisting of two things, the one earthly, the other heavenly; so our bodies receiving the sacred eucharist, be now not corruptible, having hope of resurrection," etc.[1]

Argument.

Ba- The bread in the sacrament is so changed into the body, as our bodies are changed when they are made incorruptible by hope.
ro- But our bodies are not made incorruptible by changing their substance:
co. Ergo, No more is the bread changed into the substance of the body.

Gregory [saith], "Notwithstanding, whether we take leavened or unleavened bread, we are all one body of our Lord and Saviour,"[2] etc.

Argument.

Da- Where bread leavened or unleavened is taken, there is substance of bread; and not accidents only.
ri- In the sacrament, bread is received either leavened or unleavened;
i. Ergo, In the sacrament is substance of bread, and not accidents only.

Argument.

Ba- The body of Christ is named of that which is proportioned round, and is insensible in operation.
ro- Accidents only of bread have no figure of roundness.
co. Ergo, The body of Christ is not named of accidents, but of very bread substantial.

Argument.

The words of the evangelist, speaking of that which Christ took, blessed, brake, and gave, do import it to be bread, and nothing else but bread.
Ergo, The substance of bread is not to be excluded out of the sacrament.

Chrysostome [saith], "Christ in giving bread and wine, said, Do this in remembrance of me."[3]

Cyril [saith], "He gave to them pieces or fragments of bread." Also the same Cyril saith, "In bread we receive his precious body, and his blood in wine."[4]
Ergo, By these doctors, it remaineth bread after the consecration.

Ambrose [saith], "Before the blessing of the heavenly words, it is called another kind of thing. After consecration, the body of Christ is signified."

Arguments of Peter Martyr, disputing with Master Chedsey upon the First Question.

Analogy or proportion between the outward nourishing of bread in our bodies, and the inward nourishing of Christ's bodily death in our souls.

Da- The analogy and resemblance between the sacrament, and the thing signified, must ever be kept in all sacraments.
ti- In the sacrament of the Lord's body this analogy or resemblance cannot be kept, if bread be transubstantiated:
si. Ergo, The substance of bread must needs remain in the sacrament.

The major of this argument is certain by St. Augustine,[5] where he saith, "Sacraments must needs bear a similitude of those things whereof they are sacraments, or else they can be no sacraments."

The minor is thus proved:

Argument.

Ba- The resemblance between the sacrament and the body of Christ is this, that as the properties of bread and wine do nourish outwardly, so the properties of the body of Christ do nourish spiritually.
ro- Without the substance of bread and wine, there is no resemblance of nourishing:
co. Ergo, Without the substance of bread and wine, the analogy cannot hold.

(1) Irenæus, lib. iv. contra Hæres. (2) Greg. in Reg. (3) Chrys. 1 Cor. 11. Hom. 27.
(4) Cyril. in Joan. lib. iv. cap. 14.
(5) Lib. de Catechisandis rudibus, [cap. 26.—Ed.] et Epist. ad Dardanum.

Argument.

Ba- Again, another resemblance and similitude or analogy of this sacrament is this: that as one loaf of bread, and one cup of wine, containeth many corns, and many grapes; so the mystical congregation containeth many members, and yet maketh but one body.

ro- Without the substance of bread and wine no such resemblance or similitude of conjunction can be represented:

ce. Ergo, Without the substance of bread and wine, the analogy of this spiritual conjunction cannot hold.

Another Argument.

Ba- Every sacrament consisteth in two things, that is, in the thing signifying, and the thing signified.

ro- Without the substance of bread and wine, there is nothing that signifieth in the sacrament.

co. Ergo, The substance of bread and wine, in the sacrament, can in no wise be transubstantiate from their natures.

The minor is thus to be proved:

Fes- There is no signification in any sacrament without the element.

ti- The substance of bread and wine is the element of this sacrament.

no. Ergo, Without the substance of bread and wine, there is no similitude nor signification in this sacrament.

And forasmuch as the adversaries ground their transubstantiation so much upon these words of Christ, "This is my body," which they expound only after the literal sense, without trope or figure; now that this their exposition is false, and that the said words are to be taken figuratively and spiritually, by three causes it is to be proved:

The words of Christ, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' not to be taken literally, but spiritually.

First, By the words of the Scripture.

Secondly, By the nature of a sacrament.

Thirdly, By the testimonies of the fathers.

I. First, by these words of the Scripture, where he saith, "Do this in remembrance of me," forasmuch as remembrance properly serveth not for things corporally present, but for things rather being absent.

The first cause.

II. Secondly, where he saith, "Until I come;" which words were vain, if he were already come by consecration.

III. Thirdly, where St. Paul saith, "The breaking of bread, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" Which words of breaking, in no case can be verified upon the body of Christ, which, for the glory thereof, is unpassible.

IV. Furthermore, whereas the Lord biddeth them to take and eat, it is evident that the same cannot be understood simply of the body of Christ, without a trope, forasmuch as he cannot be eaten and chewed with teeth, as we use properly, in eating other meats, to do.

V. The words moreover of Luke and Paul, spoken of the cup, do argue likewise, that the other words spoken of the bread, must needs be taken mystically; as where it is said, "This cup is the New Testament," which words must needs be expounded thus: This cup doth signify the New Testament.

VI. Item, These words of St. John,[1] "My words be spirit and life. The flesh profiteth nothing," etc.

VII. Item, Where in the same place of St. John, Christ, to refel the carnal understanding of the Capernaites, of eating his body, maketh mention of his ascension, etc.

The second cause why the words of Christ, "This is my body," cannot be literally expounded without a trope, is the nature of a sacrament; whose nature and property is to bear a sign or signification of a thing to be remembered, which thing, after the substantial and real presence, is absent. As touching which nature of a sacrament, sufficient hath been said before.

The second cause.

The third cause why the words of consecration are figuratively to be taken, is the testimony of the ancient doctors

The third.

(1) Chap. vi.

Edward VI. Tertullian [saith], "'This is my body;' that is to say, This is a figure of my body."[1]

A.D. 1549 to 1552. Augustine [saith], "Christ gave a figure of his body."[2] [Also he saith,] "He did not doubt to say, 'This is my body,' when he gave a sign of his body."[3]

Jerome [saith], "Christ represented unto us his body."

Augustine, in his book "De Doctrina Christiana" declareth expressly, that this speech, of eating the body of Christ, is a figurative speech.[4]

Ambrose [saith], "As thou hast received the similitude of his death; so thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood."[5]

Argument.

Fe- The death of Christ is not present really in the sacrament, but by similitude.
ri- The precious blood of Christ is present in the sacrament, as his death is present.
o. Ergo, The precious blood of Christ is not present really in the sacrament.

The minor of this argument is proved before by the words of Ambrose.

The Argument of Peter Martyr, upon the Second Conclusion.

"The body and blood of Christ, be not carnally or corporally in the bread and wine, nor, as others use to say, under the kinds of bread and wine."

Argument.

Di- The true natural body of Christ is placed in heaven.
sa- The true natural body of man can be but in one place at once, where he is.
mis. Ergo, The true natural body of Christ can be in no place at once, but in heaven where he is.

The major is plain by the Scriptures, "Jesus was taken up to heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God."[6] "The poor ye have always with you, but me you shall not always have."[7] "I leave the world, and go to my Father."[8] "Many shall say in that day, Lo, here is Christ, and there is Christ; believe them not."[9] "Whom the heavens must receive for a time, until the restitution of all."[10] "Seek those things that are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God."[11]

The minor, likewise, is evident by St. Austin, who, speaking of the glorified body of Christ, affirmeth the same to be in one certain place, "Propter veri corporis modum," that is, for the manner of a true body.[12]

Argument.

Da- Every true natural body requireth one certain place.
ri- Augustine [saith], Christ's body, is a true natural body.
o. Ergo, Christ's body requireth one certain place.

Comparatio a Majori.

Argument.

Augustine giveth not to the soul of Christ to be in more places at once but one.[13]

Ergo, Much less is it to be given to the body of Christ, to be in more places at once, but in one.

(1) Tertul. contra Marc. lib. iv. (2) Aug. Psal. iii.
(3) Aug. con. Adamantum Manichæum, cap. 12. (4) Aug. de Doctrina Christiana.
(5) Ambros. de Sacr. lib. iv. cap. 4. (6) Matt. xxvi. (7) John xii. (8) John xvi.
(9) Matt. xxiv. (10) Acts iii. (11) Col. iii. (12) Aug. ad Dardanum. (13) Ibid.

Argument.

The nature of the angels is not to be in divers places, but they are limited to occupy one certain place at once.[1]

Ergo, The body of Christ being the true natural body of a man, cannot fill divers places at one time.

Argument.

Comparison.

Ba- Whatsoever is in many and divers places at once, is God.
ro- The body of Christ is not God, but a creature.
co. Ergo, The body of Christ cannot be in more places together.

Argument.

Fes- We must not so defend the divinity of Christ, that we destroy his humanity.[2]
ti- If we assign to the body of Christ plurality of places, we destroy his humanity.
no. Ergo, we must not assign to the body of Christ plurality of places.

Argument.

Fes- Whatsoever thing is circumscribed, that is to say, contained in the limits of any peculiar place, cannot be dispersed in more places at once.
ti- The body of Christ is a thing circumscribed.
no. Ergo, The body of Christ is not dispersed in more places at one time.

Argument.

Da- Every quantity (that is, every body having magnitude, length, and other dimensions) is circumscribed in one peculiar place.
ti- The body of Christ hath its dimensions, and is a quantity.
si. Ergo, The body of Christ is circumscribed.

The major is proved by Cyril: "Whatsoever is understood to be a body, the same is verily in a place, and in magnitude and in quantity. And if it be in quantity, it cannot avoid circumscription;" that is, to have its place.[3]

Argument.

Ba- If Christ had given his body substantially and carnally in the supper, then was that body either passible or impassible.
ro- But neither can you say that body to be passible or impassible, which he gave at supper.
co. Ergo, He did not give his body substantially and carnally at supper.

The minor is proved thus: For if ye say, it was passible, Augustine is against it, who saith, "Ye shall not eat this body which you see, nor drink the same blood which they shall shed that shall crucify me," &c. And if ye say, it was impassible, that may not be admitted by the words of the evangelist, who saith, "Eat, this is my body which shall be given for you:" so that, that body was passible, and not impassible, wherein Christ was given.[4]

Vigil [saith], "One creature cannot receive in itself two contrary or divers things together. But these two things be diverse and far unlike, that is to say, to be contained in a place, and to be everywhere. For the word, is everywhere; but the flesh is not everywhere."[5]

Argument.

Fe- Bodies organical, without quantity, be no bodies.
ri- The pope's doctrine maketh the body of Christ in the sacrament to be without quantity.
o. Ergo, The pope's doctrine maketh the body of Christ in the sacrament to be no body.

(1) Basilius de Spirit. Sanct. cap 22. (2) August. (3) Cyril. de Cren. lib. ii. p. 245
(4) Aug. in Psal. xcviii. (5) Vig. contra Eutichen, lib. iv.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1549 to 1552.

Argument.

Da- All things which may be divided, have quantity.
ri- The body in the pope's sacrament is divided in three parts.
i. Ergo, The body in the pope's sacrament hath quantity, which is against their own doctrine.

Argument.

Fe- No natural body can receive in itself, and at one time, contrary or divers qualities.[1]
ri- To be in one place local, and in another place not local; to be in one place with quantity, and in another place without quantity; in one place circumscript, in another place incircumscript, is for a natural body to receive contrary qualities.
o. Ergo, The body of Christ cannot be in one place local, and in another not local; in one place with quantity, and in another without quantity, as our adversaries do affirm.

Argument.

Fe- The wicked receive not the body of Christ.
ri- The wicked do receive the body of Christ, if transubstantiation be granted.
son. Ergo, Transubstantiation is not to be granted in the sacrament.

Argument for probation of the Major.

Ga- To eat Christ, is for a man to have Christ dwelling and abiding in him.
mes- The wicked have not Christ dwelling in them.
tres. Ergo, The wicked eat not the body of the Lord.

Cyprian [saith], "The eating of Christ is our abiding in him."[2]

Argument.

Bo- The Holy Ghost could not come, if the body of Christ were really present.
car- That the Holy Ghost is come it is most certain.
do. Ergo, It cannot be, that Christ himself should be here really present.

For proof of the major: John xvi., "Unless I go from you, the Holy Ghost shall not come: it is expedient for you that I go hence."

Argument of Peter Martyr on the Third Conclusion.

"The body and blood of Christ be united to bread and wine sacramentally."

Ba- If the wicked, and infidels, do receive the body of Christ, they receive him either with sense, or reason, or with faith.
ro- But they receive him neither with sense, reason, nor with faith.
co. Ergo, Wicked men and infidels receive in no wise the body of Christ.

Declaration of the major.

For declaration of the major, if ye say, they receive him with sense, that is against their own lore, for the body of Christ in the blessed sacrament (say they) is not sensible, nor to be perceived by any sense: neither with reason can they receive him, by their own learning, for so much as this sacrament exceedeth all reason; "Nec fides habet meritum, ubi ratio præbet experimentum:" and if ye say, that they receive him with faith, how can that be, seeing infidels have no faith?

What it is to eat the body of Christ, by the papists.

What it is to eat the body of Christ, the teaching of the papists herein is strange, and differeth from the old doctors. For whereas they teach that wicked persons and infidels, albeit they receive not the effect of the sacrament, yet the matter of the sacrament, which is the very body of Christ, they receive with their mouth, and with their sense the accidents of bread, and thus imagine a certain body of Christ, such as evil men and infidels may eat; and yet, being eaten, it giveth them no nourishment nor life, nor maketh them partakers of

(1) Vigil. (2) Augustine. (3) Cyprian, de Cœna Dom.

his spirit and grace; both Scripture, and the ancient expositors of the Scripture, do teach much otherwise. For the Scripture knoweth no such kind of eating Christ's body, but only that which is fruitful, wholesome, and effectual. "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me and I in him," etc.[1] And therefore it may appear, that the Scripture meaneth, by eating Christ's flesh, to believe in Christ's passion; which none can do but only the faithful. And to the same sense sound all the old doctors.

Edward VI. A.D. 1549 to 1552.

Cyprian [saith], "That we should know that eating is our dwelling in him, and our drinking is, as it were, a certain incorporation in him."[2]

Item, The same Cyprian saith: "The eating, therefore, of his flesh, is a certain desire to abide in him;" and saith moreover, "None eateth of this lamb, but such as be true Israelites, that is, true christian men, without colour or dissimulation."

Who eat the body of Christ.

And again he saith, "As meat is to the flesh, the same is faith to the soul, the same is the word to the spirit."

Moreover saith he, "And therefore doing this, we whet not our teeth to bite, but with pure faith we break the holy bread and distribute it."

Augustine [saith], "It may not be said, that any such do eat the body of Christ, because they are accounted amongst the members of Christ. Neither can they be both members of Christ, and members of a harlot, &c. Furthermore, when Christ saith, 'He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him;'[3] he showeth what it is, not sacramentally, but indeed, to eat his body and drink his blood, which is, when a man so dwelleth in Christ, that Christ dwelleth in him. For so Christ spake those words, as if he should say; he that dwelleth not in me, and in whom I dwell not, let him not say nor think, that he eateth my body, or drinketh my blood."[4]

Also in other places the said Augustine affirmeth, that "to drink, is to live;" and saith moreover, "Why preparest thou thy belly and thy teeth? Believe, and thou hast eaten," etc.

All which kinds of eating cannot be said of the wicked and infidels, but only of the godly and faithful.

And thus, briefly, we have run over all the arguments and authorities of Peter Martyr, in that disputation at Oxford, with Drs. Tresham, Chedsey, and Morgan, before the king's visitors above named, A.D. 1549.

Furthermore, whoso listeth more fully to be satisfied and resolved in all the points and occurrents, touching the matter of this sacrament, let him read the books first, of the archbishop Cranmer against Winchester; secondly, The Tractation of Peter Martyr made in Oxford, translated and extant in English; and thirdly, the book of bishop Ridley made in prison, called "A brief Declaration of the Lord's Supper."

The like disputation also, about the same time, was appointed and commenced at Cambridge, concerning the same matter of the sacrament, the king's visitors being directed down for the same purpose by the king; the names of which visitors were these, Nicholas Ridley bishop of Rochester, Thomas bishop of Ely, master John Cheke the king's schoolmaster, Dr. May civilian, and Thomas Wendy the king's physician. The conclusions in that disputation propounded were these:—

The First Disputation, holden at Cambridge the twentieth day of June, A.D. 1549, before the King's Majesty's Commissioners, by Dr. Madew respondent, whose first conclusion was this:

(1) John vi. (2) Cypr. de Cœn. Dom.
(3) John vi. (4) Aug. de Civ. lib. xxi. c. 15.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1549 to 1552.

"Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of Scripture; nor can thereof be necessarily collected, nor yet confirmed, by the consents of the ancient fathers for these thousand years past." (Dr. Glyn, master Langdale, master Segewick, master Young, opponents.)

Dr. Madew's Declaration.

"First of all," quoth he, "I am very sorry for, and do not a little lament the shortness of time, to declare and discuss such weighty matters of religion in, as these be. But, that notwithstanding, if I had had more plenty of time indeed; yet you shall understand how that I have ever, both in heart and mind (if otherwise I could have avoided it), abhorred all scholastical disputations, and subtile sophistications. In consideration whereof, I beseech those that are to dispute, not to allege or bring forth any dismembered, or curtailed sentences, or wrested (as happeneth many times), but the whole and full sentences either of the Scriptures, or of the ancient doctors; yea, and to avouch such authors' sayings, as are not suspected, or feigned, but such as be their own very sayings indeed; which if they do, there is no doubt, but the clear light of this our disputation shall the sooner appear, and be manifest to this auditory.

"And for a further declaration of my part, you shall understand, that this my preface, in my said former most catholic and godly conclusion, shall consist in three principal points.

"First, What thing it was that Christ gave to his disciples.

"Secondly, What season or time this Transubstantiation did begin.

"Thirdly, How many devilish abominations have ensued upon that horrible and pestilent invention.

"As concerning the first, that is, what thing Christ gave to his disciples, that may very well appear even by our own natural senses, as namely, by the sight, by the touching, by the tasting, which cannot be deceived of their natural judgment. For the eye seeth nothing but bread and wine; the tasting savoureth nothing else; and the hands touch nothing else. He gave, also, to their understanding, not only his holy and sacred doctrine, but also a special gift and pledge of his love. He gave the only material bread and wine sanctified, as the first rude and plain elements or principles to allure them withal; but he gave them the gift of his grace and heavenly doctrine, as the very things signified by the sensible elements; which thing plainly appeareth by the words of Christ our Saviour, 'Non bibam,' etc. 'I will not drink hereafter of the fruit of this vine, until I drink it new with you in the kingdom of God.' Nor this fruit or juice of the vine, is nothing else but wine, as Chrysostome saith. And moreover, to prove the same true, if it be reserved after the consecration for a time, it becometh sour and tart; therefore it is but wine.

"And as touching the bread, St. Paul saith thus: 'Is not the bread which we break the communion, or participation of Christ's body?' He brake bread, therefore it was but bread which he gave them: for the body of Christ is not broken; as the Scripture saith of the same, 'Os non comminuetis ex eo;' 'You shall not break a bone of him.' Also he said, 'This is my body;' not that the bread was his body, and the wine his blood, but he spake those words to and of his own mortal body, there sitting amongst them at supper. Or he spake yet doubtfully, as thus: This signifieth my body, it is one thing which is seen, but it is another thing which is understood: for that which is seen hath a bodily form, but that which is understood thereby, hath a spiritual fruit. St. Augustine saith, 'Let the word have access to the element, so is it made a sacrament;' mark he saith, 'Let the word have access'—and not 'success.' Now the thing that hath access to another thing, doth not quench the thing that it cometh to, no more doth it here: ergo, it is bread and wine still, as before, howbeit sacred and holy. 'What saw you yesterday,' saith St. Augustine, 'upon the altar? Truly bread and wine, which your own eyes can witness,' said he. What plainer testimony can be had of so ancient a father as he was, and of so rare knowledge in the Scriptures of God? Seeing then that our eyes do behold nothing but bread and wine, it must needs follow that it is so indeed, or else our senses be deceived in their own proper object, which

cannot be by any reason or natural philosophy. And yet, notwithstanding some papists dream and fancy such a corporal, real, and gross presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, as they affirm it to be there, even as verily as it was upon the cross. Indeed the bread is changed after a certain manner into Christ's body; for Christ gave not his own natural body to his disciples at his last supper, but only a sign or figure thereof. Christ's body is there with the bread; our senses cannot be deceived about the substance of bread, but they do judge there to be but one body, that is of bread: ergo, so it is. Also the very definition of a sacrament doth plainly repugn unto transubstantiation. Bread nourisheth the substance of Christ's body, but the accidents do not so: ergo, the substance doth remain of the bread that nourisheth. It is also called bread in the Acts, and in divers other places of the Scriptures; wherefore it is so, but indeed after a sort more holy than before. What gave he in the supper? Bread, which is the body, that is to say, a holy sign of his body; as Augustine doth witness, saying, "He doubted not to say, 'This is my body,' when it was but a sign of his body." The unleavened bread was but a bare and naked sign of Christ's body; and so is this bread the same body, even as baptism is. Now, indeed, there be two manner of signs; one that signifieth only, the other that doth exhibit, the thing itself. The first is applied to the old law chiefly, the other to the law of grace. The old, ancient, and learned fathers did never use to speak of the substantial change, because that all the mutation is but conditional, not substantial; nor do we deem the bodily substance sacramentally, but yet we say that this proposition 'This is my body,' is but a figurative speech, and no proper speech, as some do deem. But it is as much as to say, 'This signifieth my body;' or else thus; 'This is a sacrament of my body:' for the bodily bread and Christ's body are not contained in place locally, but mystically.

"This portentous and monstrous transubstantiation began first to enter, when the popish prelates and priests began first to understand this said proposition, 'This is my body,' of the carnal and real presence of Christ's body; as Hugo de Sancto Victore, Gratian, Peter Lombard, and Innocent the Third, the very pestilent poison of all christian religion, unto whom we have, of long season, yea alas too long, given credit: under the which Innocent the said devilish term or vocable of 'transubstantiation' began in the year 1315. And Boniface, after him bishop of Rome, made the said mad blind transubstantiation to be the third article of the faith, full wisely, no doubt! whereas another bishop of Rome after him affirmed plainly, against Nestor the heretic, that bread remaineth still, whose name was Gelasius the third.

"Now, as touching the most shameful and detestable inconveniences, which must needs follow this devilish term or vocable of 'transubstantiation,' you shall understand the first is, that then such papists will have Christ's body still prostituted and received, even of the wicked and naughty people; which is clean contrary to that place of our Saviour Christ, where he saith, 'Whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.' Now it is plain, that evil persons dwell not in Christ, nor Christ in them; wherefore they receive not his body therein at all. For St. Augustine[1] saith, 'It is but bread, which is seen after the consecration:' ergo, the substance of bread is there still.

"The second inconvenience that groweth hereof, is the fond and superstitious reservation of the sacrament in pixes, boxes, and such like, with vain tabernacles over the altar, where oftentimes it did putrify, for all their foolish honour; which began in Honorius's days, the third of that name, bishop of Rome; which corruption declareth it to be but only bread—say all the papists what they list.

"The third inconvenience that must needs follow transubstantiation, is adoration, which is too plain idolatry, as the papists do know themselves, if they list: but they are so stiffnecked, that they will not know it; and so both have kept, and yet also will keep, the world in blindness still, if they might be suffered. But to be short with you, even as we are changed into Christ by receiving the sacrament, so the bread is changed into the body of Christ. But our substance is not changed into Christ's substance: ergo, the substance of the bread is not changed into Christ's body. And to be short and plain with you, most honourable audience, the whole universal world hath been, and yet is, sore deceived

(1) Tractat. 8. super Johan.

Edward VI. A.D. 1549 to 1552.

and deluded about the estimation of this sacrament. Therefore this is most true: when we do receive the said sacrament worthily, then are we joined by faith spiritually, to Christ our Saviour. And thus much have I said, in this first matter."

"The second matter to be disputed of is this:

"That in the Lord's supper is none other oblation or sacrifice, than one only remembrance of Christ's death, and of thanksgiving."

"In this conclusion I will be much shorter and more compendious than in the first. In consideration thereof you shall understand, that the same is a very godly and true catholic proposition; for to offer Christ, and to exhibit the same, is all one thing: for in that he is offered—he is set forth to eat—there is no difference at all between the maker of the sacrifice, or offerer, and the thing that was offered, which both were one Christ. The Lord did command, saying, "Do this in remembrance of me;" he made mention of the remembrance only, wherefore it can be none other sacrifice but only that. The apostle doth declare the manner of the thing doing, saying thus, "He took bread in his hands, he blessed it, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples." What gave he to them? Forsooth bread, which was the sacrament, and not his body. No earthly creature, nor heavenly, did ever offer up Christ at any time, but he himself, once for all, upon the cross; ergo, he cannot, nor ought not, to be many times and often—though that Pighius, with all the blind rabble of papists, say the contrary. For, truly, in this point especially, they know not what they say, being so led by the old pharisaical blindness. But to the purpose: you shall understand, good auditors, that the pure and clean oblation and sacrifice, spoken of by the prophet Malachi, is nothing else but devout and faithful prayer and thanksgiving, as Tertullian saith in his third book 'contra Marcionem,' expounding the Psalm, where it is said thus, 'The sacrifice of laud and praise shall honour me.' So do St. Jerome, Irenæus, and St. Austin say, also, upon Malachi; where also, they deny that Christ is essentially in the sacrament. Yea and St. Austin[1] witnesseth, that the mortifying of our earthly members is our true sacrifice, that be Christians. And all the ancient fathers do call prayers by the name of sacrifices. And for this purpose, whosoever list to read that most excellent and famous clerk Zuinglius,[2] shall find the same confirmed of him by most grounded reasons, whatsoever the papists do bark against it. Thus I have declared my mind in both matters now disputable; and, if my further declaration be required through the vehemency of arguments, I will perform the same in my answer thereunto."

(There disputed against this defendant, Dr. Glyn, master Langdale, master Segewick, and master Young, students in divinity.)

Glyn:—"Notwithstanding, right worshipful master doctor, that you have so exquisitely declared your mind and opinion in every one of these matters now in contention, before this honourable and learned audience, and also, though just occasion be ministered to me to infringe your positions in both conclusions, yet I will not invade the same as now indirectly, with contrarious and vain words to occupy the small time which is appointed us for the trial of the same, but we will go forthwith to the thing itself, which containeth in it matter enough. It is but folly to use many words, where few will serve our purpose, as saith the Master of the Sentences. All words may signify at pleasure, and commonly there be more things than vocables. Like as, sometimes, there was variance amongst learned men, of the unity of two substances in one personage of Christ, God, and man: so is there now, in our days, variance of transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. Wherefore I do require you, first, to show me here openly, what the said transubstantiation is, that we go not from the thing itself, which is our first and chiefest ground."

Madew:—"As for that, I need not to show you; for every man knoweth it."

Glyn:—"Peradventure it is not so, good master doctor. And I am perfectly assured, that every man doth not know it indeed; for it is not so light a matter as you make it to be."

(1) Epist. 95. ad Paulinum (2) Cap. 18. de Articulis.

Madew:—"Forsooth you know it yourself, and so do all men else."

Edward VI.

A. D. 1549 to 1552.

Glyn:—"Well, yet I pray you show me, what thing Christ did demonstrate and show forth by that article of the neuter gender, where he said, 'This is my body?' What did he point at in that article 'this?' For if he meant by that, the bread, then Christ, in the sacrament, is not only of two natures, but of three natures, as of the nature of bread, of the nature of man, and of the divine nature; which to say, were blasphemy. The argument is good, and doth hold by that text, 'He spake the word, and it was done; he commanded, and they were created.' Moreover, if he should mean by that article of the neuter gender, 'this,' the material bread, then he would have said, 'This bread is my body,' so making the article of the neuter gender; or else he would have said thus, 'Here, with this bread, is my body;' to have avoided ever after all heresies, errors, and schisms. But he said not so, but spake the article of the neuter gender saying, 'This is my body,' that is to say, the thing or substance contained under the form and kind of bread, which you see not with your bodily eyes, is my body, according to my promise made to you before, that I would give you my very flesh to eat.[1] In like manner when he gave the cup of his blood, he said not 'this' in the neuter gender, as he would have done, if he had meant the material creature of wine to have remained; but he said then in the masculine gender, 'This is my blood:' that is to say, the thing contained under the form of wine, which you see not with your bodily eyes, is my blood. For truly the Holy Ghost came down to lead us into all truth and verity, and not to deceive us in so notable a point of our faith. But, out of doubt, he should have deceived in this matter, if so be he had given us only material bread and wine, instead of his body and blood, and not have fulfilled his promise made in John vi., where he promised thus, 'The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.' Here be two givings spoken of, with two relatives, whereof the first, with his relative, must needs be referred to his gift in the last supper, and the second giving of the same flesh of his, with his relative, must be applied of necessity unto his giving of his body upon the cross: nor do we find in the whole Scripture, where Christ did fulfil his said promise made in John vi., but at those said two times. Wherefore if we be deceived in this matter of transubstantiation, we may well say, O Lord thou hast deceived us. But God forbid that we should once think such wickedness of him. He must also be unjust of his promise, if it be not performed at any season; as it is not indeed, if it were not at both the said times. Then, if it were performed (as the catholic church of Christ doth hold, determine, and believe), then must it needs be granted, that he gave, at his last supper, his own body and flesh indeed and verily, which he gave upon the cross for the life of the world, though not in so fleshly a manner and bloody, yet the very same flesh and blood really, after an unbloody sort, and spiritually. He said not, 'This bread is my body,' nor yet, 'Here, with the bread, is my body;' but, 'This is my body, which shall be given for you.' Neither said he, 'This wine is my blood,' nor 'With this wine is my blood;' which circumstance of plain speech he would have used, if the pure creatures should have remained: but he said, 'This is my blood, which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins;' that is to say, the substance hidden under these visible forms of bread and wine, is my very proper flesh and blood. I pray you where do you find, in the whole body of the Scripture expressed, or justly understood, that Christ gave but only a bare and naked sign, figure, or sacrament? or where find you that he gave his body with bread, it remaining bread still? And if you think to find it, I pray you show me here, whether that body that he gave with material bread were his true body or not? If not, then it was fantastical; if it were his true body (as you do grant), then must there needs be two very true bodies in one place together. Now, that it was his very true body and blood, it is certain, by the plain words of the text, saying thus, 'which is betrayed or given,' and 'which is shed for you and for many.' But I will let all this pass over, and I do require of you this one question, Whether that the sacraments of the old law and of the new law be all one?"

Madew:—"If you do consider the things themselves, they be all one; but

(1) John vi.

Edward VI. A.D. 1549 to 1552.

if you respect only the signs, figures, and sacraments outwardly, then they be divers."

Sacraments of the old and new law.

Glyn:—"I do perceive your answer very well. Then further to our purpose, Was Christ, then, after the same manner in the bread that came from heaven, in the paschal lamb, and in Isaac, as he is in this sacrament? which if you do grant me, then these propositions were true, for Christ to say, 'this manna is my body,' 'this lamb is my body,' 'this Isaac is my body.' Moreover, if the sacraments of the old law, and of the law of grace, be all one in very deed and effect (as you seem to grant), then what difference is between the shew-bread in Moses's law, and the bread that we do break, that St. Paul speaketh of? They then had that bread, which signifieth Christ; and so doth ours, as you say: that was bread, so is ours; and so, by your reason, there is no difference between them: yea their manna, because it came from heaven, was better than this earthly bread, that cometh from beneath—which is contrary to the truth; for St. John saith, 'That the law was given by Moses, but the verity was given by Jesus Christ.' Wherefore that which Christ gave, was not only a sign, but also the verity; that is to say, the living bread that came down from heaven, the true Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world, and Isaac himself, which is Christ: or else you must grant me that we Christians do receive less than the Jews did—for they received the bread, called manna, from heaven, and we only a poor morsel of bread from the earth; theirs was called angels' food, and ours is, as you hold, little better than common bread. Me seemeth that you do distrust the doctrine of the faith of Christendom for these five hundred years, even as though Christ had forsaken his catholic church after one thousand years; but that is not so; for he promised his holy Spirit to assist his spouse the church, and to lead her continually into all truth from time to time, as need should require. As I remember, you said that adoration did follow upon transubstantiation: but the fathers, for one thousand years past, do grant adoration of the sacrament; therefore transubstantiation also. The minor I prove by the most clear testimonies of St. Austin, St. Ambrose, St. Denis, St. Basil, and St. Chrysostome.

Adoration of the sacrament maintained by Glyn.

Madew:—"I deny, master doctor, that I said any such thing; and therewith I say, that the fathers do understand by adoration, a certain reverent manner that we should receive the Lord's supper with; which may be called a certain veneration, but no adoration."

Glyn:—"No, master? St. Austin 'De civitate Dei,' witnesseth, that the Ethnics and Paynims do esteem the Christians to worship and adore the God of wheat and barley called Ceres, and the God of wine called Bacchus. And again, St. Austin saith thus, Lo, no man eateth of that bread, except he first adore and worship it."

Madew:—"By your patience, St. Austin, in that place, speaketh of the honouring of Christ's body now sitting in heaven."

Real presence defended by the papists. Argument.

Glyn:—"Yea, master doctor, think you so? And why not also of his blessed body in the sacrament; seeing that he saith it is there? 'This is my body which is given for you,'[1] saith he. More plainly he needeth not to speak for the real presence of his blessed body, being both able and willing to verify his word. For if a cunning lapidary should say to you or me, this is a true right diamond, a perfect carbuncle, sapphire, emerald, or any such precious stone, we would believe him, though we were ignorant of their natures. Wherefore we ought much more to believe our Saviour Christ, God and man, in that he saith, 'This is my body.' And why then ought we not to honour it in the sacrament? or how many bodies hath Christ, seeing you do grant his body in heaven to be honoured, but not his body here in the sacrament?"

Argument.

Madew:—"Forsooth he hath but one very body and no more; but the same is sacramentally in the sacrament, and substantially in heaven; here by faith, and there in deed."

Glyn:—"Well yet once again to you thus: The very true body of Christ is

(1) Matt. xxvi. Mar. xiv.

to be honoured, but the same very true body is in the sacrament: ergo, the body of Christ in the sacrament is to be honoured." *Edward VI.*

A. D. 1549 to 1552.

Rochester:—"Well-beloved friends, and brethren in our Saviour Christ, you must understand that this disputation, with others that shall be after this, are appointed to search for the plain truth of the holy Scriptures in these matters of religion, which, of a long season, have been hidden from us by the false glosses of that great Antichrist and his ministers of Rome, and now, in our days, must be revealed to us Englishmen, through the great mercy of God principally, and, secondarily, through the most gentle clemency of our natural sovereign lord the king's majesty, whom the living Lord long preserve to reign over us in health, wealth, and godliness, to the maintenance of God's holy word, and to the extirpation of all blind glosses of men, that go about to subvert the truth. Because, therefore, that I am one that doth love the truth, and have professed the same amongst you, therefore, I say, because of conferring my mind with yours, I will here gladly declare what I think in this point now in controversy. Not because this worshipful doctor hath any need of my help in dissolving of arguments proposed against him, for, as me seemeth, he hath answered hitherto very well and clerkly, according to the truth of God's word. But now to the purpose, I do grant unto you, master opponent, that the old ancient fathers do record and witness a certain honour and adoration to be due unto Christ's body, but they speak not of it in the sacrament, but of it in heaven at the right hand of the Father, as holy Chrysostome saith, 'Honour thou it, and then eat it:' but that honour may not be given to the outward sign, but to the body of Christ itself in heaven. For that body is there only in a sign virtually, by grace, in the exhibition of it in spirit, effect, and faith, to the worthy receiver of it. For we receive virtually only Christ's body in the sacrament."

Bishop Ridley replieth

Christ to be honoured in heaven, not in the sacrament.

Glyn:—"How then, if it please your good lordship, doth baptism differ from this sacrament? for in that, we receive Christ also by grace, and virtually."

Rochester:—"Christ is present after another sort in baptism, than in this sacrament; for in that, he purgeth and washeth the infant from all kind of sin, but here, he doth feed spiritually the receiver in faith with all the merits of his blessed death and passion. And yet he is in heaven still really and substantially, as for example: the king's majesty, our lord and master, is but in one place, wheresoever that his royal person is abiding for the time; and yet his mighty power and authority is everywhere in his realms and dominions: so Christ's real person is only in heaven substantially placed, but his might is in all things created effectually; for Christ's flesh may be understood for the power or inward might of his flesh."

Christ worketh otherwise in baptism, than in the sacramental bread.

Glyn:—"If it please your fatherhood, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine do say, that before the consecration it is but very bread, and after the consecration it is called the very body of Christ." Object.

Madew:—"Indeed it is the very body of Christ sacramentally, after the consecration, whereas before, it is nothing but common bread; and yet, after that, it is the Lord's bread: and thus must St. Ambrose and St. Augustine be understood." Answer.

(Here the proctors commanded the opponent to divert to the second conclusion; but he requested them that they would permit him as long, in this matter, as they would in the second; and so he still prosecuted the first matter as followeth:)

Glyn:—"The bread, after consecration, doth feed the soul: ergo, the substance of common bread doth not remain.[1]—The argument is good, for St. Ambrose, 'De Sacramentis,' saith thus: 'After the consecration there is not the thing that nature did form, but that which the blessing doth consecrate. And if the benediction of the prophet Elias did turn the nature of water, how much more then doth the benediction of Christ here both God and man."

(1) Well cavilled and like a papist.

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

Madew :—"That book of St. Ambrose, is suspected to be none of his works."

Rochester :—"So all the fathers say."

Glyn :—"I do marvel at that, for St. Austin, in his book of Retractations, maketh plain, that that was his own very work."

Rochester :—"He speaketh, indeed, of such a book so entituled, to St. Ambrose, but yet we do lack the same book indeed."

Cyprian. *Glyn* :—"Well, let it then pass to other men's judgments. What then say you to holy St. Cyprian, one thousand two hundred years past, who saith, that the bread, which our Lord gave to his disciples, was not changed in form, or quality; but in very nature, and by the almighty word, was made flesh?"

Madew :—"I do answer thus: that this word flesh, may be taken two ways, either for the substance itself, or else for a natural property of a fleshly thing. So that Cyprian there did mean of a natural property, and not of fleshly substance. And, contrariwise, in the rod of Aaron, where both the substance, and also the property was changed."

Ambrose. *Glyn* :—"Holy St. Ambrose saith, 'The body there made by the mighty power of God's word, is the body of the Virgin Mary.'"

Rochester :—"That is to say, that by the word of God the thing hath a being that it had not before, and we do consecrate the body, that we may receive the grace and power of the body of Christ in heaven by this sacramental body."

Glyn :—"By your patience, my lord, if it be a body of the Virgin, as St. Ambrose saith, which we do consecrate, as ministers, by God's holy word, then must it needs be more than a sacramental, or spiritual body; yea a very body of Christ indeed; yea the same that is still in heaven without all moving from place to place, unspeakably and far passing our natural reason, which is in this mystery so captivate, that it cannot conceive how it is there, without a lively faith to God's word. But let this pass. You do grant that this bread doth quicken or give life; which, if it do, then it is not a natural bread, but a supersubstantial bread."

Rochester :—"So doth the effectual and lively word of God, which for that it nourisheth the soul, it doth give life; for the divine essence infuseth itself unspeakably into the faithful receiver of the sacrament."

Damascene. *Glyn* :—"How then say you to holy Damascene, a Greek author, who, as one Tritenius saith, flourished one thousand years past. He saith thus: 'The body that is of the holy virgin Mary, is joined to the divinity, after the consecration, in verity and indeed: not so as the body, once assumpted into heaven, and sitting on the Father's right hand, doth remove from thence and come down at the consecration-time, but that the same bread and wine are substantially transumpted into the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. If,' saith he, 'thou dost not know the manner how it is brought to pass, let it be enough to thee to believe, that it is done by the operation of the Holy Ghost, and we do know no more but that the living word of God is working and almighty, but the very manner how, is inscrutable to us: and no great marvel,' saith he, 'for we cannot well express how the material bread, wine, or water, are transumpted naturally into the same body and blood of the receiver, and be become another body than they were before. So,' saith this great ancient clerk, 'also this shewbread with wine and water are changed, by the coming of the Holy Ghost, into Christ's body and blood, and they be not two bodies there, but very one (of Christ) and the same."

Damascene expounded. *Rochester* :—"First, I deny, master doctor, that Damascene was one thousand years past; secondarily, I say, that he is not to be holden as an ancient father, for that he maintaineth in his works evil and damnable doctrine, as the worshipping of images and such like. Thirdly, I say, that indeed God, by his holy Spirit, is the worker of that which is done in the sacrament. Also I grant that there is a mutation of the common bread and wine spiritually into the Lord's bread and wine, by the sanctifying of them in the Lord's word. But I deny that there is any mutation of the substances; for there is no other change

there, indeed, than there is in us, who, when we do receive the sacrament worthily, then are we changed into Christ's body, bones, and blood; not in nature, but spiritually, and by grace. Much like as Isaiah saw the burning coal, even so we see not there the very simple bread, as it was before the consecration; for an union cannot be but of two very things. Wherefore, if we be joined to Christ, receiving the sacrament, then there is no annihilation of bread (which is, when it is reduced to nothing), as it is in your feigned transubstantiation."

Glyn:—"So, I perceive, you would have me to grant, that the sacrament is but a figure; which Theophylact doth deny."

Rochester:—"You say truth, he denieth it indeed to be a figure, but he meaneth that it is not only a figure."

Glyn:—"Whereas St. Paul saith, that we, being many, are one bread, he speaketh not, nor meaneth one material bread, as you do here: ergo, he speaketh of heavenly bread. And holy Chrysostome, upon Matthew, saith, that the paschal lamb was a figure, but the mystery is the verity. For the disciples would not have been offended to have drunk a figure of Christ's blood, being well accustomed to figures. For Christ did not institute a figure for a figure, but the clear verity instead of the figure, as St. John saith, 'Grace and verity was given by Christ.' 'Dost thou see bread,' saith Chrysostome, 'Doth it avoid or pass as other meats do which we receive? God forbid! Ergo,'" &c.

The paschal lamb a figure.

Madew:—"That ancient clerk Origen, upon Matt. xv., saith thus, 'As touching that which is material in the sacrament, it descendeth and issueth out as other nutriments do; but as concerning that which is celestial, it doth not so.'"

The material parts pass as other meats do.

Glyn:—"Chrysostome,[1] upon Matthew, saith, that we cannot be deceived of Christ's word, but our natural senses may be deceived in this point very soon and easily: his said words cannot be false, but our senses be many times beguiled of their judgments. Because therefore that Christ said, 'This is my body,' let us not at any hand doubt (saith Chrysostome); but let us believe it, and well perceive it with the eyes of our understanding. And within a little after, in that place, he saith thus: 'It was not enough, that he was become man, and afterwards was scourged for us; but also he did reduce and bring us to be as one body with him: not through faith only, but in very deed also, he maketh us his body.' And after that he saith, that these works are not of man's power; but the same things that he wrought in his last supper, he now worketh also by his precept to his right ministers, and we do occupy the place of the same ministers: but he it is that doth sanctify and transumpt the creatures; he performeth still the same."

Rochester:—"Master doctor, you must understand, that in that place St. Chrysostome showeth us, that Christ delivered to us no sensible thing at his last supper."

Glyn:—"Honourable sir, by your patience I grant that he gave to his disciples no sensible thing in substance, but a thing insensible, his own precious body and blood, under the only kinds of creatures. And truly, as it seemeth, Theophylact best knew the meaning of Chrysostome, because all authors accept him as a faithful interpreter of him; and he hath these same plain words, 'trans-elemented' and 'transformed.' Also Theophylact of Alexandria, upon Mark, Cyril, and St. Augustine, saith, that before the consecration it is bread, but, afterwards, it is Christ's very body. In like manner St. Augustine, upon Psalm xxxiii. saith, that in the last supper Christ did bear himself in his own hands. Now every man may bear the figure of his body in his own hands, but St. Augustine saith it there, for a miracle. Irenæus, in his fifth book, is of the same mind. And St. Augustine saith (I do remember the words), 'The law and figures were by Moses; but the verity and body came by Christ.'"

Rochester:—"Well, say what you list, it is but a figurative speech, like to this: 'If you will receive and understand, he is Elias'—for a property: but

(1) Homily 83.

Edward VI. A.D. 1549 to 1552.

indeed he was not Elias, but John the Baptist. And so in this place Christ calleth it his body, when it was very bread. But better than the common bread, because it was sanctified by the word of Christ."

(Here Master Langdale replied to Dr. Madew.)

Two things noted in Madew's position.

Langdale:—"Right worshipful master doctor, by your patience I have noted two things that you affirmed in your position even now, before this honourable audience, the which, as me seemeth, are not consonant to the truth of God's word. The first is, as touching Christ's saying, 'I will not from henceforth drink any more of the fruit of the vine, until I drink it new with you,' etc.; which place of the Scripture you did, as I think, understand, and interpret, as though nothing else remained after the consecration, but very wine still. Whereof I do not a little marvel, seeing that most famous clerk Erasmus, whose authority and sentence you refuse at this present only, yet, nevertheless, is very worthy, in this matter, of far better estimation amongst learned men. Wherefore I trust I shall not offend, to allege him before this learned and honourable auditory. He plainly affirmeth, that for all his great labour in searching the Scriptures, he could never find either in the evangelists, or yet in the apostolical doctrine, that it might be or was called wine, after the consecration. And therefore I cannot but marvel, if the thing be so open and plain as in your declaration you seem to make it, that such a profound clerk as he was, could not find it out. For that said place he entreated of in his Paraphrases, in his annotations, and in other of his lucubrations; and yet he plainly denieth that same very thing to be found of him, which you here openly affirmed, that it is wine, or may be so called after the consecration duly performed by a right minister. I beseech you not to be offended, though I credit not your saying in this so weighty a matter of christian religion, as I do his."

The saying of Erasmus, of the Lord's supper

Madew:—"No forsooth, I will not be offended one jot with you. But, to content your mind in this point, it is most constant and sure, that Erasmus was of that mind and opinion, that it was enough for a Christian to believe Christ's body and blood to be in the sacrament, in what manner or condition soever it were."

Erasmus's opinion of the sacrament: enough to believe Christ to be present in the sacrament any manner of way.

Tertullian's interpretation upon Malachi.

Langdale:—"By your license, good master doctor, these be Erasmus's words: 'The church of Christ hath determined, very lately, transubstantiation in the sacrament. It was of a long season enough to believe Christ's body to be either under the bread consecrated, or else to be present after any other manner. But yet,' saith he, 'after that the said church had pondered and weighed the thing more pithily with greater judgment, then she made a more certain determination of the same.' In the which place (1 Cor. vii.) Erasmus saith, that the proceeding of the Holy Ghost equally from the Father and the Son, was also determined of the same church. But let this pass. And as touching the second point which I noted in your so eloquent declaration, which was, that you did wrest and wring the saying of Tertullian from the verity of his mind: for you said, that he doth interpret the prophet Malachi, speaking of our daily sacrifice in the new law, to mean nothing else by that sacrifice, in that place, but prayer and thanksgiving. But the said ancient clerk Tertullian hath not those words that you do allege of him, that is to say, 'nothing else.' And yet, though that Œcolampadius doth so interpret that place, yet (as me seemeth) the judgment of the whole christian church is to be preferred, in such a matter of religion. But I will pass over this point, and return to the matter itself: and first, I do require of your mastership, whether that this sentence, 'This is my body,' be spoken of Christ figuratively or not."

Madew:—"After the mind of the common gloss of Cyprian and Origen, it is so taken in very deed."

Langdale:—"That cannot be, by your patience; for it is taken there substantially: ergo, not figuratively."

Madew:—"I deny your argument."

Langdale:—"I prove my argument good, thus: This word 'substance' doth

plainly repugn, and is contrary to, this word 'figure:' ergo, 'substantially' and 'figuratively' do also repugn. Moreover I ask of you, whether that this be a true proposition or not: 'Bread is Christ's body.'"

Madew:—"Yea forsooth, it is a true proposition."

Langdale:—"Then thus to you: Christ's body was given for us, but you say, that bread is Christ's body: ergo, bread was given for us."

Rochester:—"Not so, sir, for your former proposition is of double understanding.

Langdale:—"Well, yet you, master doctor, do grant that Christ is substantially in the sacrament."

Madew:—"No, I deny that I said so ever."

Langdale:—"Yea, do you so? Well, I pass not thereupon greatly, for I will prove it by another means.—Christ did suffer his most glorious passion for us, really and substantially: ergo, he is also in the sacrament substantially. The argument is good, because that it is the same here, that was there crucified for us; howbeit here invisibly, indeed spiritually and sacramentally; but there visibly, and after a mortal and most bloody manner."

Rochester:—"Master Langdale, your argument doth well conclude, in case that his body were here, in the sacrament, after such a sort as it was, when he was betrayed. But that is not so, for he was betrayed and crucified in his natural body substantially and really, in very deed; but in the sacrament he is not so, but spiritually and figuratively only."

Langdale:—"By your good lordship's favour, that is not so; for he is there not figuratively, but verily and indeed, by the power of his mighty word; yea even his very own natural body, under the sacrament duly performed by the lawful minister."

Madew:—"O say not so; for you speak blasphemy."

Langdale:—"No, no, master doctor; God forbid that either I, or any man else, should be noted of blasphemy, saying nothing but the very plain truth, as in my conscience and learning I do no less."

Rochester:—"O master Langdale! I wis it becometh you not here to have such words."

Langdale:—"If it like your good lordship, I gave not the first occasion of them, but only did refute that which I was unjustly burdened withal, as reason doth require; and it grieved me to hear it. He [Erasmus] saith, if it please your lordship, that there is a mutation or change of the bread after it is consecrated; which if it be so, as I grant no less, then I would require of him, whether it be changed in the substance, or in the accidents, or else in both, or in nothing? No man can justly say, that there is a change into nothing. And all ancient fathers do agree, that the same accidents are there still after, that were before; nor doth any doctor say, that there is any mutation both of the substance and accidents also: ergo, the substance of bread is changed into some other thing that is there really present under the forms of bread and wine, which, by Christ's words, must needs be his own blessed body."

Whether the bread be changed in accidents or substance.

Rochester:—"Sir, you are deceived greatly, for there is no change either of the substances, or of the accidents; but in very deed there do come unto the bread other accidents, insomuch that whereas the bread and wine were not sanctified before, nor holy, yet afterwards they be sanctified, and so do receive then another sort or kind of virtue which they had not before.[1]

No change of the substance, nor of the accidents, etc.

Langdale:—"By your patience, reverend father, by such means a man may easily avoid all the mysteries of our christian faith. As where it is said thus of God the Father, 'This is my beloved Son,' etc., a man may also wring that, to

How Scripture may be abused.

(1) Here is to be noted, that Peter Martyr, in his answer at Oxford, did grant a change in the substances of bread and wine, which, in Cambridge, by the bishop Dr. Ridley, was denied.

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

be understood thus: This is the image of my well-beloved Son; or, This is the virtue of my well-beloved Son: yea, much more justly than your good lordship doth the other; because St. Paul to the Hebrews doth call the Son the image of the Father, and in another place, he calleth him the power or virtue of God, and God's wisdom. Now, though he be so called in Scripture, God forbid that we should call him only God's image or God's virtue, and not God himself."

Of figurative speeches.

Rochester:—"O gentle master Langdale! you ought not to reason after such a sort as you do now, because that a trope or figurative speech is nocive somewhere—but not everywhere, nor in this matter."

A fond reason wherefore 'this is my body,' should seem no figurative speech.

Langdale:—"Yet by your license, honourable father, it doth appear to me no trope at all in these words of Christ, 'This is my body which is given for you;' and that for this reason: Christ did exhibit or give again the very same things at his last supper, by the which things he was joined to us; but he was joined or knit unto us, by his own natural flesh and blood: ergo, he did exhibit to us at his last supper no less again. My former proposition I prove by the testimony of St. Chrysostome, whose words in Christ's person are these: 'I would be your brother. I took upon me common flesh and blood for your sakes; and even the same things by which I am joined to you, the very same I have exhibited to you again,'" etc.

(Here the Proctors commanded Langdale to give place to another.)

Rochester:—"We are not joined by natural flesh, but do receive his flesh spiritually from above."

(Here Master Segewick replied.)

Of the article 'this.'

Segewick:—"Right worshipful master doctor, I do also ask of you first of all, whether the Greek article 'this,' of the neuter gender, be referred to the word 'bread,' or to the word 'body.' If it be referred to the word 'bread,' then Christ would not have said 'this,' in the neuter gender; but rather 'this,' in the masculine gender."

Rochester:—"Forsooth that article is referred to neither of both; but may signify unto us any other kind of thing."

Bread taken diversely in the Scripture.

Segewick:—"No forsooth; but it doth note unto us some excellent great thing determinately, and not so confusedly as you say. For such a great heap of articles, in the Greek, doth notify unto us a great and weighty thing to be in the sacrament determinately, if we may credit the ancient fathers. Moreover this word 'bread,' is not always in the Scriptures taken after one sort: wherefore I desire you to show me how it is taken in this place of St. Paul, 'We that are many, are one bread,'" etc.

Madew:—"Forsooth of the very wheaten bread."

Segewick:—"Then, after your mind, we are all very wheaten bread."

How we are bread, and how not.

Rochester:—"Forsooth we are bread, not for the nature of bread, but for the fellowship and unity that is noted by the coagulation of many grains into one bread or loaf."

Segewick:—"Well, let that pass; then thus: It is the body; ergo, no figure; because there is a perpetual contrariety between the law of Moses and the law of grace. Therein were figures and shadows, and herein is the verity indeed."

How the bread is Christ's body.

Rochester:—"I do grant it to be Christ's true body and flesh, by a property of the nature assumpted to the Godhead; yea, and we do really eat and drink his flesh and blood after a certain real property."

Segewick:—"It is not the figurative paschal lamb; it is not the figurative manna, nor yet the figurative shew-bread, etc.: ergo, it is no figure."

Madew:—"I deny your argument."

Segewick:—"I maintain my argument thus: All the shadows are wholly past: ergo, so also be the figures; for every figure is a shadow. If then it be but a figure, all the figures are not past as yet; but that is false: ergo, so is the other."

The bread but a figure, and how.

Rochester:—"It is nothing but a figure or token of the true body of Christ; as it is said of John the Baptist, he is Elias: not that he was so in deed or person, but in property and virtue he represented Elias."

Segewick:—"So:—But, most learned father, when Christ said, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life,' may it be understood as you do the other place thus: I am 'the virtue of' the way, verity and the life? But now to the matter itself. It is verily meat: ergo, it is not figuratively."

Madew:—"This verb or word 'is,' in this place is taken for that which signifieth."

(Here he was commanded to reply in the second matter.)

Segewick:—"Now as touching our second conclusion, this I say: Wheresoever Christ is, there is a sacrifice propitiatory; but, in the Lord's supper, is Christ: ergo, in the Lord's supper is a sacrifice propitiatory."

Madew:—"Christ is not offered in the Lord's supper, but is received spiritually."

Segewick:—"The priesthood and the sacrifice be correspondent together; but Christ's priesthood after the order of Melchizedek is perpetual: ergo, also so is his sacrifice."

Rochester:—"Christ is a priest for ever; that is to say, his priesthood and sacrifice, offered once for all, is available for ever, so that no other shall succeed him."

Segewick:—"Where there is no oblation, there is no sacrifice: ergo, if Christ be not perpetually offered, there is no perpetual sacrifice. Item, the same bloody sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, was the very fine and end of all the bloody sacrifices figured in the law after the order of Aaron's priesthood. Wherefore you must needs grant, that he offered himself also, at his last supper, after the order of Melchizedek, under the forms of bread and wine; or else you must show the Scripture where he did so, which I cannot perceive to be done but at his last supper only, after an unbloody manner. Item, He is offered for the remission of sins daily: ergo, he is a sacrifice propitiatory still, in the new law, as St. Augustine saith, expounding these words of the Psalm, 'Thou hast not willed to have sacrifice and oblation, but,'" etc.

Rochester:—"St. Cyprian speaketh much like that sort, where he saith thus, 'It is the Lord's passion, which we do offer,'" etc.

Segewick:—"In the old law there were many sacrifices propitiatory: ergo, there be also in the new law (or else you must grant that God is not so beneficial now to us, as then he was to them, seeing that we be as frail and as needy as ever were they), which must be, especially, the most pure daily sacrifice of Christ's body and blood, that holy Malachi speaketh of."

What sacrifice it is, that Malachi speaketh of.

Madew:—"As touching the place of Malachi the prophet, I answer, that it is nothing to your purpose for the offering of Christ daily in the sacrament. For that sacrifice there spoken of, is nothing else but the sincere and most pure preaching of God's holy word, and of prayer and of thanksgiving to God the Father through Jesus Christ."

(Here Master Segewick was commanded to cease to Master Young.)

Young:—"Worshipful master doctor, although you have learnedly and clerkly defended these your conclusions this day; yet, seeing that I am now placed to impugn them in place of a better, I do begin thus with you: It hath

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

pleased Christ to make us partakers of his holy Spirit, and that in very deed, by receiving of the christian faith, hope, and charity: ergo, much more of his own blessed body and blood, spiritually and in very deed, in the Lord's supper. Item, the angels' food was altogether holy from above, and heavenly, called 'manna:' ergo, also this celestial and heavenly food can be justly esteemed to be of no less excellency than that; but without comparison better (and so no very wheat), after due consecration of it. Item, the words of holy Scripture are evermore effectual and working: ergo, they must perform the thing indeed, that they do promise. For he that might create, might also change at his pleasure the natures and substances of creatures, as appeareth that Christ did, by changing water into wine at a marriage in Galilee. But Christ in the Scripture did promise,[1] 'that the bread that he would give is his flesh indeed; which promise was never fulfilled till in his last supper, when he took bread, gave thanks, blessed it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, 'Take, eat; this is my body.' Which bread, then, was his flesh indeed, as doth well appear in the said place, and next promise depending upon the same, thus: 'which flesh I will give for the life of the world.' This last promise was fulfilled by him upon the cross: ergo, the first was likewise at his last supper. So that it was but one and the same flesh, first and last, promised and performed."

The words of Scripture ever effectual.

Rochester:—"Indeed the words of holy Scripture do work their effects potentially and thoroughly, by the mighty operation of the Spirit of God."

Young:—"If it please your lordship, man is fed and nourished with Christ's blood: ergo, then it is his blood indeed, though it do not so appear to our outward senses, which be deceived; for Christ saith, 'This is my blood;' and also, 'My blood is drink indeed.' And because that we should not abhor his blessed blood in his natural kind, or his flesh, if they should be so ministered unto us; of his most excellent mercy and goodness, condescending to our weak infirmities, he hath appointed them to be given us, under the sensible kinds of his convenient creatures; that is to say, of bread and wine. Also, our body is fed with Christ's body, which is meat indeed; but it cannot be nourished with that that is not there present: ergo, Christ's body that feedeth us, must needs be present, in very deed, in the sacrament. Item, the nature of bread is changed; but the nature of the bread, and the substance of it, is one and the same thing: ergo, the substance also is changed. My first proposition is St. Cyprian's, 'De Cœna Domini,' saying, that the bread in figure is not changed, but in nature."

Man is nourished by the force of Christ's blood by faith; but not by drinking it really in the cup.

Rochester:—"Cyprian there doth take this word 'nature,' for a property of nature only, and not for the natural substance."

Cyprian expounded.

Young:—"That is a strange acceptation, that I have not read in any author before this time: but yet, by your leave, the communion of Christ's body cannot be there, where his body is not; but the communion of Christ's body is in the sacrament: ergo, Christ's body is there present in very deed."

Rochester:—"Grace is there communicated to us by the benefit of Christ's body sitting in heaven."

Young:—"Not so only, for we are members of his flesh, and bones of his bones."

Rochester:—"We be not consubstantial with Christ—God forbid that: but we are joined to his mystical body through his holy Spirit; and the communion of his flesh is communicated to us spiritually, through the benefit of his flesh, in heaven."

Young:—"Well, I am contented; and do most humbly beseech your good lordship, to pardon me of my great rudeness and imbecility, which I have here showed."

(Here ended the first disputation, holden at Cambridge the 20th of June, 1549.)

(1) John vi.

THE SECOND DISPUTATION HOLDEN AT CAMBRIDGE THE 24th DAY OF JUNE, 1549.

The Declaration of Dr. Glyn, upon his first Conclusion.

"The mysteries of faith, as Augustine witnesseth, may very profitably be believed, but they cannot well be searched forth, as saith the Scripture, 'I believed; therefore I spake:' and 'He that confesseth me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven.' We believe every man in his art; therefore much more Christ our Saviour in his word. Marvel not, most honourable lords and worshipful doctors, that I speak thus now; for once you yourselves spake the same. But, peradventure,' some will say, 'Believe not every spirit.' I answer, 'Charity believeth all things,' but not in all things. If those things which I shall utter be convinced as false, I shall desire you to take them as not spoken at all. But these are the words of truth: 'Hoc est corpus meum,'[1] 'This is my body.' Christ spake them; therefore I dare not say, This 'bread' is my body; for so Christ said not. Christ said thus, 'This is my body;' and therefore I, but dust and ashes, yea a worm before him, dare not say, this is a figure of his body. 'Heaven and earth,' saith he, 'shall pass; but my word shall not pass.' Whatsoever our old father Adam called every creature, that is his name to this day: the new Adam, Christ Jesus, said, 'This is my body;' and is it not so? He never said, This is a figure of my body, nor, Eat you this figure or sign of my body. And therefore, when the paschal lamb was set before him, he said not, This is my body. Wherefore if, at the day of judgment, Christ should say to me, Why hast thou believed that this is my body, I would answer him, Because thou hast so called it. I believed it not to be a figure, because thou saidst not that it was a figure.

Mysteries may better be believed, than curiously searched.

"Other reasons to avouch I know not. For the word itself I contend not, but the thing itself I defend; for we must speak regularly. Thus Christ, thus the apostles, thus all the ancient fathers have spoken. Our fathers had but only figures and shadows; but the church of God hath the truth itself with the signs. Tertullian saith, 'One figure containeth not another;' but Melchizedek was a figure: ergo, this is the body. The sacraments of the Jews were signs and tokens; but ours be both the signs, and the thing signified also. Luther himself confessed, that the body was present with the bread; and could not deny it. Œcolampadius took it for a figure only. Chrysostome demanding wherefore Christ gave his body before his passion, rather than at any other time; answereth, that he might tie the truth to the figure, saying, 'Take, eat; this is my body;' not a figure of my body. And the same Chrysostome saith again, 'If it were but bare bread, or but a figure, wherefore should his disciples have been offended in eating a figure.' Again, in his eighty-third homily upon Matthew: 'They are not any human works which he did work at his last supper. he it is that worketh; he maketh perfect: we are his ministers; but it is he that sanctifieth and changeth the elements of bread and wine into his body and blood.' Again, 'Dost thou see bread and wine? Do they pass into the draught like other meats? God forbid,' etc. Theophylact of Alexandria, upon these words of Mark the evangelist, 'This is my body,' saith, 'This which I give, and which you receive, is not only bread, or a figure of Christ's body, but the truth itself; for if it should appear, as it is, in form of flesh and blood, we should loathe it; and therefore the Lord, condescending to our weakness, retaineth the forms of bread and wine, and yet converteth the same into the truth of his body and blood.' Theophylact saith, the bread and the wine is the very body and blood of Christ; and not a figure only. If you stand in suspense of the author, or approve him not, yet know you that he is counted and taken, amongst all the learned, for a most faithful interpreter of Chrysostome: 'The bread,' saith he, 'is trans-elementate, and transmuted into another substance than it was before.' Augustine saith, 'There was great heed taken in the primitive church, lest any part of the sacrament should fall down to the ground,' etc. Cyril saith, 'Lest we should abhor flesh and blood in the sacra-

The sacraments of the Jews, were signs of Christ to come; ours, of Christ already come.

(1) As Christ called not the bread a figure, so he, speaking figuratively, at other times called them not plain figures, though they were so.

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

ment of the altar, God humbleth himself to our weakness, pouring and infusing the force of life into it, and making it the very truth of his own blessed body and blood.' Damascene calleth it, a divine body, or a body deified. Origen, Irenæus, Eusebius, Jerome, with all the rest of the ancient catholic fathers, are of the same opinion with me, all which to produce, it were too long."

The Declaration of Dr. Glyn upon his Second Conclusion.

Christ hath offered himself: ergo, no man ought to offer him.

"The sacrifice and offering up of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar, right honourable and worshipful, I will defend even to the effusion of blood, as a thing consonant to Scripture, whereof Paul speaketh to the Hebrews. But, perchance, some will object—Christ offered up himself: ergo, you ought not to offer him. I answer, Yea, because he offered himself, therefore I offer him; for except he had offered himself, I could not have offered him. But you will say, Christ's death is sufficient, and therefore you ought not to offer him again. I answer, So may we say, we need neither to fast nor pray, for Christ hath done both sufficiently for us. Again, you will object, if you offer him up again, you crucify him anew. I answer, Not so, for many have offered him, that have not crucified him; as Abraham, Isaac, Moses, the Levites, Anna, Samuel. We offer Christ, but not to the death, but in commemoration of his death, there being not only a commemoration thereof, but also the very presence of Christ's body and blood. Irenæus saith, 'Christ counselled his disciples to offer the first fruits of all their goods to God—not that he needed any of them, but for that they should not show themselves fruitless or ungrateful: and therefore Christ took the creature of bread, gave thanks, and said, 'This is my body;' and likewise the creature of the cup, and confessed, saying, 'This is my blood of the New Testament.' Thus Christ hath taught a new kind of oblation, which the church, receiving from the apostles, offereth to God, throughout all the whole world; who only giveth unto us all kind of food, and the first fruits of his gracious gifts in the New Testament, whereof Malachi thus saith, 'I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of hosts. I will not receive any sacrifices at your hands, because my name is glorified amongst the nations from the East to the West, saith the Lord, and in every place is incense and pure sacrifice offered to my name.'

Christ is the only true sacrifice for sin, and without him there is no more.

"But here it may be objected, Christ is the only sacrifice for sin, and without him there is no more. I answer, Notwithstanding we have this commandment, 'Do this in remembrance of me;' and although I deny not that it is a commemoration, yet I deny that it is only a commemoration; I deny his absence, and I affirm his presence."

(Here Master Perne beginneth to dispute.)

Master Perne:—"Whereas you say, most reverend master doctor, in your proposition, 'I believed, and therefore I spake;' and 'We believe, and therefore do speak, our consciences suggesting the same unto us;' and again, that mysteries are not to be searched, and the like; it seemeth you go about to restrain the searching of holy Scriptures—whereas Christ saith, 'Scrutamini Scripturas,' 'Search the Scriptures.' Moreover, you have cited the fathers confusedly, and without order. You left transubstantiation, and endeavour yourself to prove the real presence in the sacrament: whereas we deny nothing less than his corporal presence, or the absence of his substance in the bread."

The papists restrain the use of Scriptures.

Glyn:—"You inveigh wonderfully, you know not against what; for neither do I, nor yet doth Augustine deny the searching of the Scriptures; but, I said out of Augustine, mysteries are not to be searched; it is another thing to search mysteries, than it is to search the Scriptures. Whereas you require of me a regular order of citing the doctors, I had not (as all men know) the liberty of time so to do; but if you desire me so earnestly to perform that, if time may be granted me, I will easily fulfil your request."

Perne:—"I pray you, let me ask you, what is a sacrament?"

Glyn:—"A sacrament is a visible sign of an invisible grace."

Perne :—" Augustine, against Maximinus the Arian bishop, maketh this definition of a sacrament: 'A sacrament is a thing signifying one thing, and showing another thing.' "

Glyn :—" I refuse not his reason."

Perne :—" What is the thing figured by the sacrament?"

Glyn :—" The thing figured is twofold; to wit, the thing contained and signified, and the thing signified and yet not contained. For there be three things contained, the true body of Christ, the mystical body, and the fruit or benefit of the sacrament."

Perne :—" The forms and signs of bread nourish not: ergo, somewhat else besides the bare sign of bread doth remain, which nourisheth; that is, the substance of bread. For, in every sacrament, there is a similitude between the sign and the thing signified: but, betwixt the body of Christ, and the form or kind of bread, there is no similitude: ergo, the nature of a sacrament is taken away."

Glyn :—" I deny your minor, master doctor."

Perne :—" The forms nourish not; but the body nourisheth: ergo, there is no similitude betwixt them; and so is the nature of a sacrament clean destroyed."

Glyn :—" It is sufficient to similitudes, that the bread which was, doth nourish: and yet certain doctors do affirm, that the forms do nourish miraculously."

Rochester :—" Whosoever taketh away all the similitude of substances, consequently he taketh away the sacrament; for a similitude is threefold, namely, of nutrition, of unity, and of conversion. But, by a contrary similitude, he is not changed into our substance, but we into his; for in nutrition this is the similitude, that as our blood nourisheth our bodies, so the blood of Christ doth nourish us, but after a wonderful manner; to wit, by turning us into himself."

Glyn :—" I have answered your reason, most reverend father, in that I said, that the forms do nourish miraculously, as certain learned men do affirm."

Perne :—" By what authority can you say that bread doth not remain?"

Glyn :—" By authority of Christ, who saith, 'This is my body.' "

Perne :—" By the same reason may we say that bread still remaineth: for St. Paul calleth it bread sundry times in his Epistles."

Glyn :—" I deny not that it is bread, but that it is material bread; for Paul always addeth this article 'which,' betokening (as all men hold) some chief thing."

Perne :—" We are changed into a new creature."

Glyn :—" Not substantially, but actually."

Rochester :—" 'This is that bread which came down from heaven:' ergo, it is not Christ's body, for his body came not from heaven."

Christ's body not from heaven.

Glyn :—" We may say that Christ, God and man, came down from heaven, for the unity of his person, or else for the mutual community of the same his two natures in one; for his human nature, I know, came not from heaven."

Rochester :—" The bread is his human nature; but that human nature of his came not from heaven: ergo, neither the bread."

Glyn :—" It is true that the bread came not from heaven as bread simply, but as celestial and heavenly bread. But I will answer to that: Whereas you hold, that the body of Christ came not from heaven, I, by the body and flesh of Christ, do understand whole Christ, neither separating his soul, nor yet his deity; although his humanity is not turned into his divinity by confusion of

Edward VI.

A.D. 1549 to 1552.

substance, but is one by unity of both. Or else thus I may reason: The God of glory is crucified, and the Son of Mary created the world," etc.

Rochester:—"So it is. But he is called a rock and a vine, and so, after your judgment, he is both a material rock and also a material vine."

Christ is called a rock, a vine, etc.

Glyn:—"The circumstances there, show plainly that there is a trope or figure; for it followeth, 'I am the vine, you are the branches;' but here is no trope. For after these words, 'This is my body,' he addeth, 'which is given for you.'"

Rochester:—"Your judgment herein is very gross, and far discrepant from the truth."

Glyn:—"If my judgment in this be gross, most revered father, then are all the ancient fathers as gross in judgment as I in this point, and the catholic church also."

Perne:—Show us one place, or one doctor, who saith, that it remaineth not bread after the consecration."

Glyn:—"I wonder that you are not ashamed to ask that of me; for have you not had almost infinite places and doctors alleged to you in my former declarations, proving as much as you request at my hands?"

Perne:—"He took bread, he brake bread: ergo, it is bread."

Glyn:—"I have answered often hereunto, and I grant it is bread; but not only, or material."

Perne:—"Irenæus affirmeth, that a sacrament consisteth of a double matter, of an earthly matter, and of a heavenly: ergo, the bread remaineth."

Glyn:—Irenæus, in that place, by the earthly matter meaneth the humanity of Christ, and by the heavenly matter the deity of Christ."

Rochester:—"The humanity and the divinity of Christ make not a sacrament, which consisteth of a visible and an invisible nature; and I deny that Irenæus can be so understood: therefore we desire the learned auditory to search Irenæus at home, as opportunity will serve for this matter."

Glyn:—"I wish them so to do also, with all my heart."

(Here master Grindal beginneth to dispute.)

Grindal:—"Whereas you say, worshipful master doctor, that we speak not now, as sometimes we thought and judged in this matter, peradventure you, also, judge not so now all things, as you have done heretofore. But what we have once been it forceth not; God respecteth no man's person. And whereas you say that you dare not, contrary to Christ, call it a sign or a figure, Augustine, notwithstanding, dareth to call it a figure, and Tertullian likewise, with many more."

Glyn:—"True it is, but they called it not a sign or a figure only; but prove you, if you can, that after the consecration remaineth any other substance than the real body of Christ."

Grindal:—"If the forms do nourish, as you contend, they nourish the natural and human body; for they be both as one, and are nourished alike."

Glyn:—"Your reason is merely physical, and therefore to be rejected in matters of faith: but I grant they nourish, but miraculously."

Grindal:—"If you grant that the forms do nourish, then you grant that bread remaineth."

Glyn:—"I said even now that it is true; but the nature of it is changed, and that miraculously."

Grindal:—"If it be the real and substantial body of Christ, because Christ said, 'This is my body;' ergo, because the Lord said, 'I will not drink of the

fruit of this vine,' and Paul calleth it bread after the consecration, it is therefore bread and wine."

Edward VI.

A. D. 1549 to 1552.

Glyn :—" Truly, sir, you must bring better arguments, or else you will prove nothing for your purpose. For to your reasons thus I answer: Chrysostome saith, Christ did drink of the blood; but whether this sentence, 'I will not drink of the fruit of the vine,' be spoken of the blood, it is not certain. And truly Erasmus denieth that it is to be found in all the whole Scripture, that it is called bread after the consecration. Or else thus I may answer you: even as it is called bread, for the form, and kind, and accidents which remain; so for the form and similitude which it hath, it may be called the fruit of the vine, after the consecration. And whereas Chrysostome calleth it wine, he speaketh of the nature whereof the sacrament necessarily is made. And I deny not but it may be called wine, but yet eucharistically.

It remaineth bread and wine, etc.

Christ calleth it wine, not blood.

Rochester :—The evangelists Matthew, Mark, and Luke call it 'the fruit of the vine,' and say that the fruit of the vine is nothing else but wine; ergo, Christ gave them wine, and drank wine himself also, and not blood."

Glyn :—" Christ said twice, 'I will not drink of the fruit of the vine;' once at the eating of the paschal lamb (as Luke saith), and then was it wine indeed. And again, after the consecration of his body and blood he said the like; and then it was not wine, which methinks I can prove by the plain words of Luke, if we compare him with Matthew. For, if it were wine, as they both affirm, then the words of Christ cannot well stand, because first, as Luke showeth, he said at his legal supper, 'I will not drink of the fruit of this vine,' etc. And again in Matthew, after the consecration of his body and blood, 'he drank;' it followeth therefore, that that which he drank was not wine by nature, for then must Christ needs be a liar; which were blasphemy to say."

Rochester :—" Augustine doth thus reconcile those places, saying, it is spoken by a figure which we call 'ὕστερον πρότερον.'"

Two places assoiled.

Glyn :—" I know that Augustine saith so; but methinks that which I have said, seemeth to be the true meaning of the places."

Rochester :—" Augustine seeketh no starting holes, nor yet any indirect shifts to obscure the truth."

Glyn :—" Say your fatherhood what you will of Augustine, I think not so."

Grindal :—" 'This cup is the new testament in my blood;' but here is a trope: ergo, in these words of Christ, 'This is my body,' is a trope also."

Glyn :—" I deny your argument; for whereas Luke saith 'this cup,' Matthew saith, 'this is my blood:' and therefore, as Augustine saith, places that be dark are to be expounded by others that be light."

Rochester :—" All of your side deny that Christ ever used any trope in the instituting of sacraments."

Glyn :—" For my part I hold no opinion but the truth, whereof you yourself also do pretend the like."

Rochester :—" What understand you by this word 'hoc,' 'this,' and in what words standeth the force or strength of the sacrament?—in this pronoun 'hoc,' 'this?' or in this verb 'est,' 'is?' or else in this whole sentence, 'This is my body?'"

Wherein consisteth the strength of the sacrament.

Glyn :—" It is not made the true body except all the words be spoken, as in baptism, 'I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' For neither doth baptism consist in this word 'ego,' 'I,' or in 'baptize,' or in this word, 'te,' 'thee;' or in these words, 'in nomine,' 'in the name,' etc., but in all the words spoken in order."

Grindal :—" If to eat the body of Christ be a figurative speech, as Augustine saith it is, ergo, then these words, 'This is my body,' are a figurative speech also."

Edward VI.

A. D. 1549 to 1552.

Glyn:—"It is a figurative speech, because we eat not the body of Christ after the same manner that we do other meats," etc.

Grindal:—"Cyprian understandeth this of those that come unworthily, and make no difference of the Lord's body, speaking of the dijudication of the sacraments, and not of the body of Christ."

Glyn:—"Truly he speaketh of the true body of Christ."

Rochester:—"They receive unworthily, who neither judge themselves, nor yet the sacraments, taking them as other common bread."

Grindal:—"Augustine upon the thirty-third Psalm saith, 'Christ bare himself in his own hands after a sort; not indeed or truly,'" etc.

Glyn:—"You omit many other things which Augustine saith; and I confess that he carried himself in his own hands, after a sort: but Augustine delivereth this unto us as a great miracle; and you know it was no great miracle, to carry a figure of his body in his hands. And whereas you say that Christ carried himself after a sort in his own hands, it is very true, but yet diversely; for he sat after one manner at his supper and after another manner he carried himself in his hands. For Christ in the visible figure bore himself invisibly."

Grindal:—"Tertullian calleth it a figure: ergo, it is so."

Glyn:—"It is, as I have said, a figure; but not a figure only. But hear what Tertullian saith, he took bread and made it his body, saying, 'This is my body,'" etc.

Grindal:—"Hear what Chrysostome saith upon Matthew (Homil. ii. super cap. 5), If vessels sanctified to holy uses," etc.

Glyn:—"That work is received not as Chrysostome's, but some man's else, as you know. Or thus I answer, 'It is not the true body in proper and visible form.'"

(Here master Gest disputed.)

Gest:—"The bread is not changed before the consecration: ergo, not after it either."

Glyn:—"I deny your argument, master Gest."

Gest:—"Christ gave earthly bread: ergo, there is no transubstantiation."

Glyn:—"I deny your antecedent."

Gest:—"That which Christ took he blessed; that which he blessed he brake; what he brake he gave: ergo, he, receiving earthly bread, gave the same bread."

Glyn:—"Your order in reasoning standeth not; for by the same reason may you gather, that God took a rib of man, and thereof built a rib, and brought it unto Adam: ergo, what he received he brought—but he received a rib: ergo, brought a rib."

Gest:—"How is the body of Christ in heaven, and how in the sacrament? whether circumscriptively or definitively?"

Glyn:—"The body of Christ is in heaven circumscriptively, but not so in the sacrament. The angels also are contained definitively. But I have learned that the body of Christ is in the sacrament, but not locally; nor circumscriptively, but after an unspeakable manner unknown to man."

Rochester:—"Ah, know you not?"

Glyn:—"Neither in other mysteries of faith do we know the mean how, although this may partly be proved by reason. For as my soul is wholly in my

head, and wholly in my foot, and wholly in my finger, and so in other parts of my body; and as there is one voice or sound which all men hearing do understand: so the body of Christ, being one and the same, is wholly in the altar, and in many places else. For if God could do this in my soul, how much more in his own body."

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

Rochester:—"I beseech you show us what difference is betwixt these two: to be in a place circumscriptively and definitively."

Glyn:—"Your lordship knoweth very well: but yet if any would know the difference, let him read 'August. ad Volusianum, et ad Dardanum,'" etc.

Gest:—"If the bread be changed, it is made the body of Christ; but that is not so: ergo, it is not changed."

The bread not changed.

Glyn:—"I deny your minor."

Gest:—"It is not generate or begot: ergo, it is not the body."

Glyn:—"That followeth not; as though to be made, and to be generate or begot, were all one thing; or as though there were no other mutation than a generation: and so you impugn a thing that you know not. But what call you the generation?"

Gest:—"The generation is the production of the accidents."

Glyn:—"A new definition of a new philosopher."

Gest:—"That which he took he blessed; that which he blessed, he brake, and gave it unto them: ergo," etc.

Glyn:—"Christ took bread, brake bread, and gave his body, that is, the substance of his body: saying, 'This is my body.'"

Gest:—"The bread is not changed into the blood of Christ: ergo, not into his body either."

Glyn:—"I deny your antecedent."

Gest:—"The Master of the Sentences saith it."

Glyn:—"You understand him not; for the bread is changed into the body of Christ by the power of God's word."

Rochester:—"Ye dream of a real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, by the force of the words spoken; which the holy Scripture doth impugn."

Papists dream of transubstantiation.

Glyn:—"We say, that not only by the power of the word, but also by the spirit and secret virtue in the words, it is brought to pass; for there is no power in one word alone, as before in baptism, but in all the words duly prolated, according to the custom of the ancient catholic church."

Gest:—If there were any transubstantiation, the accidents should not remain still; for they have no matter whereto they may lean or cleave. But the accidents remain not themselves alone: ergo," etc.

Glyn:—"I confess accidents cannot stand, themselves alone, by their own nature, without a subject; but by the power of God they may, not after the opinion of philosophers, but of the Scriptures: although I could show, out of the Scriptures, the accidents to have been without the subject; as in Genesis, the light was made without a subject, whereas the subject of the light was made the fourth day after, as Basil beareth me record."

If there were transubstantiation there should remain no accidents.

(Here master Pilkington disputed.)

Pilkington:—"This one thing I desire of you, most worshipful master doctor, that you will answer me with like brevity as I shall propound. And thus I reason: The body of Christ that was broken on the cross, is a full satisfaction

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

for the sins of the whole world; but the sacrament is not the satisfaction of the whole world: ergo, the sacrament is not the body of Christ."

Glyn:—"I deny your argument."

Pilkington:—"It is a syllogism."

Glyn:—"It is not so; for there be four 'termines.' Touching this word sacrament, it is manifold; but thus I answer: If you take the sacrament for the matter of the sacrament, that is, the body of Christ, then is your minor proposition true, and the matter of the sacrament is the satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; but, if you take the sacrament for the sign, which we call a sacrament, then is your minor proposition false."

Pilkington:—"The body of Christ hath satisfied for the sins of the whole world; but the sacrament hath not satisfied: ergo, the sacrament is not the body of Christ."

Glyn:—"I deny your minor, understanding the sacrament for the matter of the sacrament."

Pilkington:—"The sacrament only profiteth him that receiveth it; but many were saved before the institution of this sacrament was begun: ergo, the sacrament is not the body of Christ."

Glyn:—"If you mean of the bare sign only, it profiteth nothing; but if you mean the thing signified, then what is spoken of the body of Christ, is spoken also of the thing of the sacrament itself."

Pilkington:—"Transubstantiation is not a sacrament; but that which I mean is a sacrament: ergo, that which I mean is not transubstantiated."

Glyn:—"I mean not that transubstantiation is a sacrament, neither do I say that the sacrament is transubstantiate, but the bread."

Pilkington:—"The body of Christ is resident in heaven, and the body of Christ is in the sacrament: ergo, the sacrament is in heaven."

Glyn:—"A goodly reason, forsooth: but I answer, he is after one sort in heaven, and after another sort in the sacrament; for in heaven he is locally, in the sacrament not so; in heaven visibly and circumscriptively, but in the sacrament invisibly and sacramentally."

Rochester: "St. Augustine saith, 'Take away the spaces from the bodies, and they shall be nowhere, and that which is nowhere,' is not at all: so, whilst you take away the spaces and dimensions from the body of Christ in the sacrament, you bring to pass that it is not there at all."

Glyn:—"In that place Augustine speaketh of natural bodies, not of supernatural: otherwise I could deny that Christ had a true body, when he entered in to his disciples, the gates being shut."

Rochester:—"Of the gates being shut, a diverse and doubtful meaning may be gathered; for it may be, he entered in before the gates were shut, and afterwards opened them being shut," etc.

Glyn:—"Then it could be no miracle; but the evangelists, and all sound interpreters, say and affirm this to be a miracle of our Saviour Christ."

Rochester:—"Whether Christ entered in miraculously, the gates being shut, or else open, the Scripture setteth not down."

Glyn:—"As Christ (the womb of the Virgin being shut) was born into the world without violation of her pure virginity, or apertion of her womb (for so he might have been polluted), so entered he through the doors to his disciples miraculously."

Pilkington:—"In the body of Christ which was given for us, there are no accidents of bread; but in the sacrament there be accidents of bread: ergo, in the sacrament there is not the body of Christ."

Glyn:—"In the matter of the sacrament, that is, in the body of Christ, are no accidents of bread; but accidents are the very sacrament itself."

Pilkington:—"I beseech you, what do we eat? the substance or the accidents?"

Glyn:—"Both; as when we eat wholesome and unwholesome meats together, so we eat the substance of Christ's body, and yet not without the accidents of bread."

Pilkington:—"I prove that the accidents are eaten, for whatsoever entereth in by the mouth, goeth into the privy; but the accidents go in by the mouth: ergo, into the privy."

Glyn:—"This sentence, 'Whatsoever entereth in by the mouth,' etc., is not meant of all kind of meats, as not of that which Christ did eat after his resurrection."

Pilkington:—"You shall not eat this body which you see."

Glyn:—"That is, not after that manner as you see it now, nor after the same visible form."

Pilkington:—"Wheresoever Christ is, there be his ministers also (for so he promised): but Christ, as you hold, is in the sacrament: ergo, his ministers are there also."

Glyn:—"To be with Christ is spoken divers ways; as in heart and mind, and in place, and sometimes both: or, to be with Christ, is to minister unto him, and to do his will," etc.

THE THIRD DISPUTATION HOLDEN AT CAMBRIDGE AS BEFORE.

The Declaration of Master Perne upon the First Conclusion.

"Christ, at his last supper, took bread, brake bread, distributed bread: ergo, not his body, but a sacrament of his body; for the bones of Christ could no man break, as witnesseth the prophet saying, 'Os non comminuetis ex eo,' that is, 'You shall not break a bone of him.'—'This cup is the cup of the new testament in my blood.' In this sentence there is a trope, by their own confession; wherefore there is in the other also, 'This is my body;' for the holy Scripture is a perfect rule not only of doing, but also of speaking. Paul calleth it bread three times: ergo, it is bread, etc. And whereas they urge so much this pronoun, 'illum,' it is not in the Greek canon, which hath 'panem,' 'bread,' not 'panem illum,' 'that bread.' There was no transubstantiation in the manna: ergo, nor in the sacrament; for there is this particle, 'est,' if that can prove transubstantiation, as they suppose. And if manna were a figure, say they, then this is not. This mystery or sacrament we hold to be true bread, and true meat. Manna gave life unto them, as this doth unto us; yet was it but a figure. In every sacrament there ought to be a certain analogy, both of the intern and extern thing of the sacrament, as Augustine saith, writing to Boniface; but betwixt the forms of bread and wine, and the body of Christ, there is no analogy at all: ergo, they make not a sacrament.—'As of many grains,' etc.: This similitude of Paul is spoken of the substance of bread, not of the form thereof, otherwise Paul should in vain compare us to bread. As in baptism there is material water; so in the sacrament of the eucharist is material bread. Dionysius called the sacrament of Christ's body no otherwise than bread. Eusebius, in 'Ecclesiastica Historia' doth the same. Tertullian (lib. iv. against Marcion) saith thus: 'He gave his body;' that is, saith he, a figure or type of his body. Cyprian saith, 'In his last supper he gave bread and wine, and his body upon the cross.' The same Cyprian[1] saith, Christ drank wine at his last supper, because he would root out the heresy of certain who only used water in the ministration thereof. Chrysostome[2] saith, 'That only bread remaineth,' etc.

There ought to be a certain analogy in every sacrament between the thing that signifieth, and the thing that is signified.

(1) Epist. 6. lib. i. and Epist. 3. lib. ii.

(2) Hom. 13. upon Matthew.

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

Theodoret saith,[1] 'Bread remaineth still in his first nature as before.' Augustine saith, 'The bread doth not lose his first nature after the consecration, but receiveth another quality, whereby it differeth from common bread.' The same Augustine saith,[2] 'Sacraments are figures, being one thing indeed, and showing forth another thing.' He speaketh of no transubstantiation here. Again, writing to Boniface he saith, 'The sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, and so is the sacrament of wine also,' etc. The sacraments of the old and new law are all one in substance of matter, notwithstanding they be divers in signs: which sacraments, why should they not be one, when they signify all one thing? The body of Christ when it was on the earth was not in heaven; so now it, being in heaven, is not on the earth. Whereby it may appear that transubstantiation is a most blasphemous, sacrilegious, and damnable error, and a most vain, unsavoury, and devilish papistical invention, defended and maintained only by the papists, the professed and sworn enemies of all truth. Those who impugn this doctrine of transubstantiation are no new upstarts; as the enemies of the truth, the papists, bear the world in hand. But, contrarily, those who maintain this devilish doctrine are new-sprung-up cockatrices, as Manicheus, Eutiches, and others. Gelasius saith, that the sacraments which we receive are divine things; yet cease they not to be bread and wine in nature. Out of this puddle of transubstantiation have sprung up adoration of the sacrament, and inducing men to believe that Christ hath many bodies."

Transubstantiation a most blasphemous error.

The Declaration of the Master Perne upon the Second Conclusion.

"Matthew, Mark, Luke, and the apostle Paul, call it a commemoration or remembrance of Christ's body and blood; and Paul to the Hebrews saith, 'By one only oblation once offered are we made perfect to eternal salvation,' etc. 'By him, therefore, do we offer up the sacrifice of laud and praise to God; that is, the fruit of the lips,' etc. It is called the eucharist, because we offer to God praise and thanksgiving, with devout minds; and it is called the cup of thanksgiving, because we give thanks to God thereby also. 'You shall preach forth the Lord's death,' etc.; that is, you shall give thanks and be mindful of his death, etc. 'Give your bodies a quick and living sacrifice,' etc. 'The sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving shall honour me,' etc. Chrysostome saith, 'The wise men offered three kinds of sacrifices, gold, frankincense, and myrrh: so we do also, namely, virtue, prayer, and almsdeeds. These be the sacrifices wherewith Christ is pleased.' And Augustine saith, that there are no other sacrifices than prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, etc. Chrysostome (Homil. 46, upon John) saith, 'To be converted or turned into Christ, is to be made partaker of his body and blood.'"

Why it is called the eucharist.

No other sacrifice, but only praise and thanksgiving.

(There disputed against him master Parker, master Pollard, master Vavasor, and master Young.)

Parker:—"Christ, whose words are to be believed, said, 'This is my body.' He said not, this bread is my body, or with this bread, or under this bread, or by this bread, but said plainly, 'This is my body.' And this he proved by these reasons: First, for that it was prefigured before. Secondly, for that it was promised. Thirdly, for that it was given. The transubstantiation of the bread was prefigured by the manna which came down from heaven: all that bread was heavenly, and without any earthly matter or substance annexed. Secondly, it was promised in those words of Christ, 'The bread that I will give, is my flesh,' etc. Thirdly, it was given by Christ, and exhibited in his last supper, saying, 'Take, eat, this is my body.'"

Three vain reasons to prove the bread to be transubstantiate.

(Here they were forced to break off through want of time, yet Parker replied thus against doctor Perne.)

"We give thee thanks, most holy Father, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to babes; for pride is the root of all heresies whatsoever. And, on the other side, to acknowledge our

(1) See his first Dialogue. (2) August. I. contra Maximinum.

own infirmity and imperfection is the first step to the right understanding of the truth. Nestorius the heretic affirmed, that there were two persons in Christ; one that was man, another that was God: therefore, he said, that in the eucharist was contained true flesh, but only of his pure manhood. Against him did the council of Ephesus conclude, saying, that there was the real flesh of the Son of God, etc. This he proved by the words of Christ, 'My flesh is meat indeed:' and what flesh that is, he teacheth upon John vi.; 'That is,' quoth he, 'the flesh united to the Deity, and quickened by the Holy Ghost,' etc. Now that that flesh is in the sacrament, it is plain, by Hilary.[1] He proved the same also out of Chrysostome:[2] 'We are one body with him, members of his flesh, and bones of his bones,' etc. Again, in the same Homily, 'We are joined to his flesh, not only by faith and love, but also in very deed and truly.' And again, 'it pleased me to become your brother, and by the same things wherein I was joined to you, have I given myself again unto you,'" etc.

Christ is in the sacrament really after a sort.

Perne:—"I grant unto you that Christ is in the sacrament truly, wholly, and verily, after a certain property and manner: I deny not his presence, but his real and corporal presence I utterly deny; for doubtless his true and natural body is in heaven, and not in the sacrament: notwithstanding he dwelleth with us, and in us, after a certain unity. And also in the sixth chapter of John, he speaketh not of the flesh of Christ crucified," etc.

How his flesh giveth life.

Parker:—"The flesh of Christ, as it is in the sacrament, is quick, and giveth life: ergo, his real and substantial flesh is in the sacrament."

Perne:—"The flesh of Christ, in that it is united unto the Deity, doth vivify, and giveth life; but not otherwise."

How these words, 'This is my body,' are meant.

Rochester:—"Christ dwelleth in us by faith, and by faith we receive Christ, both God and man, both in spirit and flesh; that is, this sacramental eating is the mean and way whereby we attain to the spiritual eating: and indeed, for the strengthening of us, to the eating of this spiritual food, was this sacrament ordained. And these words, 'This is my body,' are meant thus: By grace it is my true body, but not my fleshly body, as some of you suppose."

Parker:—"We are joined to Christ, not only by faith, but also in very deed: ergo," etc.

There is a unity between man and woman, etc.

Rochester:—"We are joined to Christ; that is, we are made partakers of his flesh and of immortality. And so, in like case, is there a union between man and woman; yet is there no transubstantiation of either, or both," etc.

Why it is called bread so often.

Pollard:—"The sacrament is not bare bread, and nothing else, only because it is called bread so often in the Scriptures; and that I prove by three reasons. First, it is called bread because of the similitude. Secondly, because of the mutation. Thirdly, for the matter whereof it is made and compact; as the angels are called men, the Holy Ghost a tongue, the rod of Aaron a serpent, and such like. The words of Christ do teach the same thing, as appeareth in the healing of the woman of Canaan's daughter Jairus's son, and many others, etc.: ergo," etc.

Then he proved against Rochester, that somewhat else was in the sacrament besides power and grace, by this reason: 'The evil receive the body of Christ, as is plain out of Augustine (Homil. xxi. De verbis Domini): but the evil and wicked receive not the virtue, or grace: ergo, there is not only grace and virtue in the sacrament."

The evil receive not the Lord in the sacrament.

Rochester:—"The evil do not receive the Lord in the sacrament, but the sacrament of the Lord, as Judas, who indeed did not eat the true body of the Lord."

Pollard:—"In the sacrament be three things; to wit, an outward sign, the matter of the sacrament, and the fruit of the same. The evil receive the outward sign, and the subject of the sacrament, but not the fruit of the sacrament: ergo, there is somewhat else in the sacrament than only grace. Also every

(1) Hilarius, lib. viii. de Trinitate (2) Chrysost. Homily 45. upon John.

Edward VI. A.D. 1549 to 1552.

sacrament ought to have a certain similitude with the matter of the sacrament; but the material bread hath no such similitude with the body of Christ, which is the matter of the sacrament: ergo, material bread is not a sacrament."

Perne:—"I deny your minor: for material bread doth so nourish the body, as the flesh of Christ doth the soul."

(Here, he being requested, gave place to master Vavasor and others.)

Master Vavasor:—"Through the shortness of time, I am so constrained, that neither I can speak without loss of my reputation, nor yet hold my peace without offence to God. For in speaking, as I do, without great premeditation before this honourable, worshipful, and learned audience, I shall but show forth my childishness herein; and if I should hold my peace, I might be thought to betray the truth of God's cause. And therefore, while I can neither speak for the brevity of time, nor yet hold my peace, God's truth being in controversy, I have determined (although with the impairing of my good name) to render a reason of my faith; which if I cannot afford probably in words, yet will I not fault in saying nothing at all. For it seemeth better that I be esteemed altogether foolish and unlearned amongst so many grave learned fathers and doctors, than to forsake the just defence of the truth, which every good christian man throughout the world hath ever holden inviolable: for whoso forsaketh the manifest known truth, had never any true faith therein. Which thing that I may overpass in Berengarius, Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, and many others, who are certainly known to be at no less variance amongst themselves, than uncertain of their faith what to believe, Zuinglius writeth thus of himself: 'Although this thing which I mean to entreat of, doth like me very well, yet, notwithstanding, I dare define nothing, but only show my poor judgment abroad to others, that, if it please the Lord, others may be thereby instructed by the Spirit of God, which teacheth all good things.' In vain do I spend many words: you see plainly he dare not define any thing certainly, but doubteth whether it please God or not. Œcolampadius, writing to a certain brother of his, saith thus, 'Peace be with thee. As far as I can conjecture out of the learned fathers, the words in John vi., and, This is my body, be figurative locutions,' etc. You see hereby how uncertain they be of their opinions. They lean not to the Scriptures, to doctors, nor yet to the truth; but to supposals and conjectures: who therefore hereafter will cleave unto them? But now I come to your oration, whose beginning pleaseth me very well, and whose progress therein offended me not; but, in the end, you concluded in such sort, that you left the whole matter to me, as it were confirming my parts by the same. And herein you framed a syllogism after this manner: What Christ took, that he blessed; what he blessed, that he brake; what he brake, that he gave: ergo, what he received he gave, etc. Whereto I answer with a like syllogism out of Genesis: God took a rib out of Adam's side; what he took he built; what he built he brought; what he brought he gave to Adam to be his wife; but he took a rib: ergo, he gave a rib to Adam to wife, etc. Also, in your said oration you shoot much at those words of Paul where he calleth it bread so often, etc. But the Scripture, in another place, calleth it water, when indeed it was wine; a rod, when it was a plain serpent."

Uncertainty amongst the doctors.

An unsavoury comparison.

Rochester:—"You have pretended great zeal and words enough; but what pith or substance your reasons will afford, we shall see hereafter."

Vavasor:—"Christ gave the same flesh to us, which he received of the Virgin; but he took true and natural flesh of her: ergo, he gave us true and natural flesh. My major I prove by Augustine upon Psalm xcviii."

Rochester:—"Master Vavasor, you are in a wrong box; for the place maketh altogether for maintenance of adoration, if it make for any thing."

Vavasor:—"I know it very well, and therefore I allege it as the ground of my reason. These be Augustine's words, 'Christ of the earth received earth, and of the flesh of Mary he received flesh:' acknowledge his substance therefore."

Rochester:—"I acknowledge it."

Vavasor :—"And in the very same flesh he walked here upon the earth: acknowledge his substance."

Rochester :—"I acknowledge it."

Vavasor :—"And the very same flesh he gave us to eat: acknowledge his substance."

Rochester :—"I acknowledge not his real substance to be there; but the property of his substance."

Vavasor :—Then Vavasor recited the place, to the end he might prove that his real substance ought to be acknowledged as well in the last place, as in the first and second; affirming it out of St. Augustine, who saith thus: "The disciples of Christ, approaching the Lord's table, by faith drank the same blood which the tormentors most cruelly spilt," etc. "But the tormentors spilt no figure of blood: ergo, etc. This place will not permit the other so to be illuded."

Rochester :—"It is no illusion, good master Vavasor; but surely you would move a saint with your impertinent reasons."

Vavasor :—"I beseech your fatherhood to pardon my rudeness; for surely I cannot otherwise speak, without breach of conscience."

Perne :—"That place of Augustine is to be understood of a spiritual kind of eating."

Vavasor :—"I demand whether the faithful may receive spiritually, so as they need not to receive sacramentally."

Perne :—"They may."

Vavasor :—"Then thus to you: To the spiritual eating there is no need to come to the Lord's table, for so it is the meat of the soul, not of the teeth—but the faithful come to the Lord's table: ergo, that place is to be understood of a sacramental eating. And again, Augustine saith, that he carried himself in his hands."

Rochester :—"Augustine showeth a little after what he meaneth thereby, where he saith, he carried himself in his own hands after a certain sort or manner."

Vavasor :—"True it is, that after one manner he sat at the table, and after another manner was in the sacrament."

(Master Young here disputeth against Perne as followeth.)

Young :—"I understand the meaning of this word 'proprietas,' 'propriety,' well enough; for, in Hilary and Eusebius, it signifieth not the virtue or power of any substance or being, but rather a natural being or substance."

Rochester :—"I commend your great diligence in searching of authors, but in divinity the matter standeth not so; for the propriety of essence in the Deity is the very essence, and whatsoever is in God is God."

Young :—"True it is, most reverend father, that this word 'proprietas,' 'propriety,' in Hilary, in his eighth book De Trinitate, entreating there of the divinity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is so meant and taken; but the same Hilary, almost in the same place, speaketh of our communion and unity with Christ," etc. Tertullian also, writing of the resurrection of the flesh, affirmeth that the flesh of our Saviour is that, whereof our soul is allied to God; that is, it which causeth that our souls are joined to him: but our flesh is made clean, that the soul may be purged; our flesh is anointed, that the soul may be made holy; the flesh is sealed, that the soul may be comforted; the flesh is shadowed with the imposition of the hands, that our soul may be lightened with the glory of the spirit; our flesh is clothed with a body and blood, that the soul may be fed and nourished of God."

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

Rochester.—"The flesh indeed is fed with the body and the blood of the Lord, when our bodies, by mortification, are made like to his body; and our body is nourished, when the virtue and power of the body of Christ doth feed us. The same Tertullian is not afraid to call it flesh and blood, but he meaneth a figure of the same."

Young:—"Then, by your leave, it should follow by good consequence, that where any mortification is, there must needs be a sacramental communion; which cannot be: ergo," etc.

(Here ended the third and last disputation holden at Cambridge, 1549.)

Names of disputants.

This disputation continued three days. In the first, did answer Dr. Madew: against whom disputed Dr. Glyn, master Langdale, master Segewick, master Young.

In the second disputation, did answer Dr. Glyn: against whom disputed master Grindal, master Perne, master Gest, master Pilkington.

In the third disputation answered master Perne: against whom disputed one master Parker (not Dr. Matthew Parker), master Pollard, master Vavasor, master Young.

At length the disputations ended, the bishop of Rochester (Dr. Nicholas Ridley), after the manner of schools, made this determination upon the aforesaid conclusions, as here followeth.

The Determination of Dr. Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, upon the Conclusions above prefixed.

There hath been an ancient custom amongst you, that after disputations had in your common schools, there should be some determination made of the matters so disputed and debated, especially touching christian religion. Because, therefore, it hath seemed good unto these worshipful assistants joined with me in commission from the king's majesty, that I should perform the same at this time; I will, by your favourable patience, declare, both what I do think and believe myself, and what also others ought to think of the same. Which thing I would that afterwards ye did with diligence weigh and ponder, every man at home severally by himself.

The principal grounds, or rather head-springs, of this matter, are specially five.

The first is, the authority, majesty, and verity of holy Scripture.

The second is, the most certain testimonies of the ancient catholic fathers, who, after my judgment, do sufficiently declare this matter.

The third is, the definition of a sacrament.

The fourth is, the abominable heresy of Eutiches, that may ensue of transubstantiation.

The fifth is, the most sure belief of the article of our faith, "He ascended into heaven."

The First Ground.

Transubstantiation against the Scriptures.

This transubstantiation is clean against the words of the Scripture, and consent of the ancient catholic fathers. The Scripture saith, "I will not drink hereafter of this fruit of the vine," etc. Now the fruit of this vine is wine. And it is manifest that Christ spake these words after the supper was finished, as it appeareth both in Matthew, Mark, and also in Luke, if they be well understood. There be not many places of Scripture that do confirm this thing, neither is it greatly material: for it is enough if there be any one plain testimony for the same. Neither ought it to be measured by the number of Scriptures, but by the authority, and by the verity of the same. And the majesty of this verity is as ample in one short sentence of the Scripture, as in a thousand.

Scripture to be measured not by number but by authority.

Moreover, Christ took bread; he gave bread. In the Acts, Luke calleth it bread. So Paul calleth it bread after the sanctification. Both of them speak of breaking, which belongeth to the substance of bread, and in no wise to Christ's body; for the Scripture saith, "Ye shall not break a bone of him."[1] Christ saith, "Do ye this in my remembrance." St. Paul also saith, "Do ye this in my remembrance."[2] And again, "As often as ye shall drink of this cup, do it in remembrance of me."[3] And our Saviour Christ (in John vi.), speaking against the Capernaites, saith, "Labour for the meat that perisheth not." And when they asked, "What shall we do, that we may work the works of God?" he answered them thus: "This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent."[4] You see how he exhorteth them to faith: "For faith is that work of God." Again, "This is the bread which came down from heaven." But Christ's body came not down from heaven. Moreover, "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." "My flesh," saith he, "is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed." When they heard this, they were offended. And while they were offended, he said unto them, "What if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before?" whereby he went about to draw them from the gross and carnal eating. "This body," saith he, "shall ascend up into heaven;" meaning altogether, as St. Augustine saith, "It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you, are spirit and life, and must be spiritually understood." These be the reasons which persuade me to incline to this sentence and judgment.

The Second Ground.

Now my second ground against this transubstantiation is the ancient fathers a thousand years past. And so far off is it that they do confirm this opinion of transubstantiation, that plainly they seem unto me, both to think and to teach the contrary.

Dionysius in many places calleth it bread. The places are so manifest and plain, that it needeth not to recite them.[5]

Ignatius[6] saith, "I beseech you brethren cleave fast unto one faith, and to one kind of preaching using together one manner of thanksgiving; for the flesh of the Lord Jesus is one, and his blood is one which was shed for us: there is also one bread broken for us, and one cup of the whole church."

Irenæus writeth thus: "Even as the bread that cometh of the earth, receiving God's vocation, is now no more common bread, but sacramental bread, consisting of two natures, earthly and heavenly; even so our bodies, receiving the eucharist, are now no more corruptible, having hope of the resurrection."[7]

Tertullian is very plain, for he calleth it, "a figure of his body," etc.

Chrysostome writeth to Cæsarius the monk: albeit he be not received of divers, yet will I read the place to fasten it more deeply in your minds; for it seemeth to show plainly the substance of bread to remain. The words are these: "Before the bread is sanctified, we name it bread: but, by the grace of God sanctifying the same through the ministry of the priest, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is counted worthy to bear the name of the Lord's body, although the very substance of bread notwithstanding do still remain therein; and now is taken, not to be two bodies, but one body of the Son," etc.

Cyprian saith, "Bread is made of many grains. And is that natural bread, and made of wheat? Yea, it is so indeed."[8]

The book of Theodoret in Greek was lately printed at Rome, which if it had not been his, it should not have been set forth there; especially seeing it is directly against transubstantiation: for he saith plainly, that bread still remaineth after the sanctification.

Gelasius also is very plain in this manner: "The sacrament," saith he, "which we receive of the body and blood of Christ, is a divine matter: by reason whereof we are made partakers, by the same, of the divine nature; and yet it ceaseth not still to be the substance of bread and wine. And certes, the representation and similitude of the body and blood of Christ be celebrated in the action of the mysteries," etc.[9]

(1) Exod. xii. (2) 1 Cor. xi. (3) John vi. (4) Ibid.
(5) Dionys. in Eccl. Hierar. (6) Ignatius ad Philadelph. (7) Irenæus, lib. iv. cap. 34.
(8) Cyprian, lib. 1. Epist. 6. (9) Gelasius in Epist. de duabus naturis in Christo.

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

(After this he recited certain places out of Augustine and Cyril which were not noted.)

Isichus, also, confesseth that it is bread.[1]

Also the judgment of Bertram in this matter is very plain and manifest.—And thus much for the second ground.

The Third Ground.

Three things in a sacrament.

The third ground is the nature of the sacrament, which consisteth of three things; that is, unity, nutrition, and conversion.

1. Unity.

As touching unity, Cyprian thus writeth: "Even as of many grains is made one bread, so are we one mystical body of Christ." Wherefore bread must still needs remain, or else we destroy the nature of a sacrament.

2. Nutrition.

Also, they that take away nutrition, which cometh by bread, do take away likewise the nature of a sacrament. For as the body of Christ nourisheth the soul, even so doth bread likewise nourish the body of man.

Therefore they that take away the grains, or the union of the grains in the bread, and deny the nutrition or substance thereof, in my judgment are sacramentaries; for they take away the similitude between the bread and the body of Christ. For they which affirm transubstantiation, are indeed right sacramentaries and Capernaites.

3. Conversion.

As touching conversion—that, like as the bread which we receive is turned into our substance, so are we turned into Christ's body—Rabanus and Chrysostome are witnesses sufficient.

The Fourth Ground.

They which say that Christ is carnally present in the eucharist, do take from him the verity of man's nature. Eutiches granted the divine nature in Christ, but his human nature he denied. So they that defend transubstantiation, ascribe that to the human nature, which only belongeth to the divine nature.

The Fifth Ground.

The fifth ground is the certain persuasion of this article of faith: "He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God."

Augustine saith, "The Lord is above, even to the end of the world: but yet the verity of the Lord is here also; for his body, wherein he rose again, must needs be in one place; but his verity is spread abroad everywhere."[2]

Also in another place he saith, "Let the godly also receive that sacrament; but let them not be careful (speaking there of the presence of his body).[3] For as touching his majesty, his providence, his invisible and unspeakable grace, these words are fulfilled which he spake, I am with you unto the end of the world. But, according to the flesh which he took upon him, according to that which was born of the Virgin, was apprehended of the Jews, was fastened to a tree, taken down again from the cross, lapped in linen clothes, was buried and rose again, and appeared after his resurrection—so you shall not have me always with you, and why? Because that as concerning his flesh, he was conversant with his disciples forty days, and they accompanying him, seeing him, but not following him, he went up into heaven, and is not here, for he sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and yet he is here, because he is not departed hence, as concerning the presence of his Divine Majesty."

Mark and consider well what St. Augustine saith, "He is ascended into heaven, and is not here," saith he. Believe not them therefore which say, that he is here still in the earth.

Moreover, "Doubt not," saith the same Augustine, "but that Jesus Christ, as concerning the nature of his manhood, is there from whence he shall come. And remember well and believe the profession of a christian man, that he arose from death, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of his Father; and from that place and none other (not from the altars), shall he come to judge the quick and the dead. And he shall come, as the angel said, as he was seen to go into heaven; that is to say, in the same form and substance, unto the which

(1) Isich. lib. i. cap. 8. (2) August. super Joan. tract. 30 et tract. 50. (3) Matt. xxviii.

he gave immortality, but changed not nature. After this form (meaning his human nature) we may not think that it is everywhere."[1]

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

And in the same epistle, he saith, "Take away from the bodies limitation of places, and they shall be nowhere; and because they are nowhere, they shall not be at all."[2]

Vigilius saith, "If the Word and the flesh be both of one nature, seeing that the Word is everywhere, why then is not the flesh also everywhere? For when it was in earth, then verily it was not in heaven; and now when it is in heaven, it is not surely in earth. And it is so certain that it is not in earth, that, as concerning the same, we look for him from heaven, whom, as concerning the Word, we believe to be with us in earth."[3]

Also the same Vigilius saith, "Which things seeing they be so, the course of the Scripture must be searched of us, and many testimonies must be gathered, to show plainly what a wickedness and sacrilege it is, to refer those things to the property of the divine nature, which do only belong to the nature of the flesh: and contrariwise, to apply those things to the nature of the flesh, which do properly belong to the divine nature." Which thing the transubstantiators do, whilst they affirm Christ's body not to be contained in any one place, and ascribe, that to his humanity, which properly belongeth to his divinity; as they do who will have Christ's body to be in no one certain place limited.

The third conclusion.

Now in the latter conclusion concerning the sacrifice, because it dependeth upon the first, I will in few words declare what I think; for if we did once agree in that, the whole controversy in the other would soon be at an end. Two things there be which do persuade me that this conclusion is true; that is, certain places of the Scripture, and also, certain testimonies of the fathers. St. Paul saith, "Christ, being become a high priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with hands, that is, not of this building, neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, entered once into the holy place, and obtained for us eternal redemption." "And now, in the end of the world, he hath appeared once, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself."[4] And again, "Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many." Moreover he saith, "With one offering hath he made perfect for ever, those that are sanctified."[5]

Sacrifice of Christ's body.

Christ never offered but once.

These Scriptures do persuade me to believe, that there is no other oblation of Christ (albeit I am not ignorant there are many sacrifices), but that which was once made upon the cross.

The testimonies of the ancient fathers, which confirm the same, are out of Augustine, Ad Bonif. epist. 23. Again, in his book of Forty-three Questions, in the forty-first question. Also in his twentieth book against Faustus the Manichean, chap. 21. And in the same book against the said Faustus, cap. 28, thus he writeth, "Now the Christians keep a memorial of the sacrifice past, with a holy oblation and participation of the body and blood of Christ."

Fulgentius in his book "De Fide," calleth the same oblation a commemoration.—And these things are sufficient for this time, for a scholastical determination of these matters.

DISPUTATIONS OF MARTIN BUCER AT CAMBRIDGE.

Over and besides these disputations above mentioned, other disputations were also holden at Cambridge, shortly after, by Martin Bucer, upon these conclusions following:

Conclusions to be Disputed.

First: "The canonical books of holy Scripture alone, do sufficiently teach the regenerated all things necessarily belonging unto salvation."

Secondly: "There is no church in earth which erreth not in manners as well as in faith."

(1) Aug. Epist. 57. (2) Ibid. (3) Vigilius contra Eutich. lib. iv.
(4) Heb. ix. (5) Heb. x.

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

Thirdly. "We are so justified freely of God, that before our justification it is sin, and provoketh God's wrath against us, whatsoever good work we seem to do. Then, being justified, we do good works."

Disputers against Bucer.

In these three propositions against Bucer disputed master Segewick, Young, and Perne: which disputations because they are long here to be recited, I mind (the Lord willing) to reserve them to some other convenient place. In the mean season, because great controversy hath been and is yet amongst the learned, and much effusion of christian blood about the words and meaning of the sacrament; to the intent that the verity thereof more openly may be explained, and all doubtful scruples discussed, it shall not be out of place to adjoin to the former discourses of Peter Martyr, and of Dr. Ridley above mentioned, another certain learned treatise in form of a dialogue, as appertaining to the same argument, compiled (as it seemeth) out of the tractations of Peter Martyr, and other authors, by a certain learned and reverend person of this realm; who, under the persons of Custom and Verity, manifestly layeth before our eyes, and teacheth all men, not to measure religion by custom, but to try custom by truth and the word of God: for else custom may soon deceive, but the word of God abideth for ever.

A FRUITFUL DIALOGUE DECLARING THESE WORDS OF CHRIST: "THIS IS MY BODY."

Custom and Verity.

Custom:—"I marvel much what madness hath crept into those men's hearts, which now-a-days are not ashamed so violently to tread down the lively word of God, yea and impudently to deny God himself."

Verity:—"God forbid, there should be any such. Indeed I remember that the Romish bishop was wont to have the Bible for his footstool, and so to tread down God's word evermore, when he stood at his mass. But, thanks be to God, he is now detected, and his abominations be opened and blown throughout all the world. And I hear of no more that oppress God's word."

Custom:—"No more! say you? Yes, doubtless, there are a hundred thousand more, and your part it is, Verity, to withstand them."

Verity:—"As touching my part, you know it agreeth not with my nature to stand with falsehood. But what are they? Disclose them if you will have them reproved."

Custom:—"What! are you so great a stranger in these quarters? Hear you not how that men do daily speak against the sacrament of the altar, denying it to be the real body of Christ?"

Verity:—"In good sooth I have been a great while abroad, and returned but of late into this country: wherefore you must pardon me, if my answer be to seek in such questions. But go forth in your tale. You have been longer here, and are better acquainted than I. What say they more than this?"

Custom:—"Than this? Why, what can they possibly say more?"

Verity:—"Yes, there are many things worse than this: for this seemeth in some part to be tolerable."

Custom:—"What! me thinketh you dally with me. Seemeth it tolerable to deny the sacrament?"

Verity:—"They deny it not, so much as I can gather by your words."

Custom:—"Nay, then, fare you well: I perceive you will take their part."

Verity:—"I am not partial, but indifferent to all parties: for I never go further than the truth."

Custom:—"I can scarcely believe you. But what is more true than Christ, which is truth itself? or whoever was so hardy, before this time, to charge

Christ with a lie for saying these words: 'This is my body?'[1] The words are evident and plain: there is in them not so much as one obscure or dark letter; there is no cause for any man to cavil. And yet, that notwithstanding, whereas Christ himself affirmed it to be his body, men now-a-days are not abashed to say, Christ lied, it is not his body. The evangelists agree all in one; the old writers stand of our side; the universal and catholic church hath been in this mind these fifteen hundred years and more. And shall we think that Christ himself, his evangelists, all the whole catholic church, have been so long deceived, and the truth now at length begotten and born in these days?"

Edward VI. A.D. 1549 to 1552.

Verity:—"You have moved a matter of great force and weight, and whereto, without many words, I can make no full answer. Notwithstanding, because you provoke me thereto, if you will give me license, I will take part with them of whom you have made false report, for none of them ever reproved Christ of any lie: but, contrariwise, they say, that many men of late days, not understanding Christ's words, have builded and set up many fond lies upon his name. Wherefore, first I will declare the meaning of these words, 'This is my body;' and next, in what sense the church and the old fathers have evermore taken them. First, therefore, you shall understand, that Scripture is not so to be taken always as the letter soundeth, but as the intent and purpose of the Holy Ghost was, by whom the Scripture was uttered. For, if you follow the bare words, you will soon shake down and overthrow the greatest part of the christian faith. What is plainer than these words, 'Pater major me est,' 'My Father is greater than I am?'[2] Of those plain words sprang up the heresy of the Arians, which denied Christ to be equal with his Father. What is more evident than this saying, 'I and my Father are both one?'[3] Thereof arose the heresy of them that denied three distinct persons. 'They all had one soul and one heart,'[4] was spoken by the apostle: yet had each of them a soul and heart peculiar to himself. 'They are now not two, but one flesh,' is spoken of the man and his wife: yet have both the man and the wife their several body. 'He is our very flesh,'[5] said Reuben by Joseph his brother; who, notwithstanding, was not their real flesh. 'I am bread,' said Christ; yet was he flesh, and no bread. 'Christ was the stone,' saith Paul;[6] and was indeed no material stone. 'Melchizedek had neither father nor mother;' and yet indeed he had both. 'Behold the Lamb of God,' saith John Baptist by Christ: notwithstanding, Christ was a man, and not a lamb. Circumcision was called the covenant, whereas it was but a token of the covenant. The lamb named the passover, and yet was it eaten in remembrance only of the passover. Jacob raised up an altar, and called it, being made but of lime and stone, 'The mighty God of Israel.' Moses, when he had conquered the Amalekites, set up an altar, and called it by the names of God, 'Jehovah' and 'Tetragramatum.' 'We are all one loaf of bread,' saith Paul;[7] yet were they not thereby turned into a loaf of bread. Christ, hanging upon the cross, appointed St. John to his mother, saying, 'Lo! there is thy son;' and yet was he not her son. 'So many as be baptized into Christ,' saith Paul, 'have put on Christ;'[8] and 'so many as are baptized into Christ, are washed with the blood of Christ:'[9] notwithstanding no man took the font-water to be the natural blood of Christ. 'The cup is the new testament,' saith Paul; and yet is not the cup indeed the very new testament. You see, therefore, that it is not strange, nor a thing unwont in the Scriptures, to call one thing by another's name. So that you can no more, of necessity, enforce the changing of the bread into Christ's body in the sacrament, because the words be plain, 'This is my body;' than the wife's flesh to be the natural and real body and flesh of the husband, because it is written, 'They are not two but one flesh;' or the altar of stone to be very God, because Moses, with evident and plain words, pronounced it to be the mighty God of Israel. Notwithstanding, if you will needs cleave to the letter, you make for me, and hinder your own cause: for thus I will reason, and use your own weapon against you. The Scripture calleth it bread. The evangelists agree in the same. Paul nameth it so five times in one place. The Holy Ghost may not be sent to school to learn to speak. Wherefore, I conclude by your own argument, that we ought not only to say, but also to believe, that in the sacrament there remaineth bread."

The evangelists, the old writers, and the catholic church.

The doctrine of the papists commonly standeth upon false reporters.

The sense of 'Hoc est corpus meum' expounded.

Figurative speeches most common in Scripture.

The name of bread used in Scripture.

(1) Matt. xxvi. (2) John xiv. (3) John x. (4) Acts iv. (5) Gen. xxxvii. (6) 1 Cor. x. (7) Ibid (8) Gal. iii. (9) Rom. vi.

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

Custom:—"Methinketh your answer is reasonable, yet can I not be satisfied. Declare you, therefore, more at large, what moveth you to think this of the sacrament. For I think you would not withstand a doctrine so long holden and taught, unless you were enforced by some strong and likely reasons."

Meaning of Christ's words expounded.

Verity:—"First, In examining the words of Christ, I get me to the meaning and purpose for which they were spoken. And in this behalf I see that Christ meant to have his death and passion kept in remembrance. For men, of themselves, be, and evermore were, forgetful of the benefits of God. And therefore it was behoveful, that they should be admonished and stirred up with some visible and outward tokens; as with the passover lamb, the brazen serpent, and the like. For the brazen serpent was a token, that when the Jews were stinged and wounded with serpents, God restored them and made them whole. The passover lamb was a memory of the great benefit of God, who, when he destroyed the Egyptians, saved the Jews, whose doors were sprinkled with the blood of a lamb. So likewise Christ left us a memorial and remembrance of his death and passion in outward tokens, that when the child should demand of his father, what the breaking of the bread, and drinking of the cup, meaneth, he might answer him, that like as the bread is broken, so Christ was broken and rent upon the cross, to redeem the soul of man. And likewise, as wine fostereth and comforteth the body, so doth the blood of Christ cherish and relieve the soul. And this do I gather by the words of Christ, and by the institution and order of the sacrament: for Christ charged the apostles to do this in the remembrance of him. Whereupon thus I conclude:

Festino.
No thing is done in remembrance of itself.
But the sacrament is used in the remembrance of Christ:
Therefore the sacrament is not Christ.

Ferison.
Christ never devoured himself.
Christ did eat the sacrament with his apostles:
Ergo, the sacrament is not Christ himself.

"Besides this, I see that Christ ordained not his body, but a sacrament of his body. A sacrament (as St. Austin declareth) is an outward sign of an invisible grace. His words are 'Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiæ visibile signum.' Out of which words, I gather two arguments. The first is this: the token of the body of Christ is not the thing tokened; wherefore they are not one. The second is this:

Ferison.
One thing cannot be both visible and invisible.
But the sacrament is visible, and the body of Christ invisible:
Therefore they are not one.

"Which thing St. Augustine openeth very well by these words, 'Aliud est sacramentum, aliud res sacramenti. Sacramentum est quod in corpus vadit: res autem sacramenti est corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi.' Moreover, I remember that Christ ministered this sacrament not to great and deep philosophers, but to a sort of ignorant and unlearned fishers, who, notwithstanding, understood Christ's meaning right well, and delivered it even as they took it at Christ's hand, to the vulgar and lay people, and fully declared unto them the meaning thereof. But neither the lay people, nor scarcely the apostles themselves, could understand what is meant by transubstantiation, impanation, dimensions, qualitates, quantitates, accidens sine subjecto, terminus a quo, et terminus ad quem, per modum quanti. This is no learning for the unlearned and rude people; wherefore it is likely that Christ meant some other thing than hath been taught of late days. Furthermore, Christ's body is food, not for the body but for the soul; and therefore it must be received with the instrument of the soul, which is faith. For as ye receive sustenance for your body, by your bodily mouth, so the food of your soul must be received by faith, which is the mouth of the soul. And for that, St. Augustine sharply rebuketh them that think to eat Christ with their mouth, saying, 'Quid paras dentem et ventrem? Crede et manducasti;'[1] that is, 'Why makest thou ready thy tooth and thy belly? Believe and thou hast eaten Christ.' Likewise, speaking of eating the selfsame body, he saith to the Capernaites, who took him grossly as men do now-a-days: 'The

Christ is no food for the body, but for the soul.

(1) Aug. in Joh. tract. 25.

words that I speak, are spirit and life. It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing.'[1] And St. Augustine upon these words of Christ saith, 'Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis, neque bibituri sanguinem, quem effusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis trado. Id spiritualiter acceptum vivificat: caro autem non prodest quicquam.'"[2]

Edward VI. A.D. 1549 to 1552.

Custom:—"What mean you by this spirit, and by spiritual eating? I pray you utter your mind more plainly. For I know well that Christ hath a body, and therefore must be eaten (as I think) with the mouth of the body. For the spirit and the soul as it hath no body and flesh, so it hath no mouth."

Verity:—"You must understand, that a man is shaped of two parts, of the body and of the soul; and each of them hath his life and his death, his mouth, his teeth, his food, and abstinence. For like as the body is nourished and fostered with bodily meats, or else cannot endure; so must the soul have his cherishing, otherwise it will decay and pine away. And therefore we do and may justly say, that the Turks, Jews, and heathen be dead, because they lack the lively food of the soul. But how then, or by what mean, will you aid the soul? Doubtless not by the instrument of the body, but of the soul; for that which is received into the body, hath no passage from thence into the soul. For Christ saith, 'Whatsoever entereth into the belly, is conveyed into the draught.'[3] And whereas you say that the spirit hath no mouth, like as it hath no body or bones, you are deceived; for the spirit hath a mouth, in his kind; or else how could a man eat and drink justice? For undoubtedly his bodily mouth is no fit instrument for it. Yet Christ saith, that he is blessed that hungereth and thirsteth for justice. If he hunger and thirst for justice, belike he both eateth and drinketh it; for otherwise he neither abateth his hunger, nor quencheth his thirst. Now, if a man may eat and drink righteousness with his spirit, no doubt his spirit hath a mouth. Whereof I will reason thus:

What it is to hunger and eat righteousness

Dati-si. Argument.

Of whatsoever sort the mouth is, such is his food.
But the mouth of the spirit is spiritual, not bodily:
Therefore it receiveth Christ's body spiritually, not bodily.

"And in like manner Christ, speaking of the eating of his body, nameth himself the bread, not for the body, but of life, for the soul; and saith, 'He that cometh to me, shall not hunger; and he that believeth in me, shall never thirst.'[4] Wherefore, whosoever will be relieved by the body of Christ, must receive him as he will be received, with the instrument of faith appointed thereunto, not with his teeth or mouth. And whereas I say that Christ's body must be received and taken with faith, I mean not that you shall pluck down Christ from heaven, and put him in your faith, as in a visible place; but that you must with your faith, rise and spring up to him, and, leaving this world, dwell above in heaven; putting all your trust, comfort, and consolation in him, who suffered grievous bondage to set you at liberty and to make you free; creeping into his wounds, which were so cruelly pierced and dented for your sake. So shall you feed on the body of Christ; so shall you suck the blood that was poured out and shed for you. This is the spiritual, the very true, the only eating of Christ's body: and therefore St. Gregory calleth it, 'Cibum mentis non ventris;' that is, 'The food of the mind, and not of the belly.' And St. Cyprian saith likewise, 'Non acuimus dentem, nec ventrem paramus:' i. e. 'We sharpen not our tooth, nor prepare our belly.'

How Christ's body is taken by faith.

"Now, to return to our former purpose: seeing it is plain that Christ's body is meat for our spirit, and hath nothing to do with our body, I will gather thereof this reason. The sacrament is bodily food, and increaseth the body: ergo, the sacrament is not the very body of Christ. That it nourisheth the body it is evident; for Christ calleth it the fruit of the vine, whose duty is to nourish. And, for a proof, if you consecrate a whole loaf, it will feed you as well as your table-bread. And if a little mouse get a host, he will crave no more meat to his dinner.

"But you will say, these are worldly reasons. What then if the old fathers record the same? Irenæus saith, 'Quando mixtus calix, et fractus panis per-

(1) John vi.
(2) That is to say: "You shall not eat the body which you see, and drink that blood which they shall shed that shall crucify me. I have commended to you a sacrament. Understand it spiritually, and it shall give you life: the flesh profiteth nothing." August. Quinquagent. 2. Ps. xcviii.
(3) Matt. v.
(4) John vi.

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

cipit verbum Dei, fit eucharistia corporis et sanguinis Domini, ex quibus augetur et consistit carnis nostræ substantia.[1] Bede witnesseth the same by these words, 'Quia panis carnem confirmat, et vinum sanguinem operatur in carne, hic ad corpus Christi mystice, illud ad sanguinem refertur.'[2] Wherefore, as I said before, seeing that Christ's body is spiritual meat, and the bread of the sacrament bodily, I may conclude that the sacrament is not Christ's body. Beside this, whereas it was forbidden, in the old law, that any man should eat or drink blood, the apostles, notwithstanding, took the cup at Christ's hands, and drank of it; and never staggered, or shrank at the matter: whereby it may be gathered, that they took it for a mystery, for a token and a remembrance, far otherwise than it hath of late been taken.

Drinking man's blood against the law.

Kneeling to the sacrament forbidden. Pope Honorius the third.

"Again, when the sacrament was dealt, none of them all crouched down, and took it for his God, forgetting him that sat there present before their eyes; but took it, and ate it, knowing that it was a sacrament and remembrance of Christ's body. Yea, the old councils commanded that no man should kneel down at the time of the communion, fearing that it should be an occasion of idolatry. And long after the apostles' time, as Tertullian writeth, women were suffered to take it home with them, and lap it up in their chests. And the priests, many times, sent it to sick persons by a child; who, no doubt, would have given more reverence thereto, if they had taken it for their God. But a great while after, about three hundred years ago, Honorius the Third, bishop of Rome, took him and hanged him up, and caused men to kneel and crouch down, and all to begod him. A. D. 1220.

Apostles and old doctors make no marvel at the sacrament.

"Furthermore, if the bread be turned and altered into the body of Christ, doubtless it is the greatest miracle that ever God wrought. But the apostles saw no miracle in it. Nazianzen an old writer, and Augustine, entreating of all the miracles that are in the Scripture, number the sacrament for none. As for the apostles, it appeareth well that they had it for no marvel, for they never mused at it, neither demanded how it might be; whereas, in other things, they evermore were full of questions. As touching St. Augustine, he not only overskipped it, as no wonder, but, by plain and express words, testifieth that there is no marvel in it. For speaking of the Lord's supper, and of the other sacraments, he saith these words: 'Hic sacramenta honorem ut religiosa habere possunt, stuporem autem ut mira non possunt'[3] Moreover, a little before the institution of the sacrament, Christ spake of his ascension, saying, 'I leave the world: I tarry but a little while with you. Let not your hearts be troubled, because I go from you: I tell you truth, it is for your profit that I go from you, for if I go not, the Spirit of comfort cannot come to you;'[4] with many other like warnings of his departure. St. Stephen saw him sitting at the right hand of his Father, and thought it a special revelation of God: but he never said, that he saw him at the communion, or that he made him every day himself. And, in the Acts of the Apostles, St. Peter saith, that Christ must needs keep the heaven till all be ended.[5] Isaiah, Solomon, and St. Stephen say, that God dwelleth not in temples made with man's hand.[6] St. Paul wisheth that he were dissolved and dead, and were with Christ: not in the altar, doubtless, where he might be daily; but in heaven. And, to be brief, it is in our Credo, and we do constantly believe, that Christ is ascended into heaven, and sitteth at his Father's right hand; and no promise have we, that he will come jumping down at every priest's calling. Hereof I gather this reason:

Christ's body cannot both be gone, and be here.
But he is gone, and hath left the world:
Therefore, it is folly to seek him in the world."

Custom:—"Fie, you be far deceived, I can in no wise brook these words. You shut up Christ too straitly, and imprison him in one corner of heaven, not suffering him to go at large.[7] No doubtless, he hath deserved more gentleness at your hand, than to be tied up so short."

(1) Irenæus, lib. v. contra Valentinum. (2) Beda supra Lucam.
(3) That is to say, sacraments here may have their honour as things religious, but they are not to be wondered at as miracles.
(4) John xiv. (5) Acts iii. (6) Acts xvii.
(7) If Christ were both gone and tarried, then he should seem to have left himself behind him.

Edward VI. A.D. 1549 to 1552.

Verity :—"I do neither lock up, nor imprison Christ in heaven; but according to the Scriptures, declare that he hath chosen a blessed place, and most worthy to receive his majesty; in which place whoso is enclosed, thinketh not himself (as I suppose) to be a prisoner. But, if you take it for so heinous a thing, that Christ should sit resident in heaven in the glory of his Father, what think you of them that imprison him in a little box; yea, and keep him in captivity so long, until he be mouldy and over-grown with vermin; and when he is past men's meat, be not contented to hang him till he stink, but will have him to a new execution, and burn him too? This is wonderful and extreme cruel imprisoning. But to return to the matter: we are certainly persuaded by the word of God, that Christ, the very Son of God, vouchsafed to take upon him the body and shape of man; and that he walked and was conversant amongst men in that same one, and not in many bodies; and that he suffered death, rose again, and ascended to heaven in the selfsame body; and that he sitteth at his Father's right hand in his manhood, in the nature and substance of the said one body. This is our belief, this is the very word of God. Wherefore they are far deceived, who, leaving heaven, will grope for Christ's body upon the earth."

The body of Christ imprisoned by the papists in a box, and afterward burned when mouldy

Custom :—"Nay, sir, but I see now you are far out of the way. For Christ hath not so gross and fleshly a body as you think, but a spiritual and ghostly body; and therefore, without repugnance, it may be in many places at once."

Christ's body is spiritual in the sacrament, say the papists.

Verity :—"You say right well, and do grant that Christ's body is spiritual. But, I pray you, answer me by the way, can any other body than that which is spiritual, be, at one time, in sundry places?"

Custom :—"No truly."

Verity :—"Have we that selfsame sacrament, that Christ gave to his disciples at his maundy, or no?"

Custom :—"Doubtless we have the same."

Verity :—"When was Christ's body spiritual? was it so even from his birth?"

Custom :—"No: for, doubtless, before he arose from death, his body was earthly, as other men's bodies are."

Verity :—"Well, but when gave Christ the sacrament to his disciples? Before he rose from death or after?"

Custom :—"You know yourself he gave it before his resurrection, the night before he suffered his passion."

Verity :—"Why then, methinketh he gave the sacrament at that time when his body was not spiritual."

Custom :—"Even so."

Verity :—"And was every portion of the sacrament dealt to the apostles? and received they into their mouths the very real and substantial body of Christ?"

Custom :—"Yea, doubtless."

Verity :—"Mark well what ye have said, for you have granted me great repugnance. First, you say, that no body being not spiritual, can be in sundry places at once. Then say you, that at the maundy, Christ's body was not spiritual: and yet hold you, that he was there present visibly before the apostles' eyes, and in each of their hands and mouths all at one time—which grants of yours are not agreeable. But I will gather a better and a more formal reason of your words, in this sort:

Fe- No body being real, natural, and organical, and not spiritual, can be in many places at once.

ri- Christ's body in the sacrament was in the apostles' hands and mouths at one time, which were many places:

son. Ergo, Christ's body in the sacrament was not a real, natural, and organical body; but spiritual."

Custom :—"Indeed you have driven me into the straits, before I was aware of you; and I know not how I may escape your hands honestly. But the best refuge that I have is this; that I will not believe you."

The papists, though they be convicted will not believe.

Verity :—"I desire you not to give credence to me. Believe the word of God; yea, believe your own belief: for they both witness against you, that Christ's body is taken up into heaven, and there shall remain until he come to judge."

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

Custom:—"Tush, what speak you of the word of God? there be many dark sayings therein, which every man cannot attain to."

Verity:—"I grant you there be certain obscure places in the Scripture, yet not so obscure but that a man, with the grace of God, may perceive; for it was written not for angels, but for men. But, as I understand, Custom meddleth but little with the Scripture. How say you by St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose? what if they stand on our side?"

Custom meddleth but little with Scripture.

Custom:—"No, no, I know them well enough."

Verity:—"So well as you know them, for all old acquaintance, if they be called to witness, they will give evidence against you. For St. Austin commonly, in every of his books, but chiefly in an epistle to his friend Dardanus, declareth that Christ's body is placed in one room. I marvel you be not nearer of his counsel. His words are these:[1] 'Do not doubt the man Jesus Christ to be there, from whence he shall come. And remember well, and faithfully believe, the christian confession, that he is risen, ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, and from thence he shall come, and from no other place, to judge the quick and the dead. And shall come in the same substance of body, to which he gave immortality, and took not the nature from it. After this form he is to be thought not to be dispersed in all places; for we must beware so to defend his divinity that we destroy not his humanity.' And in another place of the same epistle, 'Una persona Deus et homo; et utrumque est unus Christus. Ubique per id quod Deus, in cœlo autem per id quod homo.' Likewise upon Psalm xiv.:[2] 'While the world shall last, the Lord is above, and also the verity of the Lord is with us. For the body wherein he rose again must be in one place; but the verity of him is everywhere dispersed.' In like manner writeth Damasus, an old bishop of Rome in his Credo, 'Devictis mortis imperiis, cum ea carne in qua natus et passus est et resurrexit, ascendit in cœlum, manente eadem natura carnis in qua natus et passus est.' St. Ambrose, writing upon Luke x. recordeth the same:[3] 'Wherefore neither above the earth, nor upon the earth, nor according to the earth, we ought to seek the Lord, if we will find him; for he did not seek him above the earth, who did see him sitting at the right hand of God. And Mary sought upon the earth to touch Christ and could not. Stephen touched him, because he sought him in heaven.' St. Jerome, in an epistle to Marcella, proveth that the body of Christ must needs be contained in some place, for he saith,[4] 'The property of God is to be everywhere; the property of man is to be in one place.' The same Jerome, in another place, calleth it a foolish thing to seek for him in a narrow place, or in a corner, who is the light of all the world:[5] 'Foolishness it is, in a small place or in a hid corner to seek him who is the light of the whole world.' Origen saith likewise,[6] 'They are not to be heard, who show Christ in houses.' The same also recordeth Bede, writing upon these words of Christ: 'Now a little while shall you see me.'[7] He speaketh in Christ's person. 'Therefore,' saith he, 'shall you see me but a little while after my resurrection; because I will not still abide in the earth bodily; but, in the manhood which I have taken, will ascend up to heaven.' What needeth more words? All the old fathers witness the same. You may by these soon judge the rest. Now to return to the matter: Seeing that the word of God in many and sundry places, the Credo, and the Abridgment of the Faith, seeing all the old fathers do constantly agree in one, that the body of Christ is ascended into heaven, and there remaineth at the right hand of the Father, and cannot be in more than in one place, I do conclude that the sacrament is not the body of

Damasus.

Jerome.

Origen.

(1) "Noli dubitare ibi nunc esse hominem Christum Jesum, unde venturus est. Memoriterque recole et fideliter crede Christianam confessionem; 'quoniam resurrexit, ascendit in cœlum, sedet a dextris Dei patris, nec aliunde quam inde venturus est, ad vivos mortuosque judicandos.' Et venturus est in eadem corporis substantia, cui immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit. Secundum hanc formam non est putandus ubique diffusus. Cavendum enim est ne ita divinitatem astruamus hominis ut humanitatem mittamus Dei."

(2) Donec seculum finiatur sursum est Dominus: sed etiam hic nobiscum est veritas Domini. Corpus enim in quo resurrexit in uno loco esse oportet; veritas autem ejus ubique diffusa est.

(3) Ergo non supra terram, nec in terra, nec secundum terram quærere debemus Dominum, si volumus invenire. Non enim supra terram quæsivit, qui stantem ad Dei dextram vidit. Maria quærebat in terra tangere Christum et non potuit; Stephanus tetigit quia quærebat in cœlo. Ambros. in 10 cap. Luc.

(4) "Veri Dei est ubique esse; veri hominis alicubi esse." Hierom. ad Marc.

(5) Stultum est eum parvo in loco vel abscondito quærere, qui totius mundi est lumen.

(6) Audiendi non sunt qui Christum demonstrant in ædibus.

(7) Bed. in 17 cap. Joan.

Christ; first, because it is not in heaven, neither sitteth at the Father's right hand; moreover, because it is in a hundred thousand boxes, whereas Christ's body filleth but one place. Furthermore, if the bread were turned into the body of Christ, then would it necessarily follow, that sinners and unpenitent persons receive the body of Christ."

Edward VI. A.D. 1549 to 1552.

Custom:—"Marry, and so they do. For Paul saith plainly, that they receive the body of Christ to their own confusion."

The sacrament is not the real body of Christ, and why. The wicked receive not the cup of Christ. Ambrose. The place of St. Paul of receiving unworthily expounded. Augustine.

Verity:—"No, not so. These are not Paul's words, but he saith, 'Whoso eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own condemnation, not judging the body of the Lord.' Here he calleth it, in plain words, bread. And although the sacrament be very bread, yet doth the injury redound to the body of Christ. As if a man break the king's mace, or tread the broad seal under his foot, although he have broken and defaced nothing but silver and wax; yet is the injury the king's, and the doer shall be taken as a traitor. St. Ambrose declareth the meaning of St. Paul by these words, 'Reus est corporis Domini, qui pœnas dabit mortis Christi, quoniam irritam fecit mortem Domini.' The cause of the ordinance thereof was the remembrance of the death of Christ, which whoso forgetteth, receiveth the sacrament to their condemnation. That same witnesseth St. Augustine: 'For the sacrament,' saith he, 'is an outward token of love and charity. For like as many grains of corn are become one piece of bread, even so they that receive it, ought to be one.' Then saith he, 'Mysterium pacis ac unitatis nobis Christus in mensa sua consecravit. Qui accepit mysterium unitatis et non servat unitatem, non mysterium accepit pro se, sed testimonium contra se.' He that readeth the gospel, wherein is declared the passion and death of Christ, and liveth contrary to the gospel, shall doubtless be the more guilty of the death of Christ, because he heareth and readeth the word of God, and regardeth it not.

"In a certain country the manner is, that when the gospel is read, the king shall stand up with a naked sword in his hand, declaring thereby that he beareth his sword in defence of the gospel. But if he himself oppresseth the gospel, he beareth the sword against himself; for the gospel shall turn to his judgment and condemnation. So will Christ so much more extremely punish a man, who, knowing himself to be wicked and without repentance, and therefore none of the flock of Christ, yet, notwithstanding, will impudently creep into the company of christian men, and receive the sacraments with them, as though he were one of the number. And this meant St. Paul by the unworthy receiving of a sacrament of Christ's body. Wherefore a man may unworthily take the sacrament, and be guilty of the death of Christ, although he receive not Christ's body into his mouth, and chew it with his teeth.—But what if I prove that every massing priest is guilty of the body and blood of Christ?"

Custom:—"I dare say you cannot prove it."

Verity:—"But if I do prove it, will you believe me?"

Confession.

Custom:—"I may well enough, for it is impossible to do it; for priests commonly are confessed before they go to mass; and how can they then take the sacrament unworthily?"

Verity:—"Indeed confession, if it be discreetly used, is a laudable custom, and to the unlearned man and feeble conscience so good as a sermon: but, notwithstanding, because it was never commanded of Christ, nor received of the apostles, nor much spoken of by the old doctors, it cannot make much for the due receiving of the sacrament. But how like ye these words of St. Ambrose?[1] 'He taketh it unworthily, that taketh it otherwise than Christ ordained it.'" Ambrose.

Custom:—"This liketh me very well. But what gather you of it?"

Verity:—"This will I gather. The massing priest taketh the sacrament otherwise than Christ either commanded or taught: ergo, he taketh it unworthily, and so consequently to his condemnation."

Custom:—"That is not so, for he doth altogether as Christ commanded him."

Verity:—"That shall appear; for Christ commanded it to be done in his remembrance: the priest doth it in remembrance of dead men. Christ took bread, and left it bread: the priest taketh bread and conjureth it away. Christ took bread and gave thanks: the priest taketh bread and breatheth upon it. Christ took bread and brake it: the priest taketh bread and hangeth it up. Christ

(1) "Is indigne sumit, qui aliter sumit quam Christus instituit."

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

took bread and dealt it to his apostles: the priest, because he is an apostle himself, taketh bread and eateth it every whit alone. Christ, in a sacrament, gave his own body to be eaten in faith: the priest, for lack of faith, receiveth accidents, and dimensions. Christ gave a sacrament to strengthen men's faith: the priest giveth a sacrifice to redeem men's souls. Christ gave it to be eaten: the priest giveth it to be worshipped. And to conclude, Christ gave bread: the priest saith he giveth a God. Here is difference enough between Christ and the priest. Yet moreover, Christ, at his supper, spake his words out, and in a plain tongue: the priest speaketh nothing but Latin or Greek, which tongues he oftentimes perceiveth not; and much he whispereth, lest any poor man should perhaps perceive him. So it cometh to pass, that the priest knoweth no more what he himself saith, than what he doth. Thus you may see that the massing priest receiveth the sacrament of Christ's body far otherwise than ever Christ minded; and so therefore unworthily, and to his condemnation.

Difference between Christ's ordinance and the priest's receiving.

"Now, if you think yourself satisfied, I will return to my former question, and prove more at large, that Christ's body cannot be eaten of the wicked, which thing must necessarily ensue, if the bread were turned into the body of Christ. Christ, in John vi., speaking of the eating of his body, saith, 'He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever.' Whereof I gather thus: but sinful men take the sacrament to their condemnation, and live not for ever; ergo, in the sacrament they receive not the body of Christ. Again, Christ saith, 'He that eateth me shall live for my sake.' Hereof I conclude thus: but impenitent persons cannot live for Christ's sake. Moreover Christ's body must be received, not with the mouth, as Gregory recordeth, saying, that it is eaten with the teeth of the soul, not of the body, as I have above more largely declared. But wicked and impenitent persons lack faith; wherefore they cannot eat the body of Christ. Again, Christ's body cannot be divided from his spirit; but wicked men have not the spirit of God: ergo, they have not Christ's body. Hereunto agree all the old writers, affirming constantly, that the unfaithful be no meet vessels to receive the body of Christ. St. Augustine saith, 'Qui non manet in Christo, et in quo non manet Christus, procul dubio non manducat carnem Christi, nec bibit ejus sanguinem, quamvis tantæ rei mysterium ad judicium suum manducet, ac bibat.' And in the person of Christ, he saith likewise, 'Qui non manet in me, et in quo ego non maneo, ne se dicat aut existimet manducare corpus meum, aut sanguinem meum bibere.' Ambrose avoweth the same by these words: 'Qui discordat a Christo non manducat carnem ejus, nec bibit sanguinem, etsi tantæ rei sacramentum accipiat.' In like manner writeth Prosper, 'Qui discordat a Christo, nec carnem Christi edit, nec sanguinem bibit, etsi tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium suæ præsumptionis quotidie accipiat.' And therefore St. Augustine saith, 'Mali sacramentum habent, rem autem sacramenti non habent.' Thus by the word of God, by reason, and by the old fathers it is plain, that sinful men eat not the body of Christ, receive they the sacrament never so oft: which thing could not be, if in the sacrament there remained nothing but the body of Christ.

Augustine. Ambrose. Prosper. Augustine.

"The sacrament in holy Scripture is named 'fractio panis,' 'the breaking of bread;' which, to say the truth, were but a cold breaking, if there remained no bread to break, but certain fantasies of white and round. Yet whereas they, with words, crossings, blessings, breathings, leapings, and much ado, can scarcely make one god, they have such virtue in their fingers, that at one cross they be able to make twenty gods; for if they break the sacrament, every portion, yea, every mite, must needs be a god. After the apostles' time there arose up heretics, who said that Christ, walking here amongst men bodily upon the earth, had no very body, but a thing like a body, and so therewith dimmed men's sight. Against whom the old fathers used these arguments: Christ increased in growing, fasted, hungered, eat, wept, sweat, was weary, and in conclusion died, and had all other properties of a very body: wherefore he had a body. I will use the same kind of reasoning: It feedeth, it tasteth like bread, it looketh like bread, the little silly mouse taketh it for bread, and, to be short, it hath all the properties and tokens of bread: ergo, it is bread. The old fathers, when there remained any part of the sacrament more than was spent at the communion, they used to burn it, and of it there came ashes. But there is nothing in the sacrament that can turn to ashes but only bread (for I think they burned not Christ's body to ashes): ergo, in the sacrament there remaineth

The sacrament called breaking of bread.

Against transubstantiation.

Edward VI.

A. D. 1549 to 1552.

bread. Henry the emperor, the sixth of that name, was poisoned in the host, and Victor the bishop of Rome in the chalice. But poison cannot hang in God's body and blood: wherefore there remaineth bread and wine. What needeth many words in a matter so evident? If you demand either God's word, or the doctors and the ancient writers, or your reason, or your eyes, or nose, or tongue, or fingers, or the cat, or the ape, or the mouse, all these agree in one, and answer together, 'There is bread.' Wherefore, if you reject so many and so constant witnesses, and so well agreeing in their tale, specially being such as will lie for no man's pleasure, I will appeal from you, and take you as no indifferent judge. If all these witnesses suffice you not, I will call the sacrament itself to record. It crieth unto you, and plainly doth advertise you, what you should think of it. 'I am,' it saith, 'grated with the tooth; I am conveyed into the belly; I perish; I can endure no space; I canker; I suffer green mould, blue mould, red mould; I breed worms; I am kept in a box for fear of rats. If you leave me out all night, I shall be devoured before morning, for if the mouse get me, I am gone. I am bread; I am no God: believe them not.' Thus crieth the sacrament daily, and beareth witness itself.

Reasons proving bread in the sacrament.

The sacrament giveth witness that it is bread.

Custom:—"The devil on such like reasons! and therefore I will never trouble my brains to make you answer: but, if it be true that you have said, why is the sacrament so well of Christ himself, as of his apostles, and the old fathers, called the body of Christ?"

Verity:—"Because it is no strange thing in Scripture so to speak; as I have declared before.—But will you stand to St. Augustine's arbitrement in the matter?"

Custom:—"To no man sooner."

Verity:—St. Augustine, in an epistle to his friend Boniface, giveth a good cause why the sacrament, although it be not the body of Christ, is, notwithstanding, called the body of Christ. His words be these:[1] 'If sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they be sacraments, then were they no sacraments; of the which similitude many times they take their name. Wherefore, after a certain manner the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ; and the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ,' etc. And upon Psalm xxiii. he writeth likewise,[2] 'Christ, after a certain manner and fashion, as it were, did bear himself in his own hand, when he said, This is my body.' 'In manner,' he saith, 'and after a fashion;' not in very deed. Again, when faithful men receive the sacrament, they think not of the bread, nor mark the wine, but they look further, and behold the very body of Christ spread upon the cross, and his very blood poured down for their sakes. So in baptism men regard not greatly the water, but account themselves washed with the blood of Christ. So saith St. Paul, 'Whatsoever we are that be baptized, we are washed in the blood of Christ.'[3] Wherefore to the faithful receivers you may say, that the water of baptism is the blood of Christ, and the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ: for to them it is no less than if the natures were altered and changed. Which thing you may very well learn of Chrysostome, whose words are these:[4] 'All mysteries must be considered with inward eyes, that is to say, spiritually. But the inward eyes, when they see the bread, they pass over the creatures, neither do they think of that bread which is baked of the baker, but of him which called himself the bread of eternal life.' For these two causes the bread and wine are called the body and blood of Christ. Now I think you are satisfied concerning the meaning of these words: 'This is my body.'"

Why the Scripture calleth the sacrament the body of Christ.

Another cause why.

Custom:—"Yet one thing moveth me very much."

Verity:—"What is that?"

Custom:—"The doctors and old writers, men inspired with the Holy Ghost, have evermore been against your doctrine; yea, and in these days the wisest men and best learned call you heretics, and your learning heresy."

Custom standeth upon authority.

(1) "Si sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque earum rerum nomina accipiunt. Ergo, secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est; sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est." Aug. ad Bonif. Epist. 23.

(2) "Christus quodammodo se ferebat in manibus suis, cum diceret, Hoc est corpus meum."

(3) Rom. vi.

(4) "Mysteria omnia interioribus oculis consideranda sunt, hoc est, spiritualiter. Interiores autem oculi, postquam panem vident, creaturas transvolant, neque de illo pane a pistore cocto cogitant, sed de eo qui se dixit panem esse æternæ vitæ." Chrys. in Joh. Hom. 46.

Edward VI. A.D. 1549 to 1552.

Verity:—"As touching the old writers, I remember well they speak reverently of the sacraments, like as every man ought to do; but whereas they deliver their mind with their right hand, you, Custom, receive it with the left. For whereas they say, that it is the body of Christ, and that it must be verily eaten, meaning that it doth effectually lay before the eyes Christ's body, and that it is to the faithful man no less than if it were Christ himself, and that Christ must be eaten in faith, not torn nor rent with the teeth: you say, that howsoever it be taken, it is Christ's body, and that there is none other eating but with the mouth.

The doctors, on the sacrament of the body of Christ. Their words against the pope's doctrine.

"And that the fathers meant no other thing than I have said, it shall appear by their words. But as touching the learned and wise men of these days, I cannot blame them if they call my doctrine heresy; for they would condemn all ancient writers of heresy, if they were now alive. But I will answer you to them anon. In the mean while mark you how well their learning agreeth. They say, 'You must follow the letter; you must stick to the letter.' But Origen saith,[1] 'If ye follow after the letter that which is written, Unless ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, there shall be no life in you—this letter killeth.'

"Augustine in the third book, 'De Doctrina Christiana;'[2] 'First, thou must beware that thou take not a figurative speech after the letter. For thereto pertaineth that the apostle saith, The letter killeth. For when a thing is spiritually meant, and the same is taken literally as properly spoken, that is a carnal taking. Neither can any other be called the killing of the soul, rather than that.' And in the same book he teacheth a man to know the plain sense from a figure, saying thus:[3] 'If the commanding speech be such as commandeth a thing wicked and horrible to be done, or a charitable thing to be undone, then this is a figurative speech: Unless ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, and shall drink his blood, there shall be no life in you. Because in this speech he seemeth to command a wicked thing, it is therefore a figurative speech, commanding that we should communicate with the passion of our Lord, and sweetly to retain it in our remembrance.

A rule to know a figurative speech from the literal.

"In like manner Chrysostome plucketh you from the plain letter, and the bare words by this saying,[4] 'The flesh profiteth not;' that is to say, 'My words must be taken and expounded after the Spirit. For he that heareth after the flesh, gaineth nothing. Now what is it to understand carnally? To take things simply as they be spoken, and not to consider any meaning further therein. For things must not be judged as they are seen, but all mysteries must be seen with inward eyes, that is to say spiritually.'

"What is so heinous in these days, as to call the sacrament the token or the remembrance of Christ's body? Yet did the old writers in manner never call it other. Tertullian in the fourth book against the Marcionists,[5] 'Christ took bread and made it his body, saying, This is my body; that is to say, a figure of my body.' Ambrose, upon Corinthians xi.:[6] 'Because we are delivered by the Lord's death, in the remembrance of the same by eating and drinking, we signify the body and blood which were offered up for us.' Chrysostome, in the eighty-third Homily upon the Gospel of Matthew:[7] 'When they object unto us, and ask, How know you that Christ was offered up? then, alleging these

(1) "Si secundum literam sequaris id quod scriptum est, Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, non erit vita in vobis, ea litera occidit." Orig. in Levit. hom.

(2) "Principio cavendum est ne figuratam dictionem secundum literam accipias. Ad hoc enim pertinet id quod ait apostolus, litera occidit. Cum enim figurate dictum sic accipitur tanquam proprie dictum sit, carnaliter sapitur; neque ulla animæ mors congruentius appellatur." Aug. de Doct. Christi, lib. iii. c. 16. 1 Cor. iii.

(3) "Si præceptiva locutio est flagitium jubens, aut beneficentiam vetans, figura est: Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, et biberitis ejus sanguinem, non erit vita in vobis. Flagitium videtur jubere: ergo, figura est præcipiens passioni Domini esse communicandum, et suaviter in memoria recondendum, quòd pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa sit." Aug. de Doct. Christi, lib. iii. c. 16.

(4) 'Caro non prodest; hoc est, secundum spiritum verba mea intelligenda sunt. Quia qui secundum carnem audit, nihil lucratur. Quid est autem carnaliter intelligere? Simpliciter ut res dicuntur, neque aliud quippiam cogitare. Non enim ita judicanda sunt quæ videntur, sed mysteria omnia interioribus oculis videnda sunt, hoc est, spiritualiter." Chrys. in Joh. hom. 46.

(5) "Christus accepit panem, et corpus suum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei." Tertul. contra Marc. lib. iv.

(6) "Quia morte Domini liberati sumus, hujus rei memores in edendo et potando, carnem et sanguinem quæ pro nobis oblata sunt significamus." Ambrose, in 1 Cor. xi.

(7) "Quando dicunt, Unde patet Christum immolatum fuisse? hæc adferentes eorum ora consuimus. Si enim mortuus Christus non est, cujus symbolum ac signum hoc sacrificium est?" Chrys. in Mat. hom. 83. [It is stated to be the eighty-second in Montfaucon's Edition, vol. vii. p. 889 Paris, 1836.—Ed.]

things, we stop their mouths. For, if Christ died not, then whose sign or token is this sacrifice?' Augustine to Adimantus:[1] 'Christ doubted not to say, This is my body, when he gave but a sign of his body.' Augustine upon Ps. iii.[2] 'Christ received Judas to the supper, in which he commended and delivered a figure of his body and blood unto his disciples.' Rabanus,[3] 'Because the bread strengtheneth the body, therefore it is aptly called Christ's body. And likewise the wine, because it increaseth blood in the flesh, it doth resemble the blood of Christ.' The monk Druthmar, on Matthew:[4] 'Wine maketh glad the heart, and increaseth blood; and therefore the blood of Christ is not unaptly signified thereby.' Irenæus witnesseth plainly, that in the sacrament remaineth bread and wine, by these words:[5] 'As the earthly bread, receiving the vocation of God, is now no common bread, but the eucharist, consisting of two things, the one earthly and the other heavenly.' Here he recordeth, that there remaineth in the sacrament an earthly nature, which is either bread, or nothing. Gelasius writing against Nestorius avoweth the same, saying,[6] 'In the eucharist the substance of bread and nature of the wine cease not to be. For the image and similitude of the body and blood of the Lord is celebrated in the action of the mysteries.' Chrysostome[7] preferreth a poor man before the sacrament, and calleth him the body of Christ, rather than the other. Whereof I may gather this reason:

Gelasius.

Bocardo.

The poor man is not the natural and real body of Christ.
Every poor member of Christ is the body of Christ, rather than the sacrament:[8]
Ergo, the sacrament is not the natural and real body of Christ.

"His words are:[9] 'This altar thou dost reverence, because the body of Christ therein is set before thee. But him that is the body of Christ indeed, thou dost spitefully entreat, and dost neglect him ready to perish.' Chrysostome in the eleventh Homily upon Matthew:[10] 'If it be so perilous a matter to translate these sanctified vessels unto private uses, in which not the true body of Christ, but a mystery of the body of Christ is contained, how much more then these vessels of our body?' Athanasius upon these words: 'Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man,' saith:[11] 'The words that Christ here speaketh, be not carnal, but spiritual. For what body might have sufficed for all that should eat, to be a nourishment of the whole world? But therefore he maketh mention of the ascension of the Son of man into heaven, to the intent to pluck them away from that corporal cogitation.' Augustine to Marcellinus:[12] 'In those carnal oblations the flesh of Christ was figured, which he should offer for our sins, and the blood which he should bestow for us; but, in this sacrifice, is the giving of thanks and memorial of the flesh of Christ

(1) "Non dubitavit Christus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui." Aug. ad Adimantum.

(2) "Christus adhibuit Judam ad convivium, in quo corporis et sanguinis sui figuram discipulis suis commendavit et tradidit." Aug. in Psalm iii.

(3) "Quia panis corpus confirmat, ideo ille corpus Christi congruenter nuncupatur. Vinum autem quia sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur." Raban. de Instit. Clericorum.

(4) "Vinum lætificat, et sanguinem auget, et ideo non inconvenienter per hoc sanguis Christi figuratur."

(5) "Quemadmodum terrenus panis percipiens vocationem Dei, jam non communis panis est, sed eucharistia ex duabus rebus constans, terrena, et cœlesti." Iren. contra Valentin. lib. iii.

(6) "In eucharistia non esse desinit substantia panis, et natura vini. Etenim imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Domini in actione mysteriorum celebratur."

(7) Chrys. Hom. 20. in Epist. 2. ad Corinth. (8) Chrysostome.

(9) "Hoc altare veneraris quoniam in eo proponitur corpus Christi. Eum autem qui re ipsa corpus est Christi, afficis contumelia, et negligis pereuntem."

(10) "Quod si hæc vasa sanctificata ad privatos usus est transferre periculosum, in quibus non verum corpus Christi sed mysterium corporis Christi continetur, quanto magis vasa corporis nostri?" Chrys. in Hom. 11, super Matt.

(11) "Ea quæ Christus dicit non sunt carnalia, sed spiritualia. Quod enim comedentibus sufficisset corpus, ut totius mundi fieret alimonia? Sed idcirco meminit Ascensionis Filii hominis in cœlum, ut eos a corporali cogitatione avelleret." Athanas. in verba Evang. "Qui dixerit verbum in Filium hominis."

(12) "In illis carnalibus victimis figuratio fuit carnis Christi, quam pro peccatis nostris erat oblaturus, et sanguinis quem erat effusurus; in isto autem sacrificio gratiarum actio atque commemoratio est carnis Christi quam pro nobis obtulit, et sanguinis, quem pro nobis effudit. In illo ergo sacrificio, quid nobis sit donandum figurate significatur; In hoc autem sacrificio quid nobis donatum sit, evidenter ostenditur. In illis sacrificiis prænunciabatur Filius Dei occidendus: in hoc pro impiis annunciatur occisus." August. ad Marcellinum.

Edward VI. A.D. 1549 to 1552.

which he hath offered for us, and of the blood which he hath shed for us. In that sacrifice, therefore, is signified figuratively what should be given for us; in this sacrifice what is given to us is evidently declared. In those sacrifices the Son of God was before preached to be slain; in this sacrifice he is showed to be slain already for the wicked.'

"Origen, upon Matthew, expounding these words, 'This is my body,' saith:[1] 'The bread which Christ confesseth to be his body, is a word nutritive of our souls.' Augustine:[2] 'No man ought in any wise to doubt but that every faithful man is then partaker of the body and blood of the Lord, when in baptism he is made a member of Christ. For he shall not be deprived of the participation and benefit of that sacrament, when he findeth in himself that thing which the sacrament doth signify.' Ambrose:[3] 'Such is the force and strength of the word, that the bread and wine remain the same, as they were, and yet are changed into another thing.' For it is not any longer common bread, but it is turned into a sacrament; yet notwithstanding there remaineth bread and wine. Tertullian writing against a heretic named Marcion, who taught that the creatures of God, as flesh, bread, and wine, and such like, were naught and uncleanly:[4] 'God hath not cast away his creature, but by it he hath represented his body.' Origen upon Leviticus, speaking of the drinking of Christ's blood, saith,[5] 'We do not desire the blood of the flesh, but the blood of the word.' Ambrose called the sacrament, 'typum corporis Christi,' and Basil 'antitypum,' which is as much as to say, as a token, a figure, a remembrance, and example of Christ's body. Origen upon Matthew xiv.:[6] 'In this bread that thing which is material passeth through man's body: but that which is made by the word of God, by means of faith doth profit.' And lest perhaps you think that he spake those words of our common table-bread, he concludeth the matter himself with these words:[7] 'These things we have spoken of the mystical bread.' Augustine declareth, that it must needs be a figure and a remembrance of the body of Christ:[8] 'These things are understood figuratively, according to the rule of sound and true faith. For otherwise it seemeth to be more horrible to eat man's flesh, than to kill a man; and more horrible to drink man's blood, than to shed it.' And therefore he saith upon Psalm xcviii.:[9] 'Ye shall not eat this body which you see, and drink that blood which they shall shed that shall crucify me; I commend unto you a sacrament.' Tertullian:[10] 'Jesus hath another body than bread; for bread was not given for us, but the very true body of Christ was given upon the cross; which body was exhibited in the supper under the figure of bread.' This recordeth Theodoret, an ancient writer, and avoweth, that there is no turning or altering of the bread in the sacrament. His words are these:[11] 'He hath honoured and dignified the visible signs with the name of his body and of his blood, not changing the nature, but adding grace to nature.' And in another place, where he maketh a true christian man to reason with a heretic, he giveth to the heretic this part: to hold with the turning of bread and wine into the natural body and blood of Christ. The heretic's words are these:[12] 'The sacraments of the Lord's body and blood before invocation, are one thing; but after, they are changed and made another.' This maketh Theodoret to be on the heretic's part. Then he bringeth forth the

Ambrose.

Tertullian.

Theodoret

(1) "Panis iste quem Christus corpus suum fatetur esse, verbum est nutritorium animarum." Origen in Matt.

(2) "Nulli aliquatenus dubitandum, unumquemque fidelium corporis et sanguinis Domini tunc esse participem, quando in baptismate membrum efficitur Christi. Sacramenti quippe illius participatione ac beneficio non privabitur, quando in se hoc invenit quod sacramentum significat." August. in Sermone.

(3) "Tanta est vis verbi, ut panis et vinum maneant quæ sunt, et mutentur in aliud."

(4) "Non abjecit Deus creaturam suam, sed ea repræsentavit corpus suum."

(5) "Non sanguinem carnis expetimus, sed sanguinem verbi."

(6) "In isto pane, quod est materiale ejicitur in secessum: id autem quod fit per verbum Dei, pro fidei ratione prodest." Origen super Matt. cap. xiv.

(7) "Hæc diximus de pane symbolico."

(8) "Ista secundum sanæ fidei regulam figurate intelliguntur. Nam alioqui horribilius videtur esse humanam carnem vorare quam perimere, et humanum sanguinem potare quam fundere." Augustinus, contra adversarium Legis et Prophetarum.

(9) "Non hoc corpus quod videtis estis manducaturi, nec bibituri sanguinem quem fundent qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis trado." August. in Psalm xcviii.

(10) "Aliud a pane corpus Jesus habet: nec pro nobis panis traditus, sed ipsum Christi verum corpus traditum est in crucem, quod panis figura in cœna exhibitum est."

(11) "Symbola visibilia corporis et sanguinis sui appellatione honoravit, non mutans naturam, sed naturæ addens gratiam."

(12) "Sacramenta Dominici corporis et sanguinis alia sunt ante sacram invocationem; post invocationem vero mutantur, et alia fiunt."

true christian man, who reproveth the heretic for so saying:[1] 'Thou art fallen into the snares which thou thyself hast laid. For those selfsame holy signs after the consecration, do not go from their nature, for they abide still, both in their former substance and figure; and may be both with eyes seen, and felt with hands, as before.' To the same agreeth well Chrysostome, saying,[2] 'After the bread is sanctified, it is called bread no more, although the nature of the bread still remain.' Hereby you may understand, how and in what sort the old fathers, how the primitive and beginning church, how the apostles, and how Christ himself, took these words, 'This is my body.'

Edward VI. A. D. 1549 to 1552.

Chrysostome.

"Now, to withstand and stoutly to go, not against only ancient writers, or the congregation of christian people (which at that time was not overgrown, no, neither spotted with covetousness and worldly honour), but the apostles also, and God himself, no doubt it is great fondness. But what speak I of the old fathers? It is not long since the sacrament grew out of its right understanding. For this word 'transubstantiatio,' whereby they signify the turning of the bread into the body of Christ, was never either spoken or heard or thought of, among the ancient fathers, or in the old church. But about five hundred years past, pope Nicholas II., in a council holden at Lateran in Rome, confirmed that opinion of the changing of bread, and would have made an article of faith, and placed it in the 'Credo.' After which time ensued Corpus Christi day, masses of Corpus Christi, reservation of the sacrament with honour, with canopies, with censing, with kneeling, with worshipping and adoration, and with so much as any man could devise. For they thought they could not do too much to him, after that the bishop of Rome had allowed him for a God.

Transubstantiation a new invention.

"But not fully two hundred years before that time, when this doctrine first began to bud (and yet notwithstanding had not so prevailed, but that a great number of learned and good men could know the sacrament to be a sacrament, and not Christ himself), Charlemagne, king of France and emperor of Germany, demanded of a great learned man, whose name was Bertram, what he thought of that strange kind of calling down Christ from heaven, and turning a little gobbet of bread into his natural body. To whom Bertram made answer in this wise:[3] 'This we say, That there is a great difference and separation betwixt the body in which Christ suffered, and the blood which he shed upon the cross, and this body which every day is celebrated in the mystery of the passion of Christ. For this body is a pledge and similitude, but the other is the very truth itself. Ergo, it appeareth that these are separated asunder by no less difference than is between a pledge, and the thing whereof the pledge is given; or than is betwixt an image of a thing, and the thing itself whereof the image is; or than is between the form of a thing, and the verity itself. This wrote Bertram, Druthmar, and many others, and yet were never in all their time once reproved of heresy. This wrote Johannes Scotus also, in whose lifetime men had not eyes to espy his heresies: but, about two hundred years after his death, he was judged and condemned for a heretic, and his books burned, in a council holden at Vercelli in Lombardy, in the year of our Lord God 1050. Since which time, even until this day, although idolatry had great increase, yet there never wanted some good men, who boldly would profess and set forth the truth; although they were well assured that their worldly reward should be spite, malice, imprisoning, sword, fire, and all kinds of torments. Thus, so shortly, and in so few words as I could, I have declared unto you what Christ meant by these words, 'This is my body;' what the apostles taught therein, and in what sort they delivered them to their successors; in what sense and meaning the holy fathers and old writers, and the universal and catholic church, have evermore taken them."

Bertram.

Bertram condemned for a heretic after his death.

(1) "Incidisti in laqueos quos ipse struxeras: neque enim sancta illa symbola post consecrationem discedunt a natura sua: manent enim in priori et substantia et figura, etenim oculis videri et digitis palpari ut ante possunt."

(2) "Postquam sanctificatur panis, non amplius appellatur panis, tametsi maneat natura panis."

(3) "Dicimus quod multa differentia separantur corpus in quo passus est Christus et sanguis quem in cruce pendens fudit, et hoc corpus quod in mysterio passionis Christi quotidie a fidelibus celebratur. Etenim hoc corpus pignus et species est, illud autem ipsa veritas. Apparet ergo quod tam multa differentia separentur, quantum est inter pignus et eam rem pro qua pignus traditur, et quantum inter imaginem, et rem eam cujus imago est, et quantum inter speciem et veritatem."

Edward VI.

The End and Death of King Edward the Sixth.

A. D. 1553.

Thus, having discoursed things done and past under the reign of king Edward, such as seemed not unfruitful to be known, we will now draw to the end and death of this blessed king, our young Josias; who, about a year and a half after the death of the duke of Somerset his uncle, A.D. 1553, entering into the seventeenth year of his age, and the seventh year of his reign, in the month of July was taken from us, for our sins no doubt; whom if it had so pleased the good will of the Lord to have spared with longer life, not unlike it was, by all conjectures probably to be esteemed by those his toward and blessed beginnings, but proceeding so as he began, he would have reformed such a commonwealth here in the realm of England, as by good cause *that* might have been said of him, which was said in the old time of the noble emperor Augustus, in reforming and advancing the empire of Rome:[1] "Which empire he received (as he said) of brick, but he left it of fine marble." But the condition of this realm, and the customable behaviour of English people (whose property is commonly to abuse the light of the gospel when it is offered), deserved no such benefit of so blessed a reformation, but rather a contrary pledge of deformation, such as happened after his reign, as you shall hear, the Lord granting, in the next queen's days that followed.

Thus then this godly and virtuous imp, in the time and month above mentioned, was cut from us, whose worthy life and virtues have been partly before declared. Nevertheless, to have some monument of him remaining, to testify of the good nature and gentle disposition of that prince, we will add here, for a remembrance, this little epistle of his own handwriting to the archbishop of Canterbury his godfather, as followeth:

An Epistle of young Prince Edward to the Archbishop of Canterbury, his Godfather.

Impertio te plurima salute, colendissime præsul, et charissime susceptor. Quia abes longe a me, vellem libenter audire te esse incolumem. Precor autem ut vivas diu, et promoveas verbum Dei. Vale.

Antilæ, 18. Junii. Tuus in Christo filius,
Edwardus Princeps.[2]

Another Epistle of the young Prince Edward to the Archbishop his Godfather.

Etsi puer sum, colendissime susceptor, non tamen immemor sum vel officii erga te mei, vel humanitatis tuæ quam indies mihi exhibere studes. Non exciderunt mihi humanissimæ tuæ literæ pridie divi Petri ad me datæ. Quibus antehac respondere nolui, non quod illas neglexerim, aut non meminerim, sed ut illarum diuturna meditatione fruerer, fideliqué memoria reponerem, atque demum bene ruminatis pro mea virili responderem. Proinde affectum erga me tuum vere paternum, quem in illis expressisti, amplector et veneror, optoque ut multos vivas annos, tuoque pio ac salubri consilio pergas esse mihi venerandus pater. Nam pietatem ante omnia mihi amplectendam et exosculandam esse duco, quoniam divus Paulus dicit,[3] pietas ad omnia utilis est. Optime valeat tua paternitas in plurimos annos.

Hartefordiæ, 13. Januarii. Tui studiosissimus,
Edwardus Princeps.

(1) "Quum quam ille lateritiam (ut aiebat) accepit, marmoream reliquit." Ex Sueton.
(2) Prince Edward when he wrote this epistle, seemed to be very young, not above seven years of age, lying then at Ampthill.
(3) 1 Tim. iv.

The Answer of the Archbishop to Prince Edward's Epistle.

Non magis poterat ipsa me servare salus (fili in Christo charissime) quam salus tua.[1] Mea vita non dicenda est vita absque tua et salute et valetudine. Quapropter cum te incolumem ac salvum intelligo, vitam etiam mihi integram esse et incolumem sentio. Neque certe absentia mea tam est injucunda tibi quam sunt literæ tuæ perjucundæ mihi. Quæ arguunt tibi juxta adesse et ingenium dignum tanto principe et præceptorem dignum tanto ingenio. Ex quibus tuis literis te sic literas video colere, ut interim doctrinæ cœlestis tua nequaquam minima sit cura; quæ cuicunque sit curæ, non potest illum quævis cura frangere. Perge igitur qua via incepisti, princeps illustrissime, et Spartam quam nactus es hanc orna, ut quam ego per literas video in te virtutis lucem, eadem olim illuminet universam tuam Angliam. Non scribam prolixius, tum quidem ut me intelligas brevitate non nihil affici, tum etiam quod credam te ætate quidem adhuc parvulum parvo gaudere, et similem simili; tum etiam præterea ne impolita mea oratio in causa sit, quo generosa illa tua indoles barbarie vitium contrahat.

The Report of the Prince's Schoolmaster, in commendation of his towardness, to the Archbishop.

Right honourable and my singular good lord, after my most hearty commendations: the opportunity of this messenger forceth me to write at this time, having little matter but only to signify unto your grace, that my lord's grace your godson is merry and in health, and of such towardness in learning, godliness, gentleness, and all honest qualities, that both you and I and all this realm, ought to think him, and take him, for a singular gift sent of God, an imp worthy of such a father; for whom we are bound 'sine intermissione' to render to God most hearty thanks, with most humble request of his long and prosperous continuance. He hath learned almost four books of Cato to construe, to parse, and to say without book. And of his own courage now, in the latter book, he will needs have at one time fourteen verses, which he conneth pleasantly and perfectly, besides things of the Bible, Satellitium Vivis, Æsop's Fables, and Latin-making, whereof he hath sent your grace a little taste.—Dominus Jesus te diutissime servet.[2]

Thus much hitherto having declared, touching the worthy virtues and singular towardness of this godly imp, king Edward the Sixth, although I have not, neither can, insert all things due to his commendation, but am enforced to let pass many memorable matters, well worthy to be prosecuted, if they might have come to our hands: yet this one brief note I thought not to overslip (something to recreate the weary reader in such a doleful story), being notified to me by one master Edward Underhil, who, waiting the same time with the rest of his fellow-pensioners and men at arms, as sir Henry Gates, master Robert Hall, master Henry Harston, and master Stafforton, heard these words between the king and his council.

The relation and testimony of which person and persons above-named come to this effect: That king Edward the Sixth, the fourth year of his reign, being then but thirteen years old and upward, at Greenwich, upon St. George's day, when he was come from the sermon into the presence-chamber, there being his uncle the duke of Somerset, the duke of Northumberland, with other lords and knights of that order called the Order of the Garter, he said to them, "My lords, I pray you, what saint is St. George, that we here so honour him?" At which question the other lords being all astonied,

(1) Alludit ad verba Terentii in Comœdia.
(2) This letter seemeth to be written by Dr. Coxe.

Edward VI. A.D. 1553.

the lord treasurer that then was, perceiving this, gave answer, and said, "If it please your majesty, I did never read in any history of St. George, but only in 'Legenda Aurea,' where it is thus set down: That St. George out with his sword, and ran the dragon through with his spear." The king, when he could not a great while speak for laughing, at length said, "I pray you, my lord, and what did he with his sword the while?" "That I cannot tell your majesty," said he. And so an end of that question of good St. George. Now to return again from whence we have digressed, which is to signify some part of the order and manner of his godly departing. As the time approached when it pleased Almighty God to call this young king from us, which was the sixth day of July, the year above said, about three hours before his death, this godly child, his eyes being closed, speaking to himself, and thinking none to have heard him, made this prayer which followeth:

The Prayer of King Edward before his Death.

The king's prayer at his death.

Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen: howbeit not my will, but thy will be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord! thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet, for thy chosen's sake, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God, bless thy people, and save thine inheritance! O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England! O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion; that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake!

The order and time of the king's departure.

Then turned he his face, and seeing who was by him, said unto them, "Are ye so nigh? I thought ye had been further off." Then Dr. Owen said, "We heard you speak to yourself, but what you said we know not." He then (after his fashion smilingly) said, "I was praying to God." The last words of his pangs were these, "I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit." And thus he yielded up the ghost,[1] leaving a woeful kingdom behind unto his sister. Albeit he, in his will, had excluded his sister Mary from the succession of the crown, because of her corrupt religion; yet the plague which God had destined unto this sinful realm, could not so be avoided, but that she, being the elder daughter to king Henry, succeeded in possession of the crown: of whose dreadful and bloody regiment it remaineth now, consequently, to discourse.

The lady Mary wedded to custom.

This briefly may suffice to understand, that for all the writing, sending, and practising with the lady Mary, by the king and his council, and also by bishop Ridley, yet would she not be reclaimed from her own singular opinion, fixed upon custom, to give any indifferent hearing to the word and voice of verity. The which set will of the said lady Mary, both this young king, and also his father, king Henry before him, right well perceiving and considering, they were both much displeased against her: insomuch that not only her brother did utterly sequester her in his will, but also her own father, considering her inclination, conceived such heart against her, that for

(1) "The witnesses hereof present were, sir Thomas Wrothe, sir Henry Sidney, two of the chief gentlemen of the privy-chamber; doctor Owen, doctor Wendy, and Christopher Salmon, groom." See Edition 1563, page 888.—Ed.

a great space he did seclude her from the title of princess; yea and seemed so eagerly incensed against her, that he was fully purposed to proceed further with her (as it is reported), had not the intercession of Thomas Cranmer, the archbishop, reconciled the king again to favour and pardon his own daughter. For the better understanding whereof, by these her own letters copied out of her own handwriting, which I have to show, something may be perceived, and more, peradventure, may be guessed. The words out of her own handwriting be these. And first her letter to king Henry her father here followeth:

Edward VI. A.D. 1553.

In displeasure both with her brother and father.

A Letter of the Lady Mary to King Henry her Father.

In my most humble wise I beseech your grace of your daily blessing. Pleaseth it the same to be advertised, that this morning my lord my chamberlain came and showed me, that he had received a letter from sir W. Paulet, comptroller of your house; the effect whereof was, that I should with all diligence remove unto the castle of Hertford. Whereupon I desired him to see the same letter, which he showed me: wherein was written, that the lady Mary, the king's daughter, should remove to the place before said, leaving out in the same the name of princess. Which when I heard, I could not a little marvel, trusting verily that your grace was not privy to the same letter as concerning the leaving out of the name of princess; forasmuch as I doubt not in your goodness, but your grace doth take me for your lawful daughter, born in true matrimony. Wherefore, if I should agree to the contrary, I should in my conscience run in the displeasure of God, which I hope assuredly your grace would not that I so should. And in all other things your grace shall have me always as humble and obedient a daughter and handmaid as ever was child to the father, which my duty bindeth me to; as knoweth our Lord, who have your grace in his most holy tuition, with much honour, and long life to his pleasure.

Written at your Manor of Beaulieu, the second day of October,

By your humble daughter,
Mary, Princess.

Protestation of the Lady Mary to certain Lords sent by the King her Father, with certain Requests unto her.

My lords, as touching my removing to Hatfield, I will obey his grace, as my duty is, or to any other place his grace will appoint me. But I protest before you and all others that be here present, that my conscience will in no wise suffer me to take any other than myself for the king's lawful daughter, born in true matrimony, or princess; and that I will never willingly and wittingly say or do, whereby any person might take occasion to think that I agree to the contrary. Not of any ambition or proud mind, as God is my judge; but that, if I should say or do otherwise, I should, in my conscience, slander the deed of our mother holy church, and the pope, who is the judge in this matter, and none other; and also dishonour the king my father, the queen my mother, and falsely confess myself a bastard; which God defend that I should do, seeing the pope hath not so declared it by his sentence definitive; for to his judgment I submit me.

Lady Mary standeth to the pope's judgment.

As you have heard some part already of the stout courage of the lady Mary toward her father, and also by her letters no less was declared toward king Edward her brother and others of his council, as well may appear by the letters above specified between the king her brother and his council: so now let us infer somewhat, likewise, of the stout talk and demeanour of the said lady Mary toward Doctor Ridley bishop of London, who, gently coming to her of mere

Edward VI. A. D. 1553.

good will, had this communication with her, and she with him, as here followeth:

Talk betwixt lady Mary and Ridley.

About the eighth of September, 1552, Dr. Ridley then bishop of London, lying at his house at Hadham in Hertfordshire, went to visit the lady Mary then lying at Hunsdon, two miles off; and was gently entertained of sir Thomas Wharton, and other her officers, till it was almost eleven of the clock; about which time the said lady Mary came forth into her chamber of presence, and then the said bishop there saluted her grace, and said, that he was come to do this duty to her grace. Then she thanked him for his pains, and, for a quarter of an hour, talked with him very pleasantly; and said, that she knew him in the court when he was chaplain to her father, and could well remember a sermon that he made before king Henry her father, at the marriage of my lady Clinton that now is, to sir Anthony Brown, etc.: and so dismissed him to dine with her officers.

After dinner was done, the bishop being called for by the said lady Mary, resorted again to her grace, between whom this communication was. First the bishop beginneth in manner as followeth:

Ridley offereth to preach before the lady Mary.

Bishop:—"Madam, I came not only to do my duty, to see your grace, but also to offer myself to preach before you on Sunday next, if it will please you to hear me."

At this her countenance changed, and, after silence for a space, she answered thus:

Lady Mary refuseth to hear him.

Mary:—"My lord, as for this last matter I pray you make the answer to it yourself."

Bishop:—"Madam, considering mine office and calling, I am bound in duty to make to your grace this offer, to preach before you."

Mary:—"Well, I pray you make the answer (as I have said) to this matter yourself; for you know the answer well enough. But if there be no remedy but I must make you answer, this shall be your answer: the door of the parish-church adjoining shall be open for you if you come, and ye may preach if you list; but neither I, nor any of mine, shall hear you."

Bishop:—"Madam, I trust you will not refuse God's word."

Mary:—"I cannot tell what ye call God's word: that is not God's word now, that was God's word in my father's days."

Bishop:—"God's word is all one in all times; but hath been better understood and practised in some ages than in others."

Mary:—"You durst not, for your ears, have avouched that for God's word in my father's days, that now you do. And as for your new books, I thank God I never read any of them: I never did, nor ever will do."

And after many bitter words against the form of religion then established, and against the government of the realm and the laws made in the young years of her brother (which, she said, she was not bound to obey till her brother came to perfect age,[1] and then, she affirmed, she would obey them), she asked the bishop whether he were one of the council. He answered, "No." "You might well enough," said she, "as the council goeth now-a-days."

And so she concluded with these words: "My lord, for your gentleness to come and see me, I thank you; but for your offering to preach before me, I thank you never a whit."

(1) It is like she was persuaded by witches and blind prophecies, that king Edward should not live so long.

Then the said bishop was brought by sir Thomas Wharton to the place where they dined, and was desired to drink. And after he had drunk, he paused awhile, looking very sadly; and suddenly brake out into these words: "Surely I have done amiss." "Why so?" quoth sir Thomas Wharton. "For I have drunk," said he, "in that place where God's word offered hath been refused: whereas, if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken off the dust of my shoes for a testimony against this house." These words were by the said bishop spoken with such a vehemency, that some of the hearers afterwards confessed their hair to stand upright on their heads. This done, the said bishop departed, and so returned to his house.[1]

Edward VI. A. D. 1553.

Ridley repenteth to have drunken there where God's word was refused.

And thus, making an end of this ninth book, touching the story and reign of king Edward, and having also somewhat said before of the nature and disposition of the lady Mary, whereby the way may be prepared the better to the troubles of the next book following; we intend, the grace of God assisting us therein, now further to proceed in describing the acts and proceedings of the said lady Mary, coming now to be queen, and advanced, next after this godly king Edward, to the crown of this realm of England.

(1) Testified by a certain reverend personage yet alive, being then the bishop's chaplain.

END OF BOOK THE NINTH.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK X.

THE BEGINNING OF

THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

The Preface to the Reader.

Mary. A.D. 1553.

FORASMUCH as we are come now to the time of queen Mary, when so many were put to death for the cause especially of the Mass, and The Sacrament of the Altar (as they call it), I thought it convenient, upon the occasion given, in the ingress of this foresaid story, first, to prefix before, by the way of preface, some declaration collected out of divers writers and authors, whereby to set forth to the reader the great absurdity, wicked abuse, and perilous idolatry, of the popish mass; declaring how, and by whom, it came in, and how it is clouted and patched up of divers additions: to the intent that the reader, seeing the vain institution thereof, and weighing the true causes why it is to be exploded out of all churches, may the better thereby judge of their death, who gave their lives for the testimony and the word of truth.

First concerning the origin of this word "Missa,"[1] whether it came of מסת in Hebrew,[2] or מִנְחָה[3] which signifieth "oblation;" or whether it came of sending away the catechumini, and persons unworthily out of place of ministration (as certain writers[4] suppose), or else, "Ex missis donariis et symbolis, quæ in offertorio proponebantur," that is, "Of gifts and oblations, wont to be offered before the communion." Or whether Missa is derived of Remissa, which in the former writers was used "Pro remissione;" or whether Missa, "Pro licentiâ dimittendi populum," is taken of sending away the congregation by the words of the deacon, "Ite missa est;" or whether Missa hath its denomination of what the Grecians call ἄφεσις τοῦ λάου, "dismission of the people" (alluding to the story of the Hebrews, licensed of Pharaoh to depart out of captivity after the eating of the

(1) See Bingham's Christian Antiquities; book xiii. chap. i. fol. 4.—ED.
(2) Deut. xvi. 10. (3) Levit. vi. 15.
(4) Isidorus, lib. vi.; Etym.; Hugo, in Speculo eccles.; Tertul. cont. Marc. lib. iii.; Cyprian. "de Bono Pace."

paschal lamb, as I read in an old popish book, entituled De Sacramentis Sacerdotalibus), or what term soever it be else, either Latin, Syrian, Dutch, or French, or howsoever else it taketh its appellation, as there is no certainty amongst themselves who most magnify the mass, so it is no matter to us that stand against it. To my judgment and conjecture, this latter exposition of the word seemeth more probable, both for that it is joined with the word "ite," which signifieth "departing," and also the time and order in speaking the same agreeth well thereunto. For, as the old Hebrews, after the supper of the lamb and not before, were set at liberty straightway to depart out of captivity, so, belike, to declare our mystical deliverance by Christ offered and slain for us, first goeth before the action of the holy supper: that done, then the priest or deacon saith "Ite missa est," meaning, thereby, the deliverance and liberty which is spiritually wrought in us, after that the body of Christ hath been offered for us. Or else, if Missa, otherwise should signify the celebration or the action of the supper, it would not be said "Ite," but "Venite missa est," etc. Moreover, besides other arguments, there be certain places in Cassianus[1] which seem to declare that "Missa" signifieth the dismission of the congregation: as where he writeth of him who cometh not in time to the hours of prayer, saying it not to be lawful for him to enter into the oratory, Sed stantem pro foribus congregationis missam præstolari debere; that is, that he ought, standing without the doors, to wait for the miss of the congregation.

And again in the next chapter following, he inferreth the same vocable "Missa," in like sense: "contenti, somno qui nobis post vigiliarum missam usque ad lucis indulgetur adventum:" that is, "contented with so much sleep as serveth us for the miss, or breaking up of the night vigil,[2] unto the coming of the day," etc. But, to let pass these conjectures, this by the way I give the reader to note and understand: that as this word "Missa" never yet entered into the church nor usage among the Greeks, so it is to be observed among our Latin interpreters (such as have translated of old time the ancient Greek authors), as Eusebius, and the Tripartite History (and others that were the Greek writers), have these terms *συνάγειν, συνάξεις ποιεῖν*, and *ἐκκλησιάζειν*,[3] that is, "to call the congregation," "to convent assemblies," and "to frequent together;" the old translator of Epiphanius, and others, translate upon the same "Missas facere," "collectas agere," "missas celebrare," &c. Whereby it is not obscure to be seen, that this word "mass," in the old time, was not only and peculiarly applied to the action of consecration, but as well as to all christian assemblies collected, or congregations convented, according as in the Dutch language this name "Messe," signifieth any solemn frequency

(1) Cassianus de Canonicis orationibus, lib. iii. cap. 7.

(2) In the old time, the assemblies of the congregation in the night in common prayer and fasting, were called vigils.

(3) Socrat. Eccles. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 13. Epiph. Trip. Hist. lib. iv. c. 13. Sozom. lib. ii. c. 32. Epiph. Trip. Hist. lib. iv. c. 11. Socrat. lib. iii. c. 9. Epiph. Trip. Hist. lib. vi. c. 2, 3. Socrat. lib. v. c. 13. "Καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκκλησιάζειν." Epiph. Trip. Hist. lib. vii. c. 13. apud se ipsos missarum celebrare solemnia. sec. Item, collectas agunt sec. quod Socrat. Græce, lib. vi. c. 22, inquit, "Περὶ δὲ συνάξεων" et "συνάξεις ποιοῦσιν," etc. [Bellarmine accords in some measure with Foxe: "Probabilissima est eorum sententia, qui Missam dici volunt a missione, seu dimissione populi, ut idem sit Missa, quod Missio, sicut idem sunt apud veteres collecta et collectio, et Græcè συλλογὴ et σύλλεξις, et peccati remissa et remissio; remissam enim passim usurpat Cyprianus, lib. iii. epist. 3. lib. 'De bono patientiæ,' in Epist. ad Jubaian. et alibi." De Missa, lib. i. cap. 1. A protestant illustration of this subject will be found in "The Masse in Latine and English, with a commentary and observations;" by Peter du Moulin; London, 1641; or, still more copiously, in Rod. Hospiniani Historiæ Sacramentariæ, lib. iii. cap. 3.—Ed.]

Mary. A. D. 1553.

or panagery, or gathering together of the people. But of the name enough and too much.

To (express now) the absurdity of the said mass, and the irreligious application thereof, unseemly and perilous for Christians to use, I will bring two or three reasons of the worthy servant and martyr of God, John Bradford, to which many more may also be added out of others. First, the mass, saith he, is a most subtle and pernicious enemy against Christ; and that, two ways: namely, against his priesthood, and against his sacrifice. Which he proveth by this way: for the priesthood of Christ, saith he, is an everlasting priesthood, and such an one as cannot go to another; but the mass utterly putteth him out of place, as though he was dead for ever, and so God were a liar who said, that Christ should be "a Priest for ever;" which, briefly, cometh unto this argument.

The mass a double enemy against Christ.

The mass injurious to the priesthood of Christ.

Fes- That thing is not perpetual, nor standeth alone, which admitteth succession of others, to do the same thing that was done before:

ti- But the mass-priests succeed after Christ, doing the same sacrifice, as they say, which he did before:

no. Ergo, the mass-priests make Christ's priesthood not to be perpetual.

ANOTHER ARGUMENT.

Major. *Ba-* All priests either be after the order of Aaron, or after the order of Melchizedek, or after the order of the apostles, or after that spiritual sort, whereof it is written, "Vos estis spirituale sacerdotium," etc.

Minor. *ro-* But our mass-priests neither be after the order of Aaron, for that is to resume that which Christ hath abolished; neither after the order of Melchizedek, for that is peculiar only to Christ; neither after the order of the apostles, for then should they be ministers, not masters; not priests but preachers; and which of the apostles was ever named by the title of a priest? Again, neither are they after the general sort of the spiritual priesthood, for after that prerogative every true Christian is a spiritual priest, as well as they offering up spiritual, not bodily, sacrifice: as prayers, thanksgiving, obedience, mortification of the body framed to the obedience of his commandments.

Conclusio. *co.* Ergo, our mass-priests, are no priests, unless it be after the order of the priests of Baal!

The mass injurious to the sacrifice or death of Christ.

Secondly, concerning the sacrifice of Christ above mentioned, he reasoneth in like manner; which we have reduced in the way of argument as followeth:

Major. *Da-* To reiterate a thing once done, for the attaining or accomplishing of the end whereof it was begun, declareth the imperfection of the same thing before.

Minor. *ri-* The mass-priests do reiterate the sacrifice of Christ, once done for the end whereof it was begun; that is, for propitiation and remission "à pœnâ et culpâ, pro vivis et pro defunctis."

Conclusio. *i.* Ergo, mass-priests make the sacrifice of Christ to be imperfect; and so are they injurious to the sacrifice of Christ.

For confirmation of the premises, mark here reader, I beseech thee, the Rubric here following, written before the Mass of the Five Wounds, in the mass-book.[1]

Boniface, bishop of Rome, lay sick and was like to die, to whom our Lord sent the archangel Raphael with the office of the Mass of the Five Wounds, saying, Rise and write this office, and say it five times, and thou shalt be restored to thy health immediately; and what priest soever shall say this office for himself, or for any other that is sick five times, the person for whom it is said shall obtain health and grace, and in the world to come, if he continue in virtue, life everlasting. And in whatsoever tribulation a man shall be in this life, if he procure this office to be said five times for him of a priest, without doubt he shall be delivered. And if it be said for the soul of the dead, anon as it shall be said and ended five times, his soul shall be rid from pains. This hearing, the bishop did erect himself up in his bed, conjuring the angel, in the name of almighty God, to tell him what he was, and wherefore he came, and that he should depart without doing him harm; who answered, that he was Raphael the archangel, sent unto him of God, and that all the premises were undoubtedly true. Then the said Boniface confirmed the said office of the five wounds by the apostolic authority.

Another argument against the mass is, for that it is a hinderance to the true service of God, and to the godly life of men; the declaration whereof is more at large by the said author set out, but, briefly, in form of argument it may be thus contracted.

The mass a hinderance to the true service of God, etc.

ANOTHER ARGUMENT.

Major. *Da-* Whatsoever causeth or occasioneth a man to rest in outward serving of God (whose service should be all inward, in spirit and verity), that hindereth the true service of God.

Minor. *ti-* The mass occasioneth a man to rest in outward serving; as, in hearing, seeing, and saying mass, which be but outward senses of a man, and is, as they say, meritorious, "ex opere operato, etiam sine bono motu intentionis."

Conclusio. *si.* Ergo, the mass hindereth the right and true service of God.

ANOTHER ARGUMENT,

Proving that the Mass hindereth Good Life, is this:

Major. *Di-* Upon the mass riseth false hope; a false remedy is promised to wicked livers. For evil men, hearing mass in the morning, upon hope thereof, take

The mass hindereth good life.

(1) This service, with its prefixed story, may be seen in the "Missale ad usum ecclesiæ Sarum" (Paris, 1515), fol. xxvii.; and also in the "Missale Romanum cum multis missis ac benedictionibus noviter additis" (Venetiis, 1515), fol. ccxxiv.—Ed.

Mary.
A.D. 1553.

more security in doing all day what they list. And such as have (in bibbing, brawling, taverning, swearing, whoring, dicing, carding), committed wickedness, to them the mass is set up; promising him sufficient propitiation, sacrifice, remedy of body and soul, for man and beast, "à pœnâ et culpâ, pro vivis et mortuis:" though they never heard preaching, never used praying, never repented. Or, how wicked soever they have been, yet if they come to the church, take holy bread and holy water, and hear mass, or find a soul-priest upon the remedy thereof, then they think themselves discharged, and good catholic men.

Minor. *sa-* Upon what cause soever riseth false hope, and false remedy is promised to wicked livers, which hindereth good life.

Conclusio. *mis.* Ergo: the mass hindereth good life.

ANOTHER ARGUMENT.

Major. *Da-* Where one thing is sufficient and serveth alone, there all other helps be needless thereunto, wherein it serveth.

Minor. *ti-* The mass (as they say), hath all—serveth for all; for, by it, cometh pardon for sins, by it cometh deliverance from hell and purgatory, by it cometh health for man and beast: in summâ, the mass is "mare bonorum," etc.

Conclusio. *si.* Ergo: all other helps else be needless;—hearing of God's word, faith, praying in spirit, repenting, preaching, piety, and all other helps to good life, etc.

ANOTHER ARGUMENT:

Proving that the Mass is diverse, and contrary from, the Institution of Christ's Supper.

I. Christ ordained his supper to be a memorial of his death and passion, to be preached until he came.

The mass is no memorial thing of Christ remembered in the sacrament, but rather they make the sacrament to be Christ himself offered and sacrificed for remission of sins; both for the quick and the dead.

II. Christ ordained his supper to be celebrated and received of the congregation; and therefore Paul biddeth the Corinthians to tarry one for another.

In the mass there is no such thing: choose the people to come or no, "sir John" is kin to the tide, he will tarry for no man; if he have a boy to say "amen," it is enough.

III. Christ received not, but he distributed also the whole in every part: "sir John," when he hath received all alone, he showeth the

people the empty chalice; and if he distribute to the people once a year, it is but in one kind alone. *Mary.* A. D. 1553.

IV. Christ ordained the supper to be a taking matter, an eating matter, a distributing and a remembering matter: contrary our mass-men make it a matter, not of taking, but of gazing, peeping, pixing, boxing, carrying, re-carrying, worshipping, stooping, kneeling, knocking, with "stoop down before," "hold up higher," "I thank God I see my Maker to-day," etc. Christ ordained it a table-matter: we turn it to an altar-matter. He, for a memorial, we, for a sacrifice; he sat, our men stand; he in his common tongue, we in a foreign tongue: whereby it is manifest to appear, how diverse and repugnant the mass is to the institution of the Lord's supper.

ANOTHER ARGUMENT:

Proving that the Mass is contrary to God's Commandments.

Major. Item, Whereas the first table of God's blessed and sacred commandments, teacheth men to worship and serve him, and to direct the meditations of their hearts only unto him, and that in all places, at all times, both publicly and privately; *The doctrine of the mass-book contrary to God's commandments.*

Minor. The mass-book doth point out service for saints and for creatures by name, to be served at least three hundred days and years; as appeareth by the calendars, masses, collects, martyrologue, etc.:

Conclusio. Ergo: the doctrine and institution of the mass-book tendeth contrary to God's holy commandments.

ANOTHER REASON AGAINST THE MASS.

Item, Whereas St. Paul, in express words, willeth all things to be done in an edifying tongue, the mass is celebrated in a tongue foreign, strange, and unknown to the people; so that although the matter therein contained were wholesome and consonant to Scripture (as it is much disagreeing to the same), yet for the strangeness of the tongue it giveth but a sound, and worketh no edifying to the ignorant.

Now both the tongue being strange to the ears of the people, and the matter also in the mass contained being repugnant to God's word, what defence can the mass have, but utterly it is to be rejected?

And forasmuch therefore as the mass so long used in a foreign language hath not hitherto come to the understanding of the simple and vulgar sort, to the intent they may themselves perceive the matter, and be their own judges, I have here set forth the chiefest part thereof, which is the canon, in English, so as I found it in a certain written copy, by master Coverdale translated, adjoining withal the rubric and circumstance of the same in every point, as it is in the mass-book contained.

Mary. A. D. 1553.

THE WHOLE CANON OF THE MASS, WITH THE RUBRIC THEREOF, AS IT STANDETH IN THE MASS-BOOK, AFTER SALISBURY USE, TRANSLATED WORD BY WORD OUT OF LATIN INTO ENGLISH.[1]

After the Sanctus, the priest immediately joining his hands together, and lifting up his eyes, beginneth these words:

"Te igitur clementissime," etc.; that is to say, "Therefore, most gracious Father, through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, we humbly beseech thee,"

Let him bow down his body while he saith:

"And we desire,"

Here the priest, standing upright, must kiss the altar on the right hand of the sacrifice,[2] saying:

"That thou accept and bless,"

Here let the priest make three crosses upon the chalice and the bread, saying:

"These ✠ gifts, these ✠ presents, these ✠ holy and unspotted sacrifices."[3]

When the signs are made upon the chalice, let him lift up his hands, saying thus:

"Which, first of all, we offer unto thee for thy holy catholic church,[4] that thou vouchsafe to pacify, keep, unite, and govern it throughout the whole world, with thy servant our pope *N.* and our bishop *N.*," [that is his own bishop only[5]] "and our king *N.*" [and they are expressed by name.]

Then let there follow:

"And all true believers, and such as have the catholic and apostolic faith in due estimation."

Here let him pray for the living:

"Remember Lord thy servants and handmaids *N.* and *N.*"

In which prayer a rule must be observed for the order of charity. Five times let the priest pray; first, for himself:[6] secondly, for father and mother, carnal and spiritual, and for other parents: thirdly, for special friends, parishioners, and others: fourthly, for all that stand by: fifthly, for all christian people. And here may the priest commend all his friends[7] to God (but my counsel is, that none make overlong tarrying there, partly for distraction of mind, partly because of immissions which may chance through evil angels), and all that stand hereby round about, whose faith and devotion unto thee is known and manifest; for whom we offer unto thee, or which themselves offer unto thee, this sacrifice of praise[8] for them and theirs, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and health, and render their vows unto Thee, the eternal living and true God.

Communicating, and worshipping the memorial, first, of the glorious and ever Virgin;[9] bowing down a little, let him say:

"Mary, the mother of our God and Lord Jesu Christ, and also of thy blessed apostles and martyrs, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and of all thy saints: by whose merits and prayers,[10] grant thou, that in all things we may be defended with the help of thy protection, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen."

Here let the priest behold the host with great veneration,[11] saying:

"Therefore Lord we beseech thee, that thou, being pacified, wilt receive this

(1) A superb copy of this Mass Book (Missale secund. usum. Eccles. Sarisburiensis, fol. 1497) is in the Royal Library of Windsor, to which place it has recently been conveyed from Kensington. Another copy bearing date 1527 is in the British Museum, and all those "Secund. usum Sarisburiensis," may be consulted for the completion of many of the directions, ceremonies, and conjurations here referred to.—Ed

(2) And why not on the left hand as well? or why any such kissing at all?

(3) Precious no doubt and principal: or else art thou too presumptuous, that hast already offered it up for thy sins, and for the salvation of others.

(4) Who gave you that commission? will you offer bread and wine for the church of Christ, who of very love hath offered up himself for it already? Ephes. v.

(5) Charity would pray for others also.

(6) So did not the Lord teach his disciples to pray. Matt. vi. Luke xi.

(7) And why not his enemies also? Matt. v.

(8) Why make ye then a satisfactory sacrifice of it?

(9) If ye had the Lord's matter in hand, ye would do it in remembrance of him.

(10) Thus the merits and prayers of Christ are defaced.

(11) And why? for within a little while he looketh to have it his God.

oblation of our bound service, and of all thy household; and order our days in thy peace, and command us to be delivered from eternal damnation, and to be numbered in the flock of thine elect, through Christ our Lord. Amen."

Here again let him hold the host,[1] saying:

"Which oblation we beseech thee, O Almighty God, in all things to make,"

Here let him make three crosses upon both[2] when he saith:

"blessed, ✠ appointed, ✠ ratified, reasonable, and acceptable; that unto us it may be,"

Here let him make a cross upon the bread, saying:

✠ "The body," here upon the chalice: "and ✠ blood,"

Here with hands joined together, let him say,

"of thy most dearly beloved Son our Lord Jesu Christ;"

Here let the priest lift up his hands and join them together, and afterward wipe his fingers, and lift up the host, saying:

"Who, the next day,[3] afore he suffered, took bread into his holy and reverent hands, and his eyes being lift up into heaven,"

Here let him lift up his eyes,

"unto the God Almighty his Father,"

Here let him bow down, and afterward erect himself up a little, saying:

"Rendering thanks unto thee, he ✠ blessed, he brake,"

Here let him touch the host, saying:

"and gave unto his disciples, saying, Take ye,[4] and eat of this ye all;[5] for this is my body."[6]

And these words must be pronounced with one breath, and under one prolation, without making of any pause between. After these words let him bow himself to the host, and afterward lift [it] up above his forehead, that it may be seen of the people:[7] and let him reverently lay it again before the chalice, in manner of a cross made with the same. And then let him uncover the chalice, and hold it between his hands, not putting his thumb and forefinger asunder, save only when he blesseth, saying thus:

"Likewise after they had supped, he, taking this excellent cup into his holy and reverent hands, rendering thanks also unto thee,"

Here let him bow himself, saying:

"Blessed, and gave unto his disciples, saying, 'Take, and drink of this ye all;'"[8]

Here let him lift up the chalice a little, saying thus:

"For this is the cup of my blood, of the new and everlasting testament, the mystery of faith,[9] which, for you and for many, shall be shed to the remission of sins."

Here let him lift the chalice to his breast, or further than his head, saying:

"As oft as ye do these things, ye shall do them in remembrance of me."[10]

Here let him set down the chalice again, and rub his fingers over the chalice.[11] Then let him lift up his arms, and cover the chalice. Then let him lift up his arms crosswise, his fingers being joined together until these words:

"de tuis donis;" that is to say, of thine own rewards.

"Wherefore, O Lord, we also, thy servants, and thy holy people, being mindful as well of the blessed passion and resurrection, as of the glorious ascension of the same Christ thy Son, our Lord God, do offer unto thy excellent Majesty of thy own rewards and gifts."

Here let there be made five crosses,[12] namely, the three first upon the host and cup, saying:

✠ "a pure host; ✠ a holy host; ✠ an undefiled host."

(1) That must he do with a sour and frowning countenance, if he follow the cautels of the mass

(2) Yea, three at the least; for this gear must be conjured as well as other things: lest, when they think Christ to be naturally present, the devil be there, and take up the lodging before.

(3) The Scripture saith, eâdem nocte, the same night.

(4) He saith not, "Let one of you take and eat it himself alone."

(5) He saith not, Hang it up, keep it, worship it.

(6) "Enim" have they put in of their own, and left out "quod pro vobis datur."

(7) If it were the true sacramental bread of the body of the Lord, it should be taken and eaten; and not lifted up to be gazed upon.

(8) Why takest thou it then alone? or why should not the lay people then drink of the cup also? Be not they the Lord's disciples? Scholars of his heavenly school?

(9) These words, "Mysterium fidei," have ye here added; declaring the cup to be but a mystical representation of the blood!

(10) How standeth this with the remembrance of saints, or of the dead, "In quorum memoria," etc.?

(11) By these crumbs may ye know what bread was wont to be used

(12) And may no fewer crosses than five serve?

Mary. A.D. 1553.

The fourth upon the bread only,[1] saying:

"The holy ✠ bread of eternal life,"[2]

The fifth upon the cup, saying:

"And ✠ cup of eternal salvation. Vouchsafe thou also, with a merciful and pleasant countenance, to have respect hereunto, and to accept the same, as thou didst vouchsafe to accept the gifts of thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and the holy sacrifice, the undefiled host, that the high priest Melchizedek did offer unto thee."[3]

Here let the priest, with his body bowed down, and his hands holden across, say, "Supplices te rogamus," "we humbly beseech thee," until these words, "Ex hac altaris participatione," "of this partaking of the altar." And then let him stand up, kissing the altar on the right side of the sacrifice; and let him make a sign of the cross upon the host, and in his own face, when he saith, "Omni benedictione cœlesti," "with all heavenly benediction."[4]

"We humbly beseech thee, O Almighty God, command thou these to be brought by the hands of thy holy angel unto thy high altar in the presence of thy Divine Majesty,[5] that as many of us as,"

Here erecting up himself, let him kiss the altar on the right side of the sacrifice, saying:

"Of this participation of the altar shall receive thy Son's holy"

Here let him make a sign of the cross upon the host,[6] saying:

"body,"

Then upon the cup, saying:

"and ✠ blood may be replenished"

Then let him make a sign in his own face,[7] saying:

"With all heavenly benediction and grace through the same Christ our Lord. Amen."

Here let him pray for the dead.

"Remember Lord, also, the souls of thy servants and handmaidens, *N.* and *N.* which are gone before us with the mark of faith, and rest in the sleep of peace. We beseech thee, O Lord, that unto them, and unto all such as rest in Christ,[8] thou wilt grant a place of refreshing, of light, and of peace, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen."

Here let him smite once upon his breast,[9] saying:

Here he must lift up his voice signifying the centurion, which lifted up his voice at the passion.

"Unto us sinners also, thy servants, hoping of the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to give some portion and fellowship with thy holy apostles and martyrs; with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia, and with all thy saints; within whose fellowship we beseech thee admit us, not weighing our merit, but granting us forgiveness through Christ our Lord."

Here is not said, "Amen."[10]

"By whom, O Lord, all these good things thou dost ever create."

Here let him make a sign over the chalice three times,[11] saying:

"Thou ✠ sanctifiest; thou ✠ quickenest; thou ✠ blessest, and givest unto us."

Here let him uncover the chalice, and make a sign of the cross with the host five times: first beyond the chalice on every side;[12] secondly, even with the chalice; thirdly, within the chalice; fourthly, like as at the first; fifthly, before the chalice.

"Through ✠ him, and with ✠ him, and in him, is unto thee God, Father ✠ almighty, in the unity of the ✠ Holy Ghost, all honour and glory."

(1) And why then be ye angry with us?
(2) The bread of eternal life, is Christ himself: if this then be he, how darest thou presume to offer him up unto his Father?
(3) Have ye the most precious body of Christ in so small estimation, that ye resemble it to the beasts, which Abel and Abraham offered?
(4) If the host, as thou sayest, be Christ himself, is not he then most blessed already?
(5) How standeth this with our faith, to desire Christ to be brought up to the presence of his Father, as though he were not there already.
(6) And is he not yet blest enough?
(7) God's blessing on your good face.
(8) Thus thou prayest for our Lady and all the saints in heaven, declaring that they are in no such painful purgatory, as they dream so much of.
(9) Down, great heart. (10) No! good reason why.
(11) If this were not a silly poor Christ, he should not need so many blessings of such a godfather.
(12) Hoigh, child, and turn thee.

Here let the priest cover the chalice, and hold his hands still upon the altar till the Pater-noster be spoken, saying thus:

"World without end, Amen.—Let us pray. Being advertised by wholesome precepts, and taught by God's institution,[1] we are bold to say,"

Here let the deacon take the paten, and hold it uncovered on the right side of the priest, his arm being stretched out on high[2] until "da propitius."

Here let the priest lift up his hands, saying, "Pater noster," etc. The choir must say, "Sed libera nos," etc.

"Deliver us, we beseech thee, O Lord, from all evil past, present, and for to come; and that, by the intercession of the blessed, glorious, and our Virgin Mary the mother of God, and thy blessed apostles Peter, and Paul, and Andrew; with all saints."[3]

Here let the deacon commit the paten to the priest, kissing his hand; and let the priest kiss the paten.[4] Afterward let him put it to his left eye, and then to the right.[5] After that let him make a cross with the paten above upon his head,[6] and so lay it down again into its place,[7] saying:

"Give peace graciously in our days, that we, being helped through the succour of thy mercy, may both be always free from sin, and safe from all trouble,"

Here let him uncover the chalice, and take the body, doing reverence, shifting it over in the hollow room of the chalice, holding it between his thumbs and forefingers;[8] and let him break it into three parts; the first breaking, while there is said:

"Through the same our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son,"

The second breaking:

"Who, with thee, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth God."

Here let him hold two pieces in his left hand, and the third piece in the right hand, upon the brink of the chalice, saying this with open voice:[9]

"World without end."

Let the choir answer:

"Amen."

Here let him make three crosses within[10] the chalice with the third part of the host, saying:

"The peace of the Lord ✠ be always ✠ with ✠ you,"[11]

Let the choir answer:

"And with thy spirit."

To say Agnus Dei, let the deacon and subdeacon approach near unto the priest, both being on the right hand, the deacon nearer, the subdeacon further off. And let them say privately:[12]

"O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us: O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us: O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, grant us peace."

In masses for the dead[13] it is said thus:

"O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, give them rest,"[14]

With this addition in the third repetition,

"Everlasting."

Here making a cross, let him put down the said third part of the host into the sacrament of the blood, saying:

"This holy mingling together of the body and blood of our Lord Jesu Christ be unto me, and to all that receive it, salvation of mind and body:[15] a wholesome

(1) If God's institution be your schoolmaster, why go ye then from the rules thereof?
(2) The Lord's institution teacheth you not such fond tricks, nor juggling gestures.
(3) How should the Scripture else be verified that saith, "It is Christ, which hath the everlasting priesthood, being able to save those that come unto God by him, forsomuch as he ever liveth to make intercession for us?" Heb. vii.
(4) But he telleth us not why.
(5) Yet seeth he never a whit the better.
(6) As who say, God save this mark!
(7) The tenderlings may abide no cold.
(8) Did the Lord Jesus teach such toys in his holy institution?
(9) It is time to speak at last; for he hath gone a mumming all this while.
(10) "Intra," some read "infra," beneath.
(11) So many crosses would make a man think that here were none but popes and popish crucifiers of Christ.
(12) Lest the people be edified.
(13) That metal clinketh well.
(14) Do they not rest already in Christ, and in the sleep of peace, by thine own saying afore?
(15) God's holy word teacheth, that the offering of the body, and shedding of the most precious blood of Christ once upon the cross, is the full, perfect, and only salvation of all mankind.

Mary. preparation both to deserve and to receive eternal life, through the same Christ our Lord."

A. D. 1553. Afore the pax be given, let the priest say:

"O Lord, holy Father, almighty eternal God, grant me so worthily to take this holy body and blood of thy Son our Lord Jesu Christ, that by this[1] I may merit[2] to receive forgiveness of all my sins, and be replenished with thy holy Spirit, and to have thy peace: for thou art God alone, neither is there any other without thee,[3] whose glorious kingdom and empire endureth continually world without end, Amen."

Here let the priest kiss the corporas on the right side, and the brink of the chalice,[4] and afterward let him say to the deacon:

"Peace be unto thee, and to the church of God."

Answer:

"And with thy spirit."

On the right hand of the priest let the deacon receive the pax of him, and reach it to the subdeacon. Then to the step of the choir let the deacon himself bear the pax unto the rectors of the choir; and let them bring it to the choir, either of them to his own side, beginning at the eldest. But in feasts and ferial days, when the choir is not governed,[5] the pax is borne from the deacon unto the choir by two of the lowest of the second form, like as afore.

After the pax given, let the priest say the prayers following, privately, before he communicate; holding the host with both his hands:[6]

"O God, Father, thou fountain and original of all goodness, who, being moved with mercy, hast willed thine only-begotten Son, for our sake, to descend into the lower parts of the world, and to be incarnate, whom I unworthy hold in my hands;"[7]

Here let the priest bow himself to the host,[8] saying:

"I worship thee, I glorify thee, I praise thee with whole intention of mind and heart: and I beseech thee that thou fail not[9] us thy servants, but forgive our sins, so as with pure heart, and chaste body, we may be able to serve thee,[10] the only living and true God, through the same Christ our Lord: Amen.

"O Lord Jesu Christ, thou Son of the living God, who, according to the will of the Father, the Holy Ghost working withal, hast quickened the world through thy death, deliver me, I beseech thee, through this thy holy body, and this thy blood, from all my iniquities, and from all evils. And make me to alway obey thy commandments, and never suffer me to be separated from thee for evermore, thou Saviour of the world, who, with God the Father, and the same Holy Ghost, livest and reignest God, world without end: Amen.

"O Lord Jesu Christ, let not the sacrament of thy body and blood which I receive (though unworthy), be to my judgment and damnation; but, through thy goodness, let it profit to the salvation of my body and soul: Amen."

To the body let him say with humiliation before he receive:

"Hail for evermore, thou most holy flesh of Christ;[11] unto me, afore all things and above all things, the highest sweetness. The body of our Lord Jesu Christ be unto me, sinner, the way and life, in the ✠ name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Amen."

Here let him take the body, a cross[12] being first made with the same body afore his mouth, saying:

"Hail for evermore, thou heavenly drink! unto me, before all things and above all things, the highest sweetness. The body and blood of our Lord Jesu Christ profit me, sinner, for a remedy everlasting unto life eternal: Amen. In the ✠ name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Amen."

Here let him take the blood, which when it is received, let him bow himself, and say the prayer:

(1) Thus the death of the Lord is defaced.
(2) O sinful man! wilt thou merit that, which is Christ's only gift?
(3) Yes: the host that ye worship and speak unto afterward, if your words be not false.
(4) For very devotion, be ye sure. (5) As it is seldom in good order.
(6) For falling.
(7) Hold him fast while ye have him in your hands; lest he fly from you, as like he will, if ye mock him too much. (8) Why not? if it be his maker.
(9) If it fail, your kitchen will be the colder.
(10) Note that the priest speaketh all this to the host: whereby it is evident how horribly they abuse God's creatures.
(11) That never was born of our Lady. (12) Benedicite, a God's name.

"I render thanks to thee, O Lord, holy Father, almighty eternal God, which hast refreshed me out of the most holy body and blood of thy Son our Lord Jesu Christ. And I beseech thee, that this sacrament of our salvation, which I, unworthy sinner, have received, come not to my judgment nor condemnation after my merits; but to the profit of my body, and to the salvation of my soul into life everlasting: Amen."

Which prayer being said, let the priest go to the right side of the altar, with the chalice between his hands, his fingers being yet joined together as afore,[1] and let the subdeacon approach near, and pour out wine and water into the chalice. And let the priest rinse his hands, lest any parcels of the body or blood be left behind in his fingers or in the chalice.[2] But, when any priest must celebrate twice in one day,[3] then, at the first mass, he must not receive any ablution, but put it in the sacristy, or in a clean vessel, till the end of the other mass; and then let both the ablutions be received.

After the first ablution, is said this prayer:

"That we have received with mouth, O Lord, let us take with a pure mind, and out of a temporal gift,[4] let it be to us a remedy everlasting."

Here let him wash his fingers in the hollow room of the chalice,[5] with wine being poured in by the subdeacon; which, when it is drunk up, let the prayer follow:

"Lord let this communion[6] purge us from sin, and make us to be partakers of the heavenly remedy."

After the receiving of the ablutions, let the priest lay the chalice upon the paten; that if aught remain behind, it may drop. And afterward bowing himself, let him say:

"Let us worship the sign of the cross,[7] whereby we have received the sacrament of salvation."

Afterward let him wash his hands.[8] In the mean season let the deacon fold up the corporas. When his hands are washen, and the priest returneth to the right end of the altar, let the deacon reach the chalice to the priest's mouth,[9] that if aught of that which was poured in do remain behind, he may receive it.[10] After that, let him say the communion with his ministers.[11] Then, making a sign of the cross in his own face, let the priest turn himself to the people; and with his arms somewhat lifted up, and his hands joined together,[12] let him say, "Dominus vobiscum;" and, turning him again to the altar, let him say, "Oremus," "Let us pray."

Then let him say the postcommon,[13] according to the number and order of the aforesaid prayers. Before the epistle, when the last postcommon is ended, and the priest hath made a sign of the cross in his forehead, let him turn him again to the people, and say, "Dominus vobiscum." Then let the deacon say, "Benedicamus Domino." At another time is said, "Ite missa est." As oft as "Ite missa est" is said, it is always said in turning to the people. And when "Benedicamus Domino," or "Requiescant in pace" must be said, let it be said in turning to the altar. When these things are spoken, let the priest (with his body bowed down, and his hands joined together), in the midst before the altar, say, with a still[14] voice, this prayer:

"O holy Trinity, let the office of my bond-service[15] please thee! and grant that this sacrifice, which I, unworthy, have offered in the eyes of thy majesty, may be acceptable unto thee: and that unto me and all them for whom I have offered it, it may avail to obtain remission,[16] thou being merciful, who livest and reignest God," etc.

(1) Here be such tricks as St. Peter and Paul never wrote of. (2) A dangerous matter I tell you.
(3) 'Magno conatu magnas nugas agunt.'
(4) 'De munere temporali.' Note well these words.
(5) A token that he hath had some corrupt matter in hand.
(6) What! dare ye call it a communion? Dr. Weston will be angry then.
(7) What is it that these idolaters will not worship? Very signs and tokens will not they stick at.
(8) He had need, I trow, that hath daubed such a muddy wall.
(9) Is the priest, then, too proud to take it up himself.
(10) For the poor deacon is not worthy to receive it.
(11) By this is meant, these few words that are spoken next before the last collect.
(12) O what a visor of holiness is here! (13) That is, the last collect.
(14) And why not with a loud voice if it be good? Because it is not the mass-mongers' profession, to edify the people.
(15) Bad service is as fit a name for the popish mass as can be. For not only custom, but evil will also, doth much, if Master Money help not.
(16) What! the mass, in the devil's name?—for what intent then died Christ?

Mary. A. D. 1553.

Which prayer being ended, let the priest stand upright, crossing himself in his face,[1] saying, "In nomine Patris," etc. And so when obeisance is made, after the same order wherein they came afore to the altar at the beginning of the mass, so, having on their apparel, with the censer-bearer, and other ministers, let them go their way again.[2]

THE END OF THE CANON.

Now it remaineth (as we have promised before) to entreat of the parts and parcels of the Mass, declaring likewise how, and by whom, this popish or rather apish mass became so clampered and patched together with so many divers and sundry additions; whereby it may the better appear what hath been the continuance of the same.

First, in the beginning of this preface it was declared before, how this word "mass" was never used or known in the old primitive church, among the first Christians, nor among the Grecians. Therefore they that deduce and derive the origin of the mass from St. James and Basil, are far deceived. As I think, that St. James was once bishop at Jerusalem, so I think not contrary, but sometimes he ministered at the communion there, in breaking of bread, and that not without the Lord's Prayer, and other prayers of thanksgiving, as we now in our communion use like prayers, and these prayers make not the communion to be a mass. And the like is to be said of St. Peter, who though he did celebrate the communion at Rome, yet it followeth not that he said mass at Rome, as some report him to have done.

Neither is it hard to fetch out the origin, how this error first came up among the people, that St. James said mass at Jerusalem, if a man consider well histories and authors who have written. For in the history of Eusebius, Egesippus thus writeth of St. James, "Eum ab apostolis primum constitutum fuisse episcopum et liturgum," etc.[3] Upon the which word "liturgus,"[4] it is not unlike, and divers suppose, this error to come: that St James did first set and institute the order of mass. For so lightly the old translators, wheresoever they find "liturgia," or "collecta," (κοινωνία) they translated it "missa;" whereupon the greatest occasion of this error riseth, to make the people believe the mass to be so ancient as to proceed from the apostles, and from St. James. Notwithstanding that error as it lightly came up, so it may be as lightly exploded. For how could St. James say mass then at Jerusalem, or St. Peter at Rome, when as yet neither the name of mass was heard, nor the parts thereof invented? And although Sigebert in his Chronicles reports, that in the city of Bazas, being delivered from the siege of the Huns, the pastor of that church did celebrate mass with thanksgiving, about the year 453, yet Sigebert, in so saying, is to be taken as speaking rather after the use and manner of his time when he wrote it, than of that time when it was done. For in all the works of St. Augustine, and of Chrysostome, and in all that age, the name of mass is not found, but it is called either the supper of the Lord, or the Lord's board or communion, synaxis, sacrifice, oblation, mystery, celebration of the sacrament, eucharistia,

How it cometh that St. James is thought to be the first setter-up of the mass.

(1) That face hath much crossing. (2) Walk as ye came: ye have leave to be trudging.
(3) Ex Euseb. lib. ii.
(4) The word "Liturgus," upon which Foxe grounds his remarks, does not appear in the portion of Eusebius referred to (lib. ii. cap. 23,) nor in book vii. cap. 19, where the appointment of St. James is again the subject.—Ed.

the mystical table, mystagogia, cœna mystica; or with some other like term they nominate it. The name of the mass was not yet devised, nor were the patches thereof compiled. Platina testifieth,[1] that before pope Celestine, only the epistle and gospel were read at the communion, which being done, the communion ended. And Gregory saith,[2] that the apostles, afore the ministration of the sacrament did use only the Lord's Prayer, that is, the Pater-noster. Let us hear what Walafridus Strabo writeth of that matter:[3] "That which now is done in the church, with such a long circumstance of so many orisons, lessons, or readings, songs and consecrations; all that the apostles, and they that next succeeded the apostles (as it is thought), did accomplish simply with prayer only, and with the commemoration of the Lord's passion," etc. It followeth in the same author: "And, as the report is, like as it is in the Roman church upon Good Friday, where the communion is wont to be taken without any mass; so it was in the old time with them," etc.

Mary. A.D. 1553. Platina.

Now how this mass hath grown up and increased since, let us search out, by the Lord's help, out of authors, so much as may be found.

THE "INTROITE."[4]

Pope Celestine gave the first Introite, as Platina and Sigebert write.[5]

THE PSALM. "JUDICA ME DEUS," ETC.

And before the priest do prepare himself to his mass, first with the psalm, "Judica me Deus et discerne causam meam," etc.: that was ordained by the said Celestine.

And where they ascribed to St. Ambrose the two prayers which he used in the preparation to the mass, and be added to the books of Ambrose, Erasmus judgeth the same to be none of his, and that rightly as it seemeth: for therein are contained errors, not else to be found in the books of Ambrose, both in giving adoration to the bread of the sacrament, and making invocation to saints, namely, to blessed Mary; as in the second prayer, where he saith:[6] "And that this my prayer may be of efficacy, I desire the suffrage and intercession of blessed Mary the virgin," etc.: whereby it may appear learned Ambrose not to be the author of such an error.

Chrysostome, in the eleventh Homily upon the gospel of Matthew, saith, that in his time, and afore his time, the use was to sing whole psalms, till they were entered and assembled together. And so belike Celestine borrowed this custom of the Greeks, and brought it into the Latin church as Rupertus writeth.[7] Chrysostome.

(1) "Perlectâ enim epistolâ et evangelio, finis sacrificio imponebatur," p. 57. Edit. Lugduni. 1512.—Ed. (2) Greg. in Regist. lib. vii. c. 63.

(3) "Quod nunc agimus multiplici orationum, lectionum, cantilenarum, et consecrationum officio, totum hoc apostoli, et post ipsos proximi (ut creditur) orationibus, et commemoratione passionis Dominicæ, sicut ipse præcepit, agebant simpliciter," etc. Lib. de Rebus Ecclesiastic. c. 22.

(4) "The Introite."—"Convenit fere inter auctores usum Introitus introductum esse a Celestino I., pontifice; sic enim scribit Walafridus, cap. xxii., Micrologus, cap. i., et alii passim." Bellarmine de Missa, lib. ii. cap. 16.—Ed.]

(5) Platina, et Sigebertus in Vitâ Sergii. [Sigebert of Gembloux in Brabant wrote a Chronicle from the year 381 to 1112 (in which latter year he is supposed to have died), of which Miræus published an improved Edition at Antwerp in 1601 (Oudin. Comment. de Scrip. Eccles. tom. ii. col. 942); but Foxe must have used the earlier Edition of Paris, 1513.—Ed.]

(6) "Ut efficax hæc mea sit deprecatio, beatæ Mariæ virginis suffragia peto," etc.

(7) Rupertus Tuitiensis, lib. 2. De Divin. offic., cap. 21. Chro. Chro. Fasci. temp.

Mary. A.D. 1553.

Gregory the Great (as some write) called a synod at Rome, about the year of our Lord 594, in which synod he appointed that the introite of the mass should be taken out of some psalm.

THE "CONFITEOR."

Confiteor brought in by pope Damasus.

The "Confiteor," pope Damasus brought into the mass, as it is written: albeit peradventure not this popish Confiteor, which in the latter church hath been used, stuft full of idolatry and invocation of saints, against the word of God.

THE "KYRIE ELEISON."

The "Kyrie Eleison," nine times to be repeated in such a tongue as few priests either understand, or do rightly pronounce, Gregory did institute[1] about 600 years after Christ; taking it out of the Greek church, and yet transposing it otherwise than there it was used. For among the Greeks this "Kyrie Eleison," which they called their litany, was sung of all the people; the which Gregory ordained to be sung only of the choir: adding thereto also Christe Eleison, which the Grecians used not; as Gregory himself, writing to the bishop of Syracuse,[2] doth testify.

"GLORIA IN EXCELSIS."[3]

Next followeth "Gloria in Excelsis," etc.; which words were sung of the angels, at the birth of our Saviour. Albeit these words also were corrupted, as many other things were in the church; for where the words of the angels' hymn were "Hominibus bona voluntas," that is "To men good will;" the mass said, "Hominibus bonæ voluntatis;" that is, "To men of good will," etc. This hymn was brought into the mass by pope Symmachus (and not by Telesphorus, as some not truly write, that he ordained three masses on Christmas-day; for in his time there was no mass, A.D. 140), about the year of our Lord 510. And after, the said hymn was augmented by Hilary, of Poictiers, with those words that follow, "Laudamus te," etc., singing it first in his own church, which was A.D. 340. And afterward it was brought into other churches by pope Symmachus, A.D. 510, as is aforesaid.

"DOMINUS VOBISCUM," WITH THE ANSWER "OREMUS," AND THE COLLECTS.

"Dominus vobiscum," with the answer of the people, although we have no certain author named by whom it came; yet this is certain, that it was deduced out of the Greek church into the Latin; as may appear by the Liturgy of Chrysostome and Basil (if the Liturgy

(1) "Nam S. Gregorius (lib. vii. epist. 63) cum accusaretur, quod Kyrie eleison et alia nonnulla ex Græcorum ceremoniis in Lat. ecclesiam inveniret," &c. Bellarmine, ut supra.—Ed.

(2) Greg. Joanni Episc. Syracus. lib. 7. epist. 63. Walafridus, c. [xx. Walafrid Strabo, who flourished about 830, wrote "De exordiis et incrementis rerum ecclesiasticarum;" a work, according to Clarke, "of very considerable importance and utility." It was first published by Cochlœus, Moguntiæ, 1549; and afterwards included in the Bibliotheca Patrum. See Clarke's "Succession of Sacred Literature," vol. ii. p. 508; Oudin. Comment. 2 col. 74.—Ed.]

(3) Innocentius III. (lib. ii. de Mysteriis Missæ, cap. 20) scribit eam additionem ("Gloria in Excelsis") a nunnullis tribui Telesphoro, sed a pluribus tamen tribui Hilario Pictavo. See Bellarmine.—Ed.

be rightly ascribed unto them): also by Origen, and other ancient writers; by whom, it may seem that the liturgy or mass (as they call it) did first begin with "Dominus vobiscum," and then "Sursum corda;" after that "Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro," and so following upon the same, "Verè dignum et justum est," etc.: to the which beginning of the canon other additions, after, were put by others, as ye shall hear, by the Lord's grace, hereafter more at large.[1]

Mary. A.D. 1553.

Hugo de Sto. Victore writeth,[2] that this prayer was taken out of the ancient salutation of Boaz saluting his harvest-folks. And out of the book of Paralipomena, where the prophet saluteth Asa the king, with his company about him, saying, "Dominus vobiscum." Honorius writeth thus:[3] "As the priest saluteth the people with the words of the Old Testament, 'Dominus vobiscum;' so the bishop useth the words of the New Testament, saying, 'Pax vobiscum,'" etc. Concerning the collects, Walafridus writeth, that as they be divers and uncertain, so they were made of divers and sundry authors, as every of them thought it congrue. Hugo de Sto. Victore affirms, that chiefly they were made by Gelasius and Gregory.

Honorius. Walafrid. Strabo.

Why they were called collects, William Durand and Micrologus show the cause: for that in the city of Rome they said them over the people collected together on the station-day, therefore they were called "collectæ."[4]

THE "GRADUAL," WITH "ALLELUIA," "TRACT,"[5] AND "SEQUENCES."

The responsory, which is called the "gradual" (being wont to be sung at the steps[6] going up), with Alleluia, Honorius saith that Ambrose made them, but pope Gregory ordained them to be received.[7]

Upon festival days the "sequences," which were wont to be sung, were chiefly composed by an abbot called Notherus de Sto. Gallo,[8] and by pope Nicholas commanded to be sung in the mass.

The gradual the people were wont to sing when the bishop was about to go up to the pulpit, or some higher standing, where the word of God might be the better and more sensibly heard at his mouth, reading the epistle and the gospel.

THE EPISTLE AND THE GOSPEL.

The reading of the epistle and the gospel, although it was not used in the apostles' times, yet it seemeth to be of ancient continu-

(1) Ex. B. Rhen. Tertul. de coronâ milit. [p. 410 in the First Edition of Tertullian, which Rhenanus superintended. Basileæ, 1521.—Ed.]

(2) "Hugo de S. Victor." [In support of this paragraph the reader may consult the "Liturgicon Latinum a Jac. Parmenio. Colon. 1609," tom. i. p. 608.—Ed.]

(3) "Presbyter cum salutatione veteris Testamenti, et Episcopus cum salutatione novi Testamenti, salutat populum, quia dignius est novum quàm vetus Testamentum."

(4) Guil. Durand. in rationali [Divin. officiorum, lib. iv. cap. 15, fol. 13.] Microlog. de Eccles. observat [cap. 3 in the Biblioth. Patrum. tom. iv. p. 594. Paris, 1576.—Ed.]

(5) "Dicuntur autem hi versiculi 'Tractus' qui graviter et tractim cani debent in signum mœstitiæ, ut placet Durando." A very different reason is given by others; but the subject is hardly worth inquiring into. The preceding quotations are made from the Romish Cardinal, Bellarmine, to show the accuracy of Foxe, and his acquaintance with the subject generally. In the Historia Sacramentaria of Hospinian the same points are fully considered; pp. 175—182. Edit. Genevæ, 1681.—Ed.

(6) "Vera ratio videtur quam tradit B. Rhenanus in Annot. ad Tertul. de coronâ militis, quod scilicet dicatur Graduale, quia canebatur dum diaconus gradus ascenderet," &c. See Bellarmine. —Ed.

(7) Honorius, lib. ii. cap. 88.

(8) Abbas Notherus, auctor Sequentiarum. [Notherus was bishop of Liege from 971 to 1007. He wrote the lives of various saints, and about the miracles of others, etc. Oudin. Comment. ii. col. 482.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1553.

ance, as Hugo saith:[1] "In former time the mass began first with the epistle of St. Paul, after which epistle then followed the gospel, as also now," etc.

Walafrid. Strabo.

Walafridus saith, "It is uncertain who first ordered and disposed them so to be."

Some attribute them to Jerome, some to Damasus, some to Telesphorus aforesaid. This is certain, that pope Anastasius[2] ordained to stand up at the hearing of the gospel read; about the year of our Saviour 406.

Petrus Ciruelus writeth thus:[3] "We read that about 500 years since almost, the epistle," saith he, "was brought into the mass."

Honorius:[4] "Alexander," saith he, "appointed the epistle and gospel to be read at mass. The translation and the disposition of them, in that order as they stand, Jerome the priest collected; but Damasus appointed them to be read in the church, so as the use is now."

Betwixt the epistle and the gospel the old canons of the Spaniards did forbid any hymn or canticle to be sung in the order of the mass, which now by the Romish order is broken.[5]

THE CREED.

The creed was made by the synod of Constantinople, but, by Damasus the pope, ordained to be sung at the mass.[6] And whereas some affirm, that it was brought in by pope Marcus, about the year of our Lord 340—to reconcile these two together, peradventure thus it may be taken, that the one brought in the creed, or symbol of the Nicene Council, the other appointed the creed of Constantinople, as is said.[7]

THE OFFERTORY.

After this, oblations were wont to be offered of the people to the priest; and the offertory to be sung of the choir.[8]

Of these oblations speaketh Irenæus:[9] "Instead of the sundry rites of sacrifices, let the simple oblation of bread and wine suffice the faithful."

Item, Walafridus:[10] "Every person entering in the church must do sacrifice, as the order of ecclesiastical institution doth teach." What order this was, it is declared 'in Ordine Romano' by these words:[11]

(1) "Primis temporibus ab epistola Pauli missa incipiebatur, post quam sequebatur evangelium sicut nunc."

(2) "Constituit, ut quotiescunque sancta evangelia recitarentur, sacerdotes non sederent, sed curvi starent." Anastas. de Vitis Pontif. p. 31.—Ed.

(3) "Leginus et circa annos Christianæ salutis 500, fere, jam institutas Epistolas in officio Missali," etc.—Pet. Ciruelus Darocensis in Expositio libri Missalis (complete 1528) in epist. nuncup. [Peter Ciruelo was a native of Daroca in Arragon, and became canon of Salamanca, and then professor of Theology at Alcala de Henares. See also Antonio, Biblioth. Hispana nova, tom. ii. p. 185. Matriti, 1788.—Ed.]

(4) "Epistolam et Evangelium Alexander Papa legi ad Missam constituit. Hieronymus autem Presbyter Lexionarium et Evangeliarium, ut hodie habet Ecclesia, collegit; sed Damasus Papa, ut nunc moris est, legi censuit."—Honorius in summa, lib. i. cap. 88.

(5) Honor. ibid. (6) Ex Honor. (7) Ex actis Pontif. Rom.

(8) Ex Rabano, lib. i. cap. 3. De instit. cleric.

(9) "Pro diversis sacrificiorum ritibus, simplex oblatio panis et vini fidelibus sufficiat," etc. Iren. lib. iv. cap. 18. [These words do not occur in the 18th chapter, from which a good selection, nevertheless, might have been made. Foxe therefore, may have given the general sense of Irenæus, but not his exact words.—Ed.

(10) "Omnis populus intrans ecclesiam debet sacrificare, sicut docet ordo institutionis ecclesiasticæ." Walafrid. in exposit. ordinis Rom.

(11) "Populus dat oblationes suas, id est, panem et vinum, primò masculi, deinde fœminæ. Novissime vero sacerdotes et diaconi offerunt; sed solum panem, et hoc ante altare."

"The people give every one his oblations; that is, bread and wine, first the men, then the women. After them priests and deacons offer, but bread only," etc.

Likewise Burchardus testifieth the same:[1] "In the synod of Masçon it was ordained, that every Sunday and festival day, oblation should be made of all the people which came to the mass, or liturgy, both men and women, in the church; every person bringing and offering his own oblation. The liturgy being done, they should receive the oblations of the priest," etc.

Thus ye may see what were their oblations and sacrifice in the ancient time, in their liturgy. Whereof now remaineth nothing but the name only with the song.

This offertory some ascribe to Eutychianus, about the year of our Lord 280, but thereof no certain evidence appeareth.

"ORATE PRO ME, FRATRES," ETC.

Nauclerus writeth, that pope Leo brought in that which is said in the mass, "Orate pro me, fratres et sorores," etc.[2]

THE PREFACE OF THE CANON.[3]

The preface of the Canon from "verè dignum et justum est," etc. to "per Christum Dominum nostrum," is given to Gelasius. "Sursum corda" seemeth to be borrowed out of the old manner of the Greek church; St. Cyprian also maketh mention of the same, and St. Augustine.[4] And therefore Thomas Walden judgeth that this part of the preface cannot be attributed to Gelasius.

Thomas Walden.

After "Christum Dominum nostrum," in the old liturgy, then followed "Qui pridie quàm pateretur," as Rhenanus supposeth; but then came Gelasius I. about the year of our Lord 497, who inserted that which followeth, "Te igitur clementissimè," etc.[5] Whereby it is to be noted, that Polydore Virgil, who ascribeth "Qui pridie" to pope Alexander,[6] is deceived.

Polydore Virgil contradicted.

The like is also to be said of Panormitane, who referreth the same clause, "Qui pridie," etc., to the apostles.[7]

Furthermore note, good reader, how this doth agree with the long canon of St. Ambrose (lib. iv. de Sacrament. cap. 5): "Dicit Sacerdos, 'Fac nobis hanc oblationem adscriptam, rationalem, acceptabilem, quod est figura corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem, respexit ad cœlum, ad te Sancte Pater omnipotens et æterne Deus, gratias agens benedixit, fregit,'" etc. If it be true either that Panormitane saith, or that Gelasius made "Qui pridie," etc., how can this canon then be fathered upon St. Ambrose? And by the same reason also his whole book, entituled "De Sacramentis," may be suspected; as of divers learned men it is.

Panormitane deceived.

(1) "In synodo Matisconensi decretum est, ut in omnibus Dominicis diebus, aliisque festivitatibus, oblatio ab omnibus qui ad missam convenerint utriusque sexus offeratur in ecclesia, singulas oblationes offerentes finita missa oblationes à presbytero accipiant." Burchardus, lib. v. cap. 31. Ex concil. Matiscon. ii. canon 4. [in Labbé, tom. v. col. 981.—Ed.]

(2) Nauclerus, vol. ii. generat. [15. page 560, edit. Coloniæ, 1579.—Ed.]

(3) Ex vetusto quodam libro de officio Missæ.

(4) Cyprianus, de Oratione Dominica.—August. De Vera religione, cap. 3.

(5) B. Rhenanus in Tertul. de Corona Militis. (6) Polydore Virgil. de Invent. lib. v. cap. 10.

(7) Panormitane, Lib. de celebratione Missæ; cap. "Cum Martha."

Mary. A.D. 1553.

Then came pope Sixtus ten years after him, who brought into the canon "Sanctus, Sanctus," thrice to be sung out of the book of Isaiah; and, to annex it together, joined also that which goeth before, "Per quem majestatem tuam," etc.

He that writeth the Liturgy of Basil, ascribeth it to his name: whether he doth it truly or no, I will not here contend. This is to be noted, that seeing in the said Liturgy of Basil the same particle "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth: pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua, Osanna in Excelsis" is sung; therefore it must needs follow, that either Leo, who was about the year of our Lord 460, borrowed this out of Basil's Liturgy, or else the same is falsely attributed to Basil.[1]

After this followeth "Sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam," till ye come to "placatus accipias," which Leo the First did make and institute.

The words in the communion, "Hoc quotiescunque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis," etc., were put in by pope Alexander, as Humbertus writeth: "Alexander martyr. et papa quintus ab apost. Petro, passionem Domini inserens canoni missæ, ait, 'Hoc quotiescunque feceritis,'" etc.[2]

Pope Gregory III. about the year of our Lord 732, put to his piece, "Et eorum quorum memoria," etc.[3]

This Gregory III. called a council at Rome, wherein he decreed, that images should not only be had in temples, but also be worshipped, and that all gainsayers should be counted as heretics.

Innocent III.

Innocent III. affirmeth pope Gelasius, who was about four hundred and ninety years after Christ, to have made a great piece of that canon, as he himself did something therein, about the year of our Lord 1215.

Panormitane affirmeth that Gregory did add to the canon this clause, "Diesque nostros in pace disponas."[4]

Briefly, Gregory[5] saith, "that one Scholasticus made the most part of the canon, finding also fault with the same, that in composing the canon he would put in his own prayers, and leave out the Lord's Prayer," etc.

Authors reconciled. Gelasius and Scholasticus both one.

Where it is to be noted, for the reconciling these writers together, of whom some impute the canon to Gelasius, some again to Scholasticus: in my conjecture it may be said, that both these be one, and so the matter is reconciled. The reason that moveth me is this; for so I find in a certain ancient book "De Officio Missæ," after these words, "Gelasius, Papa ex Scholastico effectus, in ordine 48. fecit Tractatus et Hymnos," etc.

THE ELEVATION AND ADORATION.

The elevation and adoration of the sacrament we cannot find to come in by any other than by Honorius III., about the year of our

(1) Rupert. ex Pont. Damas. Liturgia Basilii.
(2) Humbertus episc. contra libellum Nicetæ Monachi.
(3) Ex actis Rom. Pontif. [This is Bale's work, and something to the point here mentioned appears in page 97; as reprinted by Lydius; Lug. Bat. 1615.—Ed.]
(4) Panor. de celebratione Missæ. (5) In registro.

Lord 1222; who ordained that the people then should kneel down and worship the sacrament.[1]

THE "PATER-NOSTER."

John the deacon, writing of Gregory, saith,[2] "that Gregory caused the Lord's Prayer to be recited immediately after the canon upon the host," etc.

Although the apostles ever used the Lord's Prayer at the supper of the Lord, as is said before; yet Gregory (belike) placed it so, in that order, after the canon, and brought it in with those words, "Præceptis salutaribus," etc.

Gregory:[3] "The Lord's Prayer," saith he, "amongst the Grecians, was wont to be sung generally of all the people: with us it is sung only of the priest."

THE "AGNUS."

The "Agnus," pope Sergius, about the year of our Lord 700, brought into the mass, as witnesseth Expositio Rom. Ordin. "Propter officium confractionis Dominici corporis, constitutum est a papa Sergio ut Agnus Dei decantetur," etc.

THE "PAX."

Innocent ordained the "pax" to be given to the people. "Pacis, ait, osculum dandum post confecta mysteria, ut constet populum ad omnia, quæ in mysteriis aguntur, præbuisse consensum,"[4] etc.

Peter Martyr, in his commentaries on Jude, saith, that it was brought in by pope Leo II., as it is said: and yet he supposeth the same not to be so, saying, "That this was an ancient custom in the apostles' time, for Christians to salute one another with the kiss of peace," etc.

To this of Peter Martyr agreeth also Gabriel Biel, writing in these words:[5] "In the primitive church the priest gave a kiss of peace to the minister, to be given by him to the people."

THE DISTRIBUTION AND COMMUNION.

After this followeth the communion, wherein our popish mass and ministers thereof do much alter and degenerate from ancient antiquity, two manner of ways. First, in that they make no communion thereof, receiving only to themselves, contrary both to their own words, where they say after their receiving, "Sacramenta quæ sumpsimus," etc., and also to the ancient examples and decrees of the apostles and others; and where it is decreed in the epistle of

(1) Ex actis Rom. Pont.
(2) "Orationem Dominicam mox post canonem super hostiam censuit recitari." Johan. Diaconus in Vitâ Gregorii.
(3) "Dominica Oratio apud Græcos ab omni populo: apud nos vero à solo sacerdote cantatur." Greg. lib. 9. Reg. ad Johan. Syra.
(4) Ex decretis Innocentii, P. P. cap. 1.
(5) "Porrexit in primitiva ecclesia sacerdos osculum pacis ministro, cæteris impartiendum, ut per hoc significaret," etc. Gabriel Biel: in Can. sect. 81.

Mary. A.D. 1553.

Anacletus,[1] "The consecration being done, let all communicate together; unless they will be thrust out of the church doors," etc.

Gratianus and Cochleus taken in an untruth.

Here note by the way, gentle reader, how Gratian the writer of the pope's decrees is overseen, who, in his book De Consecrat., dist. 2, referreth this saying of Anacletus to pope Calixtus. And likewise also Cochleus, writing against Musculus, followeth Gratian in the same error.[2]

Likewise in the canons of the apostles (if the canons were theirs), we read, πάντας τοὺς εἰσιοντὰς πίστους, μὴ παραμένοντας δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ ἁγία μεταλήψει,[3] etc. i.e. "All the faithful, who resort to the church, and tarry not out the end of the service, and receive not the holy communion, be such as, bringing in disorder to the church, ought to be dissevered," etc. And again, "Si quis episcopus, presbyter, aut diaconus, aut quicunque ex sacerdotali consortio, oblatione facta, non communicaverint, causam dicito,"[4] etc.

For how can that be called a communion, which is not common, but private to one? As Micrologus writeth:[5] "It cannot be called a communion, except more than one do participate of one sacrifice," etc.

And Durandus:[6] "In the primitive time all that were present at the ministration were wont every day to communicate, because that the apostles did altogether drink of the cup," etc.

Secondly, They alter and degenerate therein from ancient antiquity, in that when they communicate also with the people, yet they deprive them of the holy cup: which deprivation was not in the church before the council of Constance, about the year of our Lord, 1414. For before, it was so authenticly received, that it was counted a sacrilege to receive the one without the other, as appeareth by the words of pope Gelasius.[7] The whole in English is this: "We understand that there be some, who, receiving the one part only of the holy body, abstain from the cup of the sacred blood; who, because they be taught so to do (by what superstition I cannot tell), either let them receive the sacrament whole together, or let them abstain from the whole sacrament altogether; because the division of that one and whole sacrament cannot be without great sacrilege," etc.

Hitherto also pertaineth the testimony of St. Augustine in these words:[8] "There be you at the table; and at the cup there also be you with us: for together we receive, and together we drink, because we live together."

As also out of the book of Gregory it is manifest, that not only the people received them in both kinds; but also the words were prescribed to the minister, that he should say in giving the

(1) "Peracta autem consecratione omnes communicent, qui noluerint ecclesiasticis carere liminibus. Sic enim et apostoli statuerunt, et S. Romana tenet ecclesia." Anaclet. ep. 1. De Consecrat. dist. 2, c. 2. "Peract."

(2) Cochleus contra Musculum de officio Missæ. (3) Can. Ap. cap. 9. (4) Can. Ap. cap. 8.

(5) "Nec enim propriè communio dici potest, nisi plures de eodem sacrificio participent," etc. Micrologus de Ecclesiast. [Obser. cap. 51.—Ed.]

(6) "In primitiva ecclesia omnes qui celebrationi missarum intererant singulis diebus communicare solebant, eo quod apostoli omnes de calice biberunt," etc. Gul. Durand. in Ration. lib. iv. cap. 53.

(7) "Comperimus quod quidam sumpta tantummodo corporis sacri portione," etc. Gelas. Joan. et Majorico Episc. de Consecrat. dist. ii. cap. "Comperimus." [Corpus Juris Canonici, tom. i. p. 454. Paris, 1677; and Labbé's Concilia, tom. iv. col. 1156.—Ed.]

(8) "Et ibi vos estis in mensa, et in calice nobiscum vos estis. Simul enim hoc sumimus, simul bibimus, quia simul vivimus," etc. Aug. serm. 2. Pasch. [The former part of this quotation appears as follows in the Benedictine edition of Augustine (tom. v. col. 976), where it ranks as Sermo 229; "Et ibi vos estis in mensâ et ibi vos estis in calice. Nobiscum vos estis."—Ed.]

cup:[1] "Let the priest say, in giving the cup, 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ keep thee to everlasting life, Amen.'"

Further, in rendering the cause why it should so be done, Thomas Aquinas writeth:[2] "For that serveth to represent the passion of Christ, wherein his blood was parted severally from the body, etc. Secondly, for that it is convenient to the use of the sacrament, that the body should severally be given to the faithful for meat, and the blood for drink."

And therefore served the office of the deacons, as we read:[3] "To lay the offerings of the people upon the altar to be hallowed, and when the mysteries be consecrated, to distribute the cup of the sacred blood of the Lord to the faithful," etc.

But among all other testimonies to prove that the sacrament ought to be common to all people in both kinds, there is none more evident than that of Jerome:[4] "The supper of the Lord ought to be indifferently common to all his disciples there present," etc.

And thus have ye heard the canon described, which otherwise is called "Secretum;" that is, "The secret of the mass," being so termed, because the priest was wont to read it in secret or in silence. The reason thereof pope Innocent III. declareth in his third book: "For that the holy words," saith he, "of the canon, should not grow in contempt with the people, by the daily use and hearing thereof." And he bringeth in an example concerning the same of certain shepherds, who in the fields, using the same words of the canon upon their bread and wine, "the matter was turned," saith he, "into flesh and blood, and they plagued there-for from heaven:" but with such popish tales the church hath been long replenished.[5]

THE POSTCOMMON.

Odd collects.

After the canon and communion then followeth the postcommon, with the collects, which the mass-book requireth always to be used in an odd number, sometimes teaching to use but one, as in the Sundays in Lent; and sometimes three, as in certain masses from Low-Sunday till the Ascension; but never to pass the number of seven.

"ITE MISSA EST."

Last of all cometh "Ite missa est," whereby the minister dimitteth and sendeth away all the congregation there present to their business: for, as you heard before, it was decreed in ancient time, that it was not lawful to depart from the congregation in the time of holy ministration, before the end of the whole communion.[6] And therefore, all things being accomplished, the minister, turning to the assembly, pronounceth, "Ite missa est."

(1) "Item sacerdos calicem dando dicat; Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat te ad vitam æternam." Ex libro Sacramentorum Gregorii.

(2) "Nam hoc valet ad representandam passionem Christi, in qua seorsim fuit sanguis à corpore separatus, etc. Secundò, hoc est conveniens usui hujus sacramenti, ut seorsim exhibeatur corpus Christi fidelibus in cibum, et sanguis in potum." Thomas Aquin. part. iii. quæst. 76. art. 2.

(3) "Ut oblata à populo super altare consecranda disponant, et perfectis mysteriis, calicem sacrosancti sanguinis Domini fidelibus propinent." Amb. lib. de omnibus Divin. Officiis.

(4) "Cæterum Dominica cœna omnibus debet esse communis, quia ille omnibus discipulis suis qui aderant æqualiter tradidit sacramenta." Hierom. in epist. 1 Cor. cap. 11. "Convenientibus."

(5) Innocent III de Sacro Altaris Mysterio, lib. iii. cap. 1.

(6) Ex Vetusto lib. de Divin. Officiis.

Mary. A. D. 1553.

Where note that upon Sundays and festival days only, when "Gloria in excelsis" was sung, "Ite missa est" was wont to be said: on the work-days "Benedicamus Domino;" sometimes "Requiescant in pace."

Albes and corporasses.

Now concerning such trinkets as were to the aforesaid mass appertaining or circumstant: first, the linen albes and corporasses were brought in by pope Mark A.D. 340;[1] if that be true which is thought by some. Where note again, that in the time of this pope it was nothing offensive for every honest priest to have his own proper wife. In the time also of this Mark was the council of Elvira in Spain, which condemned all kinds of images and pictures in temples.

Contrary to the which council pope Gregory III., about the year of our Lord 732, calling a council at Rome, did not only stablish the images before condemned, but condemned the gainsayers for heretics, as is aforesaid.[2]

Hallowing of altars.

By Sixtus II. it was ordained, that no liturgy[3] should be done save only upon altars hallowed, about the year of our Lord 260, as some suppose. But as I see no firm probation upon the same, so have I probable conjecture the same not to be true.

Vestments and albes.

Some there be that shame not to say, that St. Clement brought in the albes and vestments to the popish mass.

Chalices of glass.

Item, That the sacrament of the blood of the Lord should be consecrated in chalices of glass, and not of wood, as it was in time before, they say it was the ordinance of pope Zephyrinus.[4]

Chalices of gold.

After this came in golden chalices, and a true proverb withal, "That once they had wooden chalices, and golden priests; now they have golden chalices, and wooden priests."

Bells and lamps.

Sabinian ordained the ringing of bells and burning of lamps in churches.[5]

Organs.

Vitalian the playing on the organs.[6]

Gloria Patri.

Damasus, by the instigation of Jerome, appointed "Gloria Patri" after the Psalms.[7]

Memento for the dead.

Pelagius devised the memento for the dead.

Incense.

Leo brought in the incense.

The offering.

Eutychian,[8] as others say, brought in the offertory, which was then after a manner far otherwise than it is, or hath been used now a great while. For what time as many of the heathen, being greatly accustomed with offerings, were converted unto Christ, and could not be well brought from their old long use of offerings, the pope thought to

(1) Rather "336." The introduction of the Pall is ascribed to him. "Ab eo institutum, ut Episcopus Ostiensis, qui consecrat Episcopum urbis, pallio uteretur, tradit liber Pontificalis." Vitæ Pontiff. Rom. studio A. Sandini (Ferrariæ, 1775), p. 94; who quotes Baronius also (ad an. 336, § 63) to the same effect.—Ed.

(2) "Ab defensione sacrarum imaginum ordiens Pontificatum, legationibus, Epistolis, Synodis restitit Imperatori Sconomacho." Sandini ut supra, p. 268.—Ed.

(3) This ordinance belongs rather to Felix I. Cardinal Bona cites as much from Anastasius, lib. i. Rerum Liturg. cap. 19, § 5; but it is of little consequence.—Ed.

(4) Cardinal Bona (as quoted by Sandini, p. 40, note 3) writes—"putant nonnulli a Zephyrino papa statutum fuisse, ut calices vitrei essent." Lib. i. Rerum Liturg. cap. 25, § 1.—Ed.

(5) "Sabinianum Campanarum usum invenisse affirmant aliqui." Sandini, p. 217; who thinks the opinion to be unfounded. He was bishop of Rome in 604.—Ed.

(6) "Anno 672, e vivis abiit Vitalianus, quem organis ad sacrorum cultus usum esse, ex quorundam sententia Platina scribit." Sandini, p. 241.—Ed.

(7) "Multi scriptores legem canendæ doxologiæ in fine Psal. ad Damasum papam referunt, a quo hanc editam sanctionem aiunt, D. Hieronymo suadente et procurante. Decepti sunt isti ob epist. Hieronymi ad Damasum, quæ ab eruditis tanquam adulterina ac plane commentitia explodituir." Bona de divina Psal. cap. 16, § 6. 2.—Ed.

(8) "Eutychianus, as others say." "Hic constituit, ut fruges super altare tantum, fabæ, et uvæ benedicerentur." Anastasii Hist. de Vitis Pont. Rom. p. 12. Moguntiæ, 1602.

bear somewhat with the weak, and permitted them to bring meats into the congregation or church, that when the bishop had blessed them, they that brought them might distribute them to the poor, or take them to their own use. But afterwards did pope Gregory so help with this sentence,[1] "Thou shalt not appear in the sight of thy God empty," etc., that as he willed the people to lay their offerings upon the altar, so they did; and have not yet forgotten to do so still.

Soul-masses.

Soul-masses, and masses applied for the dead, came in partly by Gregory, partly by Pelagius, who brought in the Memento, as is said.

Application of masses for the dead.

Wherein note, good reader, and mark, how these two stand together, that which our Saviour saith in his evangelist, "Hoc facite in mei commemorationem," "Do this in remembrance of me;" and that which they say, "In quorum memoria corpus Christi sumitur," etc. i. e. "In whose commemoration the body of Christ is taken," etc. Christ would it to be done in his remembrance; and the pope saith, "Do it in remembrance of the dead," etc.—What can be more contrary?

Reservation of the sacrament. Auricular confession. A policy for unity of popery.

Innocent III. ordained that the sacrament should be reserved in the church. The same brought also in auricular confession[2] as a law, about the year of our Lord 1215. He did also constitute that no archbishop should enjoy the pall, unless he were of his own religion; and therefore no great marvel if there be such unity in popery.

Vigilius ordained that the priest should say mass having his face toward the east.

The first Latin mass sung at Constantinople.

Platina writeth how the first Latin mass was sung in the sixth council of Constantinople, which was about the year of our Lord 680: so that the said mass was there and then first allowed, and not before. And yet they (I mean the Greek church) should have known as soon as the mass, if it had proceeded from James or Basil, as the Latin church did know it.

The feast of All Souls. The feast of All-hallows.

The opinion to think the mass to help souls in purgatory, was confirmed by pope John XVII. by reason of a dream, wherein he dreamed that he saw (and heard the voices of) devils lamenting and bewailing, that souls were delivered from them by the saying of masses and diriges. And therefore he did approve and ratify the feast of All Souls, brought in by Odilo. Moreover he adjoined also to the same the feast of Allhallows, about the year of our Lord 1003.

Lent fast.

Concerning Lent fast, some think that Telesphorus,[3] about the year of our Lord 140, was the author thereof. But that peradventure may be as true, as that which they also attribute to him, that he ordained three masses of one priest to be said on Christmas-day. Or, if he did ordain that fast, yet he did ordain it but freely to be kept: for so I find among the decrees, that Lent was commanded first to be fasted but only of the clergy or churchmen.

Three masses on Christmas day.

Censing.

Pope Leo commanded the sacrament to be censed.

Covering.

Pope Boniface set in his foot for covering of the altars.

In St. Cyprian's time it seemeth that water was then mingled with the wine, whereof we read mention in his second book of Epistles,[4]

(1) "Non apparebis in conspectu Dei tui vacuus," etc.
(2) This was in the fourth Lateran council, canon 21, in Labbé, tom. xi. pars 1, col. 173.—Ed.
(3) "Hic constituit, ut septem hebdomadas ante pascha jejunium celebraretur, et natali Domini noctu missæ celebrarentur." Anastas. Hist. Rom. Pontif. p. 4.—Ed.
(4) Cyprian. lib. ii. epist. 3.

Mary. which mixture is referred to Alexander I., in the Order of the Roman canon.[1]

A. D. 1553.

Breaking of the host in three parts.

As concerning the breaking of the body in three parts, we read also mention to be made in the same book of Order, but no certain author thereof to be named. The words of the book be these:[2] "Three ways is the body of the Lord understood: one which rose again from the dead, being signified by that part which is let fall to the blood in the chalice; the other is that which yet is living in the earth, which the part of the priest eaten doth signify; the third is that which now resteth in Christ, which also is figured by that particle that is reserved upon the altar."

Dedication of churches.

Dedication of churches came in by Felix III.; and that churches might not be hallowed but by a bishop, A.D. 492.

The canticle, "Gloria, laus," etc. in the procession before the mass on Palm Sunday, was instituted by Theodulphus, bishop of Orleans, as Sigebert writeth, about the year of our Lord 483.

Giving of holy bread came in by this occasion, as it is to be gathered, partly out of Honorius, partly out of Durandus, and others. The manner was in ancient time, that the ministers were wont to receive certain meal of every house or family, wherewith a great loaf was made, called "Panis Dominicus," able to serve in the communion, and to be distributed unto the people, who then were wont every day to be present and to receive, especially they that offered the meal: for whom it was wont therefore to be said in the canon, "Omnium circumstantium, qui tibi hoc sacrificium laudis offerunt," etc. But afterward, the number of the people increasing, and piety decreasing, as Durandus writeth, it was then ordained to communicate but only upon Sundays.[3]

At length followed the third constitution, that thrice a year, at least Easter, every man should communicate; it being thus provided, that instead of the daily communion before used, the "pax" did serve.

Holy bread.

And instead of receiving upon the Sunday, bread was hallowed, and suddenly given and distributed unto the people, which also was called "Eulogia;" the constitution whereof seemeth to proceed from pope Pius. For so we read in the decrees of the said pope Pius:[4] "That the minister shall take of the oblations offered of the people, remaining of the consecration, or else of the bread which the faithful bring unto the church, or else to take of his own bread and cut it conveniently in portions in a clean and a convenient vessel; so that after the solemnity of the ministration being done, they that were not prepared and ready to communicate, may receive every Sunday or festival-day 'eulogies,' or benedictions with the same." Hæc ille.

As concerning holy water, which they used to sprinkle at the church door upon them that entered in, I will not say that it sprung from the idolatrous use of the Gentiles.

(1) Ex libro Ordinis Rom. Officio.

(2) "Tripliciter," inquit, "corpus Domini intelligitur. Unum quod resurrexit à mortuis, quod significat particula in sanguinem missa; aliud quod adhuc vivit in terra, significatum per particulam à sacerdote consumptam; tertium, quod jam requiescit in Christo, quod etiam à tertia particula in altari reservata aptè figuratur," etc. Ex Rom. Ordine de Officio Missæ.

(3) Honor. in Gemma. lib. i cap. 66.—Guliel. Durand. in Ration. lib. iv. cap. 53.

(4) "Ut de oblationibus, quæ offeruntur à populo et consecrationibus supersunt, vel de panibus quos deferunt fideles ad ecclesiam, vel certè de suis, presbyter convenienter partes incisas habeat in vase nitido et convenienti, et post missarum solennia qui communicare non fuerint parati Eulogias omni die Dominica, et in diebus festis, exinde accipiant." Ex Sanctionibus Ecclesiasticis. Class. 3, Decreta Pii Papæ.

This I say as I find in "Historia Zozomeni:"[1] "It was an old custom among the Romans, that at the entering in at the church door, the priest, after the usual manner of the Ethnics, having in his hand moist branches of olive, did sprinkle with the same such as entered in," etc. To the which custom this our manner of giving of holy water is so like, that it seemeth to proceed out of the same.

In the book of the pope's Decrees, and in the Distinctions of Gratian, there is a certain decree fathered upon Alexander I. about the year of our Lord 121; which decree may well seem to be a bastard decree, neither agreeing to such a father, nor such a time, concerning the conjuring of holy water. The words of the decree be these:[2] "We bless water sprinkled with salt among the people, that all such as be sprinkled with the same, may be sanctified and purified; which thing we charge and command all priests to do. For if the ashes of the cow, in the old law, being sprinkled among the people, did sanctify and cleanse them, much more water sprinkled with salt, and hallowed with godly prayers, sanctifieth and cleanseth the people. And if that Elisha the prophet, by the sprinkling of salt, did heal and help the barrenness of the water; how much more doth the salt, being hallowed by godly prayers, take away the barrenness of human things, and sanctify and purge them that be defiled; also multiply other things that be good, and turn away the snares of the devil, and defend men from the deceptions of fantasy," etc.[3]

Thus ye have heard the author and father of holy water, which some also ascribe to pope Sixtus, who succeeded Alexander: but as the papists do not agree in the first author or institutor of this hallowing of elements, so I think the same untruly to be ascribed to either. But leaving the probation of this to further pleasure, let us now hear, in our own tongue, their own words, which they use in this their conjuration.

The Form and Words used of the Priest in conjuring Salt.

I conjure thee, thou creature of salt, by the ✠ living God, by the ✠ true God, by the holy God, etc.: that thou mayest be made a conjured salt, to the salvation of them that believe; and that unto all such as receive thee thou mayest be health of soul and body; and that from out of the place wherein thou shalt be sprinkled, may fly away and depart all fantasy, wickedness, or craftiness of the devil's subtlety, and every foul spirit, etc.

The Form of conjuring Water.

I conjure thee, thou creature of water, in the name of ✠ God the Father almighty, and in the name of ✠ Jesu Christ his Son our Lord, and in the

(1) "Erat autem Romanis vetusta consuetudo, ut quum limen templi transeundum esset, sacerdos secundum morem Ethnicum, madidos quosdam olivæ ramusculos manu tenens ingredientes aspergebat," etc. Zozom. lib. vi. cap. 6; Theodor. lib. iii. cap. 6.

(2) "Aquam sale conspersam in populis benedicimus, ut ea cuncti aspersi sanctificentur et purificentur, quod omnibus sacerdotibus faciendum esse mandamus: nam si cinis vitulæ asperaus populum sanctificabat, atque mundabat, multò magis aqua sale asperaa, divinisque precibus sacrata, populum sanctificat atque mundat. Et si sale asperso per Helisæum prophetam sterilitas aquæ sanata est; quantò magis divinis precibus sacratus sal sterilitatem rerum aufert humanarum, et coinquinatos sanctificat et purgat, et cætera bona multiplicat, et insidias diaboli avertit, et à phantasmatis versutiis homines defendit!" Ex lib. Concil. De Consecrat. Dist. 3. c. "Aquam."

(3) These incantations will be commonly found in the earlier pages of the Missals, etc.; as in the Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiæ Sarum (fol. Paris, 1502), where they follow the Calendar. They appear also much in the same position in the Manuale ad usum Sarum (Antverpiæ 1542). See Rivet. Catholicus orthodox. tract., 2. quæst. 25, f. 2; and Thuani Hist. lib. cxxiii. cap. 1, where nearly seven folio pages are filled with an account of a pretended possession, which was, as usual, countenanced by the popish priesthood, and it was detected by the faculty, in 1599.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1553.

virtue ✠ of the Holy Ghost, that thou become a conjured water to expel all power of the enemy, etc.

Who seeth not in these words blasphemy intolerable; how that which is only due to the blood of Christ, and promised to faith only in him, is transferred to earthly and insensate creatures, to be salvation both to body and spirit, inwardly to give remission of sins, to give health and remedy against evils and devils, against all fantasies, wickedness, and all foul spirits, and to expel the power of the enemy, etc.? If this be true, whereto serveth the blood of Christ, and the virtue of christian faith?

Therefore judge thyself, gentle reader, whether thou think this trumpery rightly to be fathered upon those ancient fathers aforenamed; or else whether it may seem more like truth that John Sleidan writeth, whose words, in his second book "De Monarchiis," are these:[1] "The decrees of these aforesaid bishops and martyrs be inserted in the Book of Councils; but of these decrees many be so childish, so trifling, and so far disagreeing from the holy Scripture, that it is very like that the same were feigned and counterfeited of others long after their time," etc. Thus much saith Sleidan, with more words in that place; unto whose testimony if I might be so bold also to add my conjecture, I would suppose the conjuration of this aforesaid water and salt to spring out of the same fountain, from whence proceeded the conjuring of flowers and branches, because I see the order and manner of them both to be so like and uniform as may appear.

Many decrees falsely imputed to the old fathers, which were none of theirs.

The Manner of hallowing Flowers and Branches.

I conjure thee, thou creature of flowers and branches, in the name of ✠ God the Father almighty, and in the name of ✠ Jesu Christ his Son our Lord, and in the virtue of the Holy ✠ Ghost. Therefore be thou rooted out and displanted from this creature of flowers and branches, all thou strength of the adversary, all thou host of the devil, and all the power of the enemy, even every assault of the devils, etc.

And thus much concerning the antiquity of holy bread and holy water; whereby thou mayest partly conjecture the same not to be so old as Stephen Gardiner, in his letter against master Ridley above mentioned, would have; being both deceived himself, and also going about to seduce others.

Relics and memorials of saints.

Furthermore, as touching the reserving of relics and the memorial of saints brought into the mass, Gregory III. is the author thereof, who also added to the canon thereof this clause, "Quorum solemnitates hodie in conspectu Divinæ majestatis tuæ celebrantur," etc.[2]

Finally, it were too long to recite every thing in order, devised and brought in particularly to the mass, and to the church. For after that man's brain was once set on devising, it never could make an end of heaping rite upon rite, and ceremony upon ceremony, till all religion was turned well nigh to superstition. Thereof cometh oil and cream, brought in by pope Sylvester,[3] not wont to be hallowed

Oil and cream, the corporas only of linen.

(1) "Horum decreta sunt in libris inserta conciliorum, sed ex his pleraque tam sunt levicula, tam nugatoria, tam aliena prorsus à sacris literis, ut credibile sit ab aliis longo post tempore fuisse conficta," etc.

(2) Ex actis Rom. Pontif. in Vitâ Greg. III. ["Gregorius III. (731) ædiculam construxit, in quâ sacras reliquias undique conquisitas condidit ad cultum." Sandini (ut supra), page 268.—Ed.]

(3) See Anastas. de Vitis Pontiff. p. 16. Edit. 1602; or Sandini, page 88.—Ed.

but by a bishop: that the corporas should not be of silk, but only of fine linen cloth: that the psalms should be sung on sides, the one side of the choir singing one verse, the other another, with "Gloria Patri," etc.: that baptism should be ministered at no other time in the year but only at Easter and Whitsuntide (save only to infants, and such as were in extreme infirmity), and that it should be required forty days before: so determined by pope Siricius.[1] And therefore was it that fonts were hallowed only at these two seasons, the which hallowing they keep yet still, but the ordinance they have rejected. Item, that bells also were christened.[2] Item, no priest should wear a beard, or have long hair: so appointed by pope Martin I.[3] Item, that auricular confession should be made, that the book of decrees and decretals should be established, and transubstantiation confirmed; in which three acts pope Innocent III. was the chiefest doer, about the year of our Lord 1215.[4]

Hallowing of the font at Easter and Whitsuntide.

Christening of bells.

No beards.

Transubstantiation.

And thus have ye in sum the gatherings of the mass, with the canon and all the appurtenance of the same: which, not much unlike to the crow of Æsop, being patched with the feathers of so many birds, was so long a gathering, that the temple of Solomon was not so long in building, as the pope's mass was in making. Whereby judge now thyself, good reader, whether this mass did proceed from James and other apostles, or no. And yet this was one of the principal causes for which so much turmoil was made in the church, with the bloodshed of so many godly men, suffering in so many quarters of this realm; some consumed by fire; some pined away with hunger; some hanged; some slain; some racked; some tormented one way, some another: and that only or chiefly for the cause of this aforesaid popish mass; as by the reading of this story following, by the grace of Christ our Lord, shall appear more at large. In whom I wish thee to continue in health, and to persevere in the truth.

QUEEN MARY.

THE FIRST ENTERING OF QUEEN MARY TO THE CROWN, WITH THE ALTERATION OF RELIGION, AND OTHER PERTURBATIONS HAPPENING THE SAME TIME IN THIS REALM OF ENGLAND.[5]

WHAT time king Edward, by long sickness, began to appear more feeble and weak, in the meanwhile, during the time of this his

(1) Autor. lib. Concil. tom. i.

(2) In Buck's Theological Dictionary, by Dr. Henderson, it is stated (p. 101), that the bells were assigned "godfathers and godmothers, who, as they held the ropes, gave them their names," &c.: and they may be seen so represented in a wood-cut in the Pontificale Romanum, folio. Venetiis, 1543. Upon the same subject may be consulted Hospinian de Templis, p. 470, edit. 1603; Centum Gravamina Nat. Germ. No. 51; Riveti Catholicus Orthodox. lib. ii. quæst. 17, §. 11; and Crashaw's Sermon at the Crosse (London, 1609), p. 115.—ED.

(3) Ex Pont. Damas.

(4) The notes upon this portion of Foxe might have been much enlarged from Gavanti's Thesaurus rituum, etc.; to which, or to similar works, the reader is referred for enlarged information on the above subject. What has been here brought forward is enough to show Foxe's general accuracy, and, that object satisfactorily attained, any further inquiry into these subjects seems needless in this place.—ED.

(5) See Edition 1559, p 215; Ed. 1563, p. 901. Ed. 1570, p. 1567. Ed. 1576, p. 1336. Ed. 1583, p. 1397. Ed. 1597, p. 1270. Ed. 1684, vol. iii. p. 11.—ED.

Mary.

A. D. 1553.

Marriage between the lord Guilford and the lady Jane.

sickness, a certain marriage was provided, concluded, and shortly also upon the same solemnized in the month of May, between the lord Guilford, son to the duke of Northumberland, and the lady Jane, the duke of Suffolk's daughter; whose mother, being then alive, was daughter to Mary, king Henry's second sister, who first was married to the French king, and afterward to Charles duke of Suffolk. But to make no long tarriance hereupon, the marriage being ended, and the king waxing every day more sick than other, whereas indeed there seemed in him no hope of recovery, it was brought to pass by the consent not only of the nobility, but also of the chief lawyers of the realm, that the king, by his testament, did appoint the aforesaid lady Jane, daughter to the duke of Suffolk, to be inheretrix unto the crown of England, passing over his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth.

Sir James Hales standeth out with queen Mary.

To this order subscribed all the king's council, and the chief of the nobility, the mayor and city of London, and almost all the judges and chief lawyers of this realm, saving only justice Hales of Kent, a man both favouring true religion, and also an upright judge as any hath been noted in this realm, who, giving his consent unto lady Mary, would in no case subscribe to lady Jane. Of this man (God willing) you shall hear more in the sequel of this story. The causes laid against lady Mary, were as well for that it was feared she would marry with a stranger, and thereby entangle the crown; as also that she would clean alter religion, used both in king Henry her father's, and also in king Edward her brother's days, and so bring in the pope, to the utter destruction of the realm, which indeed afterward came to pass, as by the course and sequel of this story may well appear.

Two things feared in her.

Much probable matter they had thus to conjecture of her, by reason of her great stubbornness showed and declared in her brother's days, as in the letters before mentioned, passing between her, and king Edward and the council, may appear. The matter being thus concluded, and after confirmed by every man's hand, king Edward, an imp of so great hope, not long after this, departed by the vehemency of his sickness, when he was sixteen years of age; with whom also decayed in a manner the whole flourishing estate and honour of the English nation.

Queen Jane proclaimed at London. Comparison between king Edward and her.

When king Edward was dead, this Jane was established in the kingdom by the nobles' consent, and was forthwith published queen by proclamation at London, and in other cities where was any great resort, and was there so taken and named. Between this young damsel and king Edward there was little difference in age, though in learning and knowledge of the tongues she was not only equal, but also superior unto him, being instructed of a master right nobly learned.[1] If her fortune had been as good as her bringing up, joined with fineness of wit, undoubtedly she might have seemed comparable not only to the house of Vespasians, Sempronians, and the mother of the Gracchi, yea to any other women beside, that deserved high praise for their singular learning; but also to the university-men, which have taken many degrees of the schools.

In the meantime, while these things were a working at London, Mary, who had knowledge of her brother's death, writeth to the lords of the council in form as followeth.

(1) This instructor of the lady Jane was master Elmer, [Aylmer or Ælmer.—Ed.]

A Letter of the Lady Mary, sent to the Lords of the Council, wherein she claimeth the Crown after the Decease of King Edward.

My lords, we greet you well, and have received sure advertisement, that our dearest brother the king, our late sovereign lord, is departed to God's mercy; which news how woful they be unto our heart, he only knoweth, to whose will and pleasure we must, and do, humbly submit us and our wills. But in this so lamentable a case, that is to wit now, after his majesty's departure and death, concerning the crown and governance of this realm of England, with the title of France, and all things thereto belonging, what hath been provided by act of parliament, and the testament and last will of our dearest father, besides other circumstances advancing our right, you know, the realm and the whole world knoweth; the rolls and records appear by the authority of the king our said father, and the king our said brother, and the subjects of this realm; so that we verily trust that there is no good true subject, that is, can, or would, pretend to be ignorant thereof: and of our part we have of ourselves caused, and, as God shall aid and strengthen us, shall cause, our right and title in this behalf to be published and proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this so weighty a matter seemeth strange, that our said brother, dying upon Thursday at night last past, we hitherto had no knowledge from you thereof, yet we consider your wisdoms and prudence to be such, that having eftsoons amongst you debated, pondered, and well weighed this present case with our estate, with your own estate, the commonwealth, and all our honours, we shall and may conceive great hope and trust, with much assurance in your loyalty and service; and therefore for the time interpret and take things not to the worst, and that ye will, like noblemen, work the best. Nevertheless, we are not ignorant of your consultations, to undo the provisions made for our preferment, nor of the great bands, and provisions forcible, wherewith ye be assembled and prepared—by whom, and to what end, God and you know, and nature cannot but fear some evil. But be it that some consideration politic, or whatsoever thing else hath moved you thereto; yet doubt you not, my lords, but we can take all these your doings in gracious part, being also right ready to remit and fully pardon the same, and that freely, to eschew bloodshed and vengeance, against all those that can or will intend the same; trusting also assuredly you will take and accept this grace and virtue in good part, as appertaineth, and that we shall not be enforced to use the service of others our true subjects and friends, which in this our just and right cause, God, in whom our whole affiance is, shall send us. Wherefore, my lords, we require you, and charge you and every of you, that of your allegiance which you owe to God and us, and to none other, for our honour and the surety of our person, only employ yourselves, and forthwith, upon receipt hereof, cause our right and title to the crown and government of this realm to be proclaimed in our city of London and other places, as to your wisdom shall seem good, and as to this case appertaineth; not failing hereof as our very trust is in you. And this our letter, signed with our hand, shall be your sufficient warrant in this behalf.

Given under our signet, at our Manor of Kenning-hall, the ninth of July, 1553.

To this letter of the lady Mary, the lords of the council make answer again, as followeth:

Answer of the Lords of the Council unto the Lady Mary's Letter.

Madam, we have received your letters, the ninth of this instant, declaring your supposed title, which you judge yourself to have, to the imperial crown of this realm, and all the dominions thereunto belonging. For answer whereof, this is to advertise you, that forasmuch as our sovereign lady queen Jane is, after the death of our sovereign lord Edward the Sixth, a prince of most noble memory, invested and possessed with the just and right title in the imperial crown of this realm, not only by good order of old ancient laws of this realm, but also by our late sovereign lord's letters patent, signed with his own hand,

Lady Jane invested with the crown by king Edward's will, and assent of the whole council

Mary. A. D. 1553.

and sealed with the great seal of England in presence of the most part of the nobles, councillors, judges, with divers other grave and sage personages, assenting and subscribing to the same: we must, therefore, as of most bounden duty and allegiance, assent unto her said grace, and to none other, except we should (which faithful subjects cannot) fall into grievous and unspeakable enormities. Wherefore we can no less do, but, for the quiet both of the realm and you also, to advertise you, that forasmuch as the divorce made between the king of famous memory, king Henry the Eighth, and the lady Katherine your mother, was necessary to be had both by the everlasting laws of God, and also by the ecclesiastical laws, and by the most part of the noble and learned universities of Christendom, and confirmed also by the sundry acts of parliaments remaining yet in their force, and thereby you justly made illegitimate and unheritable to the crown imperial of this realm, and the rules, and dominions, and possessions of the same, you will, upon just consideration hereof, and of divers other causes lawful to be alleged for the same, and for the just inheritance of the right line and godly order taken by the late king our sovereign lord king Edward the Sixth, and agreed upon by the nobles and greatest personages aforesaid, surcease by any pretence to vex and molest any of our sovereign lady queen Jane's subjects from their true faith and allegiance due unto her grace: assuring you, that if you will for respect show yourself quiet and obedient (as you ought), you shall find us all and several ready to do you any service that we with duty may, and be glad, with your quietness, to preserve the common state of this realm, wherein you may be otherwise grievous unto us, to yourself, and to them. And thus we bid you most heartily well to fare. From the Tower of London, in this ninth of July, 1553.

Lady Mary accounted illegitimate.

Your Ladyship's friends, showing yourself an obedient subject,

Thomas Canterbury.	Shrewsbury.	John Gates.
The Marquis of Winchester.	Pembroke.	W. Peter.
John Bedford.	Cobham.	W. Cecil.
William Northampton.	R. Riche.	John Cheke.
Thomas Ely, chancellor.	Huntingdon.	John Mason.
Northumberland.	Darcy.	Edward North.
Henry Suffolk.	Cheney.	R. Bowes.[1]
Henry Arundel.	R. Cotton.	

Keepeth herself from London.

After this answer received, and the minds of the lords perceived, lady Mary speedeth herself secretly away far off from the city, hoping chiefly upon the good will of the commons, and yet perchance not destitute altogether of the secret advertisements of some of the nobles. When the council heard of her sudden departure, and perceived her stoutness, and that all came not to pass as they supposed, they gathered speedily a power of men together, appointing an army, and first assigned that the duke of Suffolk should take that enterprise in hand, and so have the leading of the band. But afterward, altering their minds, they thought it best to send forth the duke of Northumberland, with certain other lords and gentlemen; and that the duke of Suffolk should keep the Tower, where the lord Guilford and the lady Jane the same time were lodged.

The duke of Northumberland sent against her.

In the which expedition the guard also, albeit they were much unwilling at the first thereunto, yet notwithstanding, through the vehement persuasions of the lord treasurer, master Chomley, and others, they were induced to assist the duke, and to set forward with him.

These things thus agreed upon, and the duke now being set forward after the best array out of London, having notwithstanding his times prescribed, and his journey appointed by the council, to the intent he might not seem to do any thing but upon warrant,

(1) All these aforesaid, except only the duke of Northumberland, and sir John Gates, afterward were either by special favour, or special or general pardon, discharged.

Mary, in the meanwhile, tossed with much travail up and down, to work the surest way for her best advantage, withdrew herself into the quarters of Norfolk and Suffolk, where she understood the duke's name to be had in much hatred for the service that had been done there of late under king Edward, in subduing the rebels; and there, gathering to her such aid of the commons on every side as she might, kept herself close for a space within Framlingham-castle. To whom first of all resorted the Suffolk men; who, being always forward in promoting the proceedings of the gospel, promised her their aid and help, so that she would not attempt the alteration of the religion, which her brother king Edward had before established by laws and orders publicly enacted, and received by the consent of the whole realm in that behalf.

Mary. A.D 1553.

Policy of the lady Mary.

Mary taketh to Framlingham-castle. The Suffolk men gather to her.

To make the matter short, unto this condition she eftsoons agreed, with such promise made unto them that no innovation should be made of religion, as that no man would or could then have misdoubted her. Which promise, if she had as constantly kept, as they did willingly preserve her with their bodies and weapons, she had done a deed both worthy her blood, and had also made her reign more stable to herself through former tranquillity. For though a man be never so puissant of power, yet breach of promise is an evil upholder of quietness; fear is worse; but cruelty is the worst of all.

She promiseth faithfully that she would not alter religion.

Breach of promise in her.

Thus Mary, being guarded with the power of the gospellers, did vanquish the duke, and all those that came against her. In consideration whereof it was, methinks, a heavy word that she answered to the Suffolk men afterwards, who did make supplication to her grace to perform her promise: "Forasmuch," saith she, "as you, being but members, desire to rule your head, you shall one day well perceive, that members must obey their head, and not look to bear rule over the same." And not only that, but also to cause the more terror unto others, a certain gentleman named master Dobbe, dwelling about Wyndham side, for the same cause (that is, for advertising her by humble request of her promise), was punished, being three sundry times set on the pillory to be a gazing stock unto all men. Divers others delivered her books and supplications made out of the Scripture, to exhort her to continue in the true doctrine then established; and for their good will were sent to prison. But such is the condition of man's nature, as here you see, that we are for the most part more ready always to seek friendship when we stand in need of help, than ready to requite a benefit once past and received. Howbeit against all this, one sheet-anchor we have, which may be a sure comfort to all miserable creatures, that equity and fidelity are ever perfect and certainly found with the Lord above; though the same, being shut out of the doors in this world, be not to be found here among men. But, seeing our intent is to write a story, not to treat of office, let us lay Suffolk men aside for a while, whose deserts, for their readiness and diligence with the queen, I will not here stand upon. What she performed on her part, the thing itself, and the whole story of this persecution do testify, as hereafter more plainly will appear.

Her answer to the Suffolk men.

Master Dobbe punished.

Perfect fidelity shut out of doors; yet it is to be found in heaven.

*In[1] the mean time, the queen keeping at Framlingham (as is

(1) See Edition 1563, page 902.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1553.

said), God so turned the hearts of the people to her, and against the council, that she overcame them without bloodshed, notwithstanding there was made great expedition against her both by sea and land.*

On the contrary side, the duke of Northumberland having his warrant under the broad seal, with all furniture in readiness, as he took his voyage, and was now forward in his way; what ado there was, what stirring on every side, what sending, what riding and posting, what letters, messages, and instructions went to and fro, what talking among the soldiers, what heart-burning among the people, what fair pretences outwardly, inwardly what privy practices there were, what speeding of ordnance daily and hourly out of the Tower, what rumours and coming down of soldiers from all quarters there were; a world it was to see, and a process to declare, enough to make a whole Iliad.

The greatest help that made for the lady Mary was the short journeys of the duke, which by commission were assigned to him before, as is above mentioned. For the longer the duke lingered in his voyage, the lady Mary the more increased in puissance, the hearts of the people being mightily bent unto her, which after the council at London perceived, and understood how the common multitude did withdraw their hearts from them, to stand with her, and that certain noblemen began to go the other way, they turned their song, and proclaimed for queen the lady Mary, eldest daughter to king Henry VIII., and appointed by parliament to succeed king Edward, dying without issue.

Mary proclaimed in London.

The duke of Northumberland brought to the Tower as a traitor.

And so the duke of Northumberland, being by counsel and advice sent forth against her, was left destitute, and forsaken alone at Cambridge with some of his sons, and a few others, among whom the earl of Huntingdon was one; who there were arrested and brought to the Tower of London, as traitors to the crown, notwithstanding that he had there proclaimed her queen before.

Thus have ye Mary now made a queen, and the sword of authority put into her hand, which how she afterward did use, we may see in the sequel of this book. Therefore (as I said), when she had been thus advanced by the gospellers, and saw all in quiet by means that her enemies were conquered, sending the duke captive to the Tower before (which was the 25th of July), she followed not long after, being brought up the 3d day of August to London, with the great rejoicing of many men, but with a greater fear of more, and yet with flattery peradventure most great, of feigned hearts.

Mary cometh to London.

The lady Jane and the lord Guilford, prisoners.

The duke of Northumberland condemned; revoketh his religion.

Thus coming up to London, her first lodging she took at the Tower, where the aforesaid lady Jane, with her husband the lord Guilford, a little before her coming, were imprisoned; where they remained waiting her pleasure almost five months. But the duke, within a month after his coming to the Tower, being adjudged to death, was brought forth to the scaffold, and there beheaded; albeit he, having a promise, and being put in hope of pardon (yea, though his head were upon the block), if he would recant and hear mass, consented thereto, and denied in words that true religion, which, before time, as well in king Henry the Eighth's days, as in king Edward's, he had oft evidently declared himself both to favour and further—exhorting also the people to return to the catholic faith, as

he termed it; whose recantation the papists did forthwith publish and set abroad, rejoicing not a little at his conversion, or rather subversion, as then appeared.

Mary. A.D. 1553.

The duke beheaded. Sir John Gates and sir Thos. Palmer, confessing their faith, are beheaded.

Thus the duke of Northumberland, with sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer (which Palmer on the other side confessed his faith that he had learned in the gospel, and lamented that he had not lived more gospel-like), being put to death; in the meantime queen Mary, entering thus her reign with the blood of these men, besides hearing mass herself in the Tower, gave a heavy show and signification hereby, but especially by the sudden delivering of Stephen Gardiner out of the Tower, that she was not minded to stand to that which she so deeply had promised to the Suffolk men before, concerning the not subverting or altering the state of religion, as in very deed the surmise of the people was therein nothing deceived.

True preaching bishops displaced.

Besides the premises, other things also followed, which every day more and more discomforted the people, declaring the queen to bear no good will to the present state of religion; as not only the releasing of Gardiner, being then made lord chancellor of England and bishop of Winchester, Dr. Poynet being put out; but also that Bonner was restored to his bishopric again, and Dr. Ridley displaced. Item, Dr. Day, to the bishopric of Chichester; John Scory being put out. Item, Dr. Tonstal to the bishopric of Durham. Item, Dr. Heath to the bishopric of Worcester, and John Hooper committed to the Fleet. Item, Dr. Vesey to Exeter, and Miles Coverdale put out. These things being marked and perceived, great heaviness and discomfort grew more and more to all good men's hearts; but on the contrary, to the wicked, great rejoicing: in which discord of minds, and diversity of affections, was now to be seen a miserable face of things in the whole commonwealth of England. They that could dissemble, took no great care how the matter went: but such whose consciences were joined to truth, perceived already coals to be kindled, which after should be the destruction of many a true christian man; as indeed it came to pass. In the meanwhile queen Mary, after these beginnings, having removed from the Tower to Hampton-court, caused a parliament to be summoned against the 10th of October[1] next ensuing, whereof more is to be said hereafter.

A parliament summoned.

Bishop Ridley preacheth at Paul's Cross.

Ye heard before, how divers bishops were removed, and others placed in their rooms; amongst whom was Dr. Ridley bishop of London, a worthy man both of fame and learning. This Dr. Ridley, in the time of queen Jane, had made a sermon at Paul's Cross, so commanded by the council; declaring there his mind to the people as touching the lady Mary, and dissuaded them, alleging there the incommodities and inconveniences which might rise by receiving her to be their queen; prophesying, as it were before, that which after came to pass, that she would bring in foreign power to reign over them, besides the subverting also of all christian religion then already established: showing, moreover, that the same Mary being in his diocese, he, according to his duty (being then her ordinary), had travailed much with her to reduce her to this religion, and notwithstanding in all other points of civility she showed herself gentle and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true faith and doctrine,

(1) Rather, October 5. See Statutes of the Realm. Edit. 1819, vol. iv. p. 197.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1553.

she showed herself so stiff and obstinate, that there was no other hope of her to be conceived, but to disturb and overturn all that, which, with so great labours, had been confirmed and planted by her brother afore. Shortly after this sermon, queen Mary was proclaimed; whereupon he, speedily repairing to Framlingham to salute the queen, had such cold welcome there, that, being despoiled of all his dignities, he was sent back upon a lame halting horse to the Tower.

Master Rogers preacheth.

After him preached also master Rogers the next Sunday, entreating very learnedly upon the gospel of the same day.

This so done, queen Mary, seeing all things yet not going so after her mind as she desired, devised with her council to bring to pass that thing by other means, which as yet, by open law, she could not well accomplish; directing forth an inhibition by proclamation, that no man should preach or read openly in churches the word of God, besides other things also in the same proclamation inhibited, the copy whereof here followeth.

An Inhibition of the Queen, for Preaching, Printing, &c.

Aug. 18.

The queen's highness, well remembering what great inconveniences and dangers have grown to this her highness's realm in times past, through the diversity of opinions in questions of religion, and hearing also that now of late, since the beginning of her most gracious reign, the same contentions be again much revived, through certain false and untrue reports and rumours spread by some light and evil-disposed persons, hath thought good to do to understand, to all her highness's most loving subjects, her most gracious pleasure in manner following:

Mary beginneth to set forth her popish religion. Religion, here, grounded upon the queen's good will.

First, her majesty, being presently by the only goodness of God settled in her just possession of the imperial crown of this realm, and other dominions thereunto belonging, cannot now hide that religion, which God and the world knoweth she hath ever professed from her infancy hitherto: which as her majesty is minded to observe and maintain for herself by God's grace, during her time, so doth her highness much desire, and would be glad, the same were of all her subjects quietly and charitably embraced.

And yet she doth signify unto all her majesty's loving subjects, that of her most gracious disposition and clemency, her highness mindeth not to compel any her said subjects thereunto, until such time as further order by common assent may be taken therein: forbidding nevertheless all her subjects of all degrees, at their perils, to move seditions, or stir unquietness in her people by interpreting the laws of this realm after their brains and fantasies, but quietly to continue for the time, till (as before is said) further order may be taken, and therefore willeth and straitly chargeth and commandeth all her said good loving subjects to live together in quiet sort and christian charity, leaving those newfound devilish terms of papist or heretic, and suchlike, and applying their whole care, study, and travail, to live in the fear of God, exercising their conversations in such charitable and godly doing, as their lives may indeed express that great hunger and thirst of God's glory and holy word, which, by rash talk and words, many have pretended: and in so doing they shall best please God, and live without danger of the laws, and maintain the tranquillity of the realm. Whereof as her highness shall be most glad, so, if any man shall rashly presume to make any assemblies of people, or at any public assemblies, or otherwise shall go about to stir the people to disorder or disquiet, she mindeth, according to her duty, to see the same most severely reformed and punished according to her highness's laws.

Terms of papist and heretic forbidden.

And furthermore, forasmuch as it is also well known, that sedition and false rumours have been nourished and maintained in this realm, by the subtlety and malice of some evil-disposed persons, which take upon them, without sufficient authority, to preach and to interpret the word of God after their own brain in churches,[1] and other places both public and private, and also by playing of

(1) Here is the head of Winchester.

interludes, and printing of false-found books, ballads, rhymes, and other lewd treatises in the English tongue, concerning doctrine, in matters now in question and controversy, touching the high points and mysteries of christian religion; which books, ballads, rhymes, and treatises, are chiefly by the printers and stationers set out to sale to her grace's subjects, of an evil zeal, for lucre and covetousness of vile gain: her highness, therefore, straitly chargeth and commandeth all and every of her said subjects, of whatsoever state, condition, or degree they be, that none of them presume from henceforth to preach; or, by way of reading in churches, or other public or private places (except in schools of the university), to interpret or teach any Scriptures, or any manner of points of doctrine concerning religion; neither also to print any books, matter, ballad, rhyme, interlude, process, or treatise, nor to play any interlude (except they have her grace's special license in writing for the same), upon pain to incur her highness's indignation and displeasure.

Preaching, printing, reading, and playing of interludes, restrained.

And her highness also further chargeth and commandeth all and every her said subjects, that none of them, of their own authority, do presume to punish, or to rise against any offender in the causes above said, or any other offender in words or deeds in the late rebellion committed or done by the duke of Northumberland, or his complices, or to seize any of their goods, or violently to use any such offender by striking or imprisoning or threatening the same; but wholly to refer the punishment of all such offenders unto her highness and public authority, whereof her majesty mindeth to see due punishment, according to the order of her highness's laws.

Nevertheless, as her highness mindeth not hereby to restrain and discourage any of her loving subjects, to give from time to time true information against any such offenders in the causes abovesaid, unto her grace or her council, for the punishment of every such offender, according to the effect of her highness's laws provided in that part: so her said highness exhorteth and straitly chargeth her said subjects, to observe her commandment and pleasure in every part aforesaid, as they will avoid her said highness's indignation and most grievous displeasure; the severity and rigour whereof as her highness shall be most sorry to have cause to put in execution: so doth she utterly determine not to permit such unlawful and rebellious doings of her subjects (whereof may ensue the danger of her royal estate) to remain unpunished, but to see her said laws touching these points to be thoroughly executed: which extremities she trusteth all her said loving subjects will foresee, dread, and avoid accordingly; her said highness straitly charging and commanding all mayors, sheriffs, justices of peace, bailiffs, constables, and all other public officers and ministers, diligently to see to the observing and executing of her said commandments and pleasure, and to apprehend all such as shall wilfully offend in this part, committing the same to the next gaol, there to remain without bail or mainprise, till, upon certificate made to her highness, or her privy council, of their names and doings, and upon examination had of their offences, some further order shall be taken for their punishment, to the example of others, according to the effect and tenor of the laws aforesaid.

Given at our manor of Richmond, the eighteenth day of August, in the first year of our most prosperous reign.

MASTER BOURN PREACHING AT PAUL'S CROSS.

About this time, or not long before, Bonner bishop of London, being restored, appointed master Bourn, a canon of Paul's, to preach at the Cross, who afterward was bishop of Bath. Bourn took occasion of the gospel of that day, to speak somewhat largely in justifying of Bonner being then present: "Which Bonner," said he, "upon the same text, in that place that day four years, had preached before; and was, upon the same, most cruelly and unjustly cast into the most vile dungeon of the Marshalsea, and there kept during the time of king Edward."[1] His words sounded so evil in the ears of the hearers, that they could not keep silence; and began to murmur

Aug. 18.

(1) No marvel if Bonner were so foul fallen away in such a vile dungeon in the Marshalsea

Mary. A. D. 1553.

and to stir in such sort, that the mayor and aldermen with other estates then present, feared much an uproar. But the truth is, that one hurled a dagger at the preacher; but who it was, it could not then be proved, albeit afterward it was known.

In fine the stir was such, that the preacher plucked in his head, and durst no more appear in that place. The matter of his sermon tended much to the derogation and dispraise of king Edward, which thing the people in no case could abide. Then master Bradford, at the request of the preacher's brother and others, then being in the pulpit, stood forth and spake so mildly, christianly, and effectually, that with few words he appeased all: and afterward he and master Rogers conducted the preacher betwixt them from the pulpit to the grammar-school door, where they left him safe, as further, in the story of master Bradford, is declared. But, shortly after, they were both rewarded with long imprisonment, and, last of all, with fire in Smithfield.

Master Bradford appeaseth the people.

Bradford and Rogers guard the preacher.

By reason of this tumult at Paul's Cross, an order was taken by the lords of the council with the mayor and aldermen of London to this effect:

That they, calling the next day following a common council of the city, should thereby charge every householder to cause their children, apprentices, and other servants, to keep their own parish churches upon the holy days, and not to suffer them to attempt any thing to the violating of the common peace: willing them also to signify to the said assembly the queen's determination, uttered unto them by her highness the 12th of August, in the Tower; which was, that albeit her grace's conscience was stayed in the matters of religion, yet she graciously meant not to compel or strain other men's consciences otherwise than God should (as she trusted) put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth that she was in, through the opening of his word unto them by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers, etc.

Also it was then ordered, that every alderman, in his ward, should forthwith send for the curates of every parish within their liberties; and warn them not only to forbear to preach themselves, but also not to suffer any others to preach, or make any open or solemn reading of Scripture in their churches, unless the said preachers were severally licensed by the queen.

After this sermon at Paul's Cross aforenamed, the next day after it followed that the queen's guard was at the Cross with their weapons to guard the preacher. And when quiet men withdrew themselves from the sermon, order was taken by the mayor, that the ancients of all companies should be present, lest the preacher should be discouraged by his small auditory.

Rutler.

August.—The 15th of August, A.D. 1553, was one William Rutler committed by the council to the Marshalsea, for uttering certain words against master Bourn preacher, for his sermon at Paul's Cross on Sunday last before.

The 16th of August, was Humfrey Palden committed to the Compter, for words against the said Bourn's sermon at Paul's Cross.

Fisher.

A letter sent to the sheriffs of Buckingham and Bedford, for the apprehending of one Fisher, parson of Amersham, a preacher.

Another letter to the bishop of Norwich, not to suffer any preacher or other to preach or expound the Scripture openly, without special license from the queen.

The same day were master Bradford, master Vernon, and master

Beacon, preachers, committed to the charge of the lieutenant of the Tower. *Mary.* A.D. 1553.

The same day, also, was master John Rogers, preacher, commanded to keep himself prisoner in his own house at Paul's, without having any conference with any other than those of his own household. Bradford and others. Rogers.

The 22d of August, there were two letters directed to master Coverdale bishop of Exeter, and master Hooper bishop of Gloucester, for their undelayed repair to the court, and there to attend the council's pleasure. Coverdale. Hooper.

The same day Fisher, parson of Amersham, made his appearance before the council, according to their letter the 16th of August, and was appointed the next day to bring in a note of his sermon. Fisher.

The 24th of August, was one John Melvin a Scot, and preacher, sent to Newgate in London by the council. Melvin.

The 26th of August, there was a letter sent to the mayor of Coventry and his brethren, for the apprehension of one Symons, of Worcester, preacher, and then vicar of St. Michael's in Coventry; and for the sending of him up to the council, with his examinations and other matters they could charge him with; with a commission to them to punish all such as had, by means of his preaching, used any talk against the queen's proceedings. Symons.

The 29th of August, master Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, made his personal appearance before the council, according to their letters the 22d of August.

The 31st of August master Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, made his appearance before the council, according to their letters the 22d of August.

September.—The 1st of September, 1553, master Hooper and master Coverdale appeared again before the council, whence master Hooper was committed to the Fleet, and master Coverdale commanded to attend the lords' pleasure.

The 2d of September, master Hugh Saunders, vicar of St. Michael's in Coventry, was before the council for a sermon and was commanded to appear again upon Monday next after. Saunders.

The 4th of September, a letter was directed from the council to master Hugh Latimer, for his appearance before them. Latimer.

About the 5th day of September the same year, Peter Martyr came to London from Oxford, where, for a time he had been commanded to keep his house, and found there the archbishop of Canterbury, who offered to defend the doctrine of the book of Common Prayer, both by Scriptures and doctors, assisted by Peter Martyr and a few others, as hereafter ye shall hear. But whilst they were in hope to come to disputations, the archbishop and others were imprisoned; but Peter Martyr was suffered to return whence he came. Peter Martyr.

The same day there was a letter sent to the mayor of Coventry to set Hugh Symons at liberty, if he would recant his sermon; or else to stay him, and to signify so much to the council. Symons.

The 13th of September, master Hugh Latimer appeared before the council, according to their letter the 4th of September, and was committed to the Tower close prisoner, having his servant Austin to attend upon him. Latimer. Austin.

Mary. A. D. 1553.

The same day the archbishop of Canterbury, appearing before the council, was commanded to appear the next day at afternoon before them in the Star-chamber.

The 14th of September, the archbishop of Canterbury, according to their former day's commandment, made his appearance before the lords in the Star-chamber; where they, charging him with treason, and spreading abroad of seditious bills to the disquieting of the state, committed him from thence to the Tower of London, there to remain till further justice and order at the queen's pleasure.

The 15th of September there was a letter sent to master Horn, dean of Durham, for his appearance before them; and another was sent to him the 7th of October next after, for his speedy appearance.

The 16th of September there were letters sent to the mayors of Dover and Rye, to suffer all French protestants to pass out of this realm, except such whose names should be signified to them by the French ambassador.

Queen Mary crowned.

The parliament beginneth with a mass.

October.[1]—The 1st day of October queen Mary was crowned at Westminster, and the 10th day of the same month began the parliament with the solemn mass of the Holy Ghost, after the popish manner, celebrated with great pomp in the palace of Westminster; to the which mass among the other lords, according to the manner, should come the bishops who yet remained undeposed, who were the archbishop of York, Dr. Taylor bishop of Lincoln, John Harley bishop of Hereford. Of the bishops, Dr. Taylor and master Harley, (presenting themselves according to their duty, and taking their place amongst the lords), after they saw the mass begin, not abiding the sight thereof, withdrew themselves from the company: for the which cause the bishop of Lincoln being examined, and protesting his faith, was, upon the same, commanded to attend; who not long after, at Ankerwyke, by sickness departed. Master Harley, because he was married, was excluded both from the parliament and from his bishopric.

Two bishops withdraw themselves from the mass.

Harley bishop of Hereford put out of his bishopric.

Mass being done, the queen, accompanied with the estates of the realm, was brought into the parliament-house, there, according to the manner, to enter and begin the consultation: at which consultation or parliament were repealed all statutes made in the time of king Henry the Eighth for præmunire, and statutes made in king Edward the Sixth's time for administration of Common Prayer and Sacrament in the English tongue; and further, the attainder of the the duke of Northumberland was by this parliament confirmed. In the meanwhile many men were forward in erecting of altars and masses in churches. And such as would stick to the laws made in king Edward's time, till others should be established, some of them were marked, and some presently apprehended; among whom sir James Hales, a knight of Kent and justice of the Common Pleas, was one; who, notwithstanding he had ventured his life in queen Mary's cause, in that he would not subscribe to the disinheriting of her by the king's will, yet for that he did, at a quarter sessions, give charge upon

Statutes of præmunire and others repealed.

Altars and masses erected.

Sir James Hales knight.

(1) A very interesting narrative of the troubles of Thomas Mountain, parson of Whittington College, which has not found a place in Foxe's volumes, might here be introduced from Strype's "Memorials under Mary I.; chaps. vii. xi.;" and more particularly, respecting his removal to the prison at Cambridge, his release thence, and his subsequent hair-breadth escapes from the hands of bishop Gardiner's familiars; in chapters xxiii. xxiv.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1553.

the statutes made in the time of king Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth, for the supremacy and religion, he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, Compter, and Fleet, and so cruelly handled and put in fear, by talk that the warden of the Fleet used to have in his hearing, of such torments as were in preparing for heretics (or for what other cause God knoweth), that he sought to rid himself out of this life by wounding himself with a knife, and afterward was contented to say as they willed him: whereupon he was discharged. But, after that, he never rested till he had drowned himself in a river, half a mile from his house in Kent: of whom more is to be seen, when you come to his story.

The trouble of Judge Hales. A subtle policy.

During the time of this parliament, the clergy likewise, after their wonted manner, had a convocation, with a disputation also, appointed by the queen's commandment, at Paul's Church in London the same time, which was about the 18th of October; in the which convocation, first master John Harpsfield, bachelor of divinity, made a sermon "ad clerum," the 16th of October. After the sermon done, it was assigned by the bishops; that they of the Clergy-house, for avoiding confusion of words, should choose them a prolocutor; to the which room and office, by common assent, was named Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, and presented to the bishops with an oration of master Pie, dean of Chichester, and also of master Wimbisley, archdeacon of London: which Dr. Weston, being chosen and brought unto the bishops, made his gratulatory oration to the house, with the answer again of bishop Bonner.

A Convocation.

Orations of Pie, Wimbisley, Dr. Weston, and of bishop Bonner, in the convocation house.

After these things thus sped in the convocation-house, they proceeded next to the disputation appointed, as is above said, by the queen's commandment, about the matter of the sacrament; which disputation continued six days: wherein Dr. Weston was chief on the pope's part, who behaved himself outrageously in taunting and checking. In conclusion, such as disputed on the contrary part were driven some to flee, some to deny, and some to die; though to the most men's judgments that heard the disputation, they had the upper hand, as here may appear by the report of the said disputation, the copy whereof we thought fit here to annex as followeth:

THE TRUE REPORT OF THE DISPUTATION HAD AND BEGUN IN THE CONVOCATION-HOUSE AT LONDON THE 18TH OF OCTOBER, A. D. 1553.[1]

Whereas divers and uncertain rumours be spread abroad of the disputation had in the Convocation-house; to the intent that all men may know the certainty of all things therein done and said, as much as the memory of him that was present thereat can bear away, he hath thought good, at request, thoroughly to describe what was said therein on both parties of the matters argued and had in question, and of the entrance thereof.

(1) A report of this Discussion appeared at the time, both in English and Latin: See "The treu report of the dysputacyon had and begõne in the convocacyõ hows at London, etc. Imprinted at Basil by Alexander Edmonds, 1554;" it was drawn up by Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester. Herbert considers that the Latin "Vera Expositio Disputationis Institutæ mandato D. Mariæ reginæ in Synodo Ecclesiasticâ," (16mo. Romæ, 1554,) is the original, of which the English is a translation; the Preface is signed by V. Pollanus. See Herbert's Typographical Antiquities, vol. iii. page 1574; Strype's Memorials, vol. iv. page 453, London, 1816; also Gerde's Scrinium Antiquarium ad Hist. Reform. Groningæ, 1748, tom. iii. page 163, where a large portion of the Latin Exposition is reprinted.—Ed.

Mary.

A. D. 1553.

The Act of the First Day.

First, upon Wednesday, being the 18th of October, at afternoon, master Weston, the prolocutor, certified the house, that it was the queen's pleasure, that the company of the same house, being learned men assembled, should debate of matters of religion, and constitute laws thereof, which her grace and the parliament would ratify. "And for that," said he, "there is a book of late set forth, called the Catechism [which he showed forth] bearing the name of this honourable synod, and yet put forth without your consents, as I have learned; being a book very pestiferous, and full of heresies; and likewise a book of Common Prayer very abominable," as it pleased him to term it. "I thought it therefore best, first to begin with the articles of the Catechism, concerning the sacrament of the altar, to confirm the natural presence of Christ in the same, and also transubstantiation. Wherefore," said he, "it shall be lawful, on Friday next ensuing, for all men freely to speak their conscience in these matters, that all doubts may be removed, and they fully satisfied therein."

Dr. Weston, prolocutor, against the book of Catechism set forth in king Edward's time.

The Act of the Second Day.

The Friday coming, being the 20th of October, when men had thought they should have entered disputations of the questions proposed, the prolocutor exhibited two several bills unto the house; the one for the Natural Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar; the other concerning the Catechism, that it was not of that house's agreement set forth, and that they did not agree thereunto: requiring all them to subscribe to the same, as he himself had done. Whereunto the whole house did immediately assent, except six,[1] which were the dean of Rochester, the dean of Exeter, the archdeacon of Winchester, the archdeacon of Hereford, the archdeacon of Stow, and one other.

Two bills exhibited in the convocation-house by the prolocutor.

And whilst the rest were about to subscribe these two articles, John Philpot stood up, and spake, first, concerning the articles of the Catechism, that he thought they were deceived in the title of the Catechism, in that it beareth the title of the Synod of London last before this; although many of them which then were present were never made privy thereof in setting it forth; for that this house had granted the authority to make ecclesiastical laws unto certain persons to be appointed by the king's majesty; and whatsoever ecclesiastical laws they, or the most part of them, did set forth, according to a statute in that behalf provided, it might be well said to be done in the Synod of London, although such as be of this house now, had no notice thereof, before the promulgation. And in this point he thought the setter-forth thereof nothing to have slandered the house, as they, by their subscription, went about to persuade the world, since they had our synodal authority unto them committed, to make such spiritual laws as they thought convenient and necessary.

The book of the Catechism defended by Philpot.

And moreover he said, as concerning the article of the Natural Presence in the Sacrament, that it was against reason and order of learning, and also very prejudicial to the truth, that men should be moved to subscribe before the matter were thoroughly examined and discussed. But when he saw that allegation might take no place, being as a man astonished at the multitude of so many learned men, as there were of purpose gathered together to maintain old traditions more than the truth of God's holy word, he made this request unto the prolocutor: That whereas there were so many ancient learned men present on that side, as in the realm the like again were not to be found in such number; and that on the other side of them that had not subscribed, were not past five or six, both in age and learning far inferior unto them: therefore, that equality might be had in this disputation, he desired that the prolocutor would be a mean unto the lords, that some of those that were learned, and setters-forth of the same catechism, might be brought into the house, to show their learning that moved them to set forth the same; and that Dr. Ridley and master Rogers, with two or three more, might be licensed to be present, at this disputation, and to be associated with them.

Against the article of natural presence.

Philpot's request to the prolocutor.

Request to have Dr. Ridley and Rogers at the disputation.

This request was thought reasonable, and was proposed unto the bishops, who made this answer: That it was not in them to call such persons unto our house, since some of them were prisoners. But they said, they would be petitioners in

Answer of the bishops.

(1) Philips, Haddon, Philpot, Cheney, Elmar, and one other [namely, Young, chanter of St. David's. See Burnet.—Ed.]

this behalf unto the council, and in case any were absent that ought to be of the house, they willed them to be taken in unto them if they listed. After this, they minding to have entered into disputation, there came a gentleman as messenger from the lord great master, signifying unto the prolocutor, that the lord great master and the earl of Devonshire would be present at the disputations, and therefore he deferred the same unto Monday, at one of the clock at afternoon.

Mary. A. D. 1553.

The Act of the Third Day.

Upon Monday, the 23d of October, at the time appointed, in the presence of many earls, lords, knights, gentlemen, and divers other of the court and of the city also, the prolocutor made a protestation, that they of the house had appointed this disputation, not to call the truth into doubts, to the which they had already all subscribed, saving five or six, but that those gainsayers might be resolved of their arguments in the which they stood, "as it shall appear unto you, not doubting but they will also condescend unto us."

Weston.

Then he demanded of master Haddon, whether we would reason against the questions proposed, or no. To whom he made answer, that he had certified him before, in writing, that he would not, since the request of such learned men as were demanded to be assistant with them, would not be granted. Master Elmar likewise was asked, who made the prolocutor the like answer; adding moreover this, that they had done too much prejudice already to the truth, to subscribe before the matter was discussed: and little or nothing it might avail to reason for the truth, since all they were now determined to the contrary.

Haddon and Elmar refuse to answer, except their request be granted.

After this he demanded of master Cheney,[1] who, the prolocutor said, allowed the presence with them; but he denied the transubstantiation by the means of certain authorities upon the which he standeth, and desireth to be resolved (as you shall hear), whether he will propose his doubts concerning transubstantiation, or no. "Yea," quoth he, "I would gladly my doubts to be resolved, which move me not to believe transubstantiation. The first is out of St. Paul to the Corinthians, who, speaking of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, calleth it ofttimes bread, after the consecration. The second is out of Origen, who, speaking of this sacrament, saith, that the material part thereof goeth down to the excrements. The third is out of Theodoret, who, making mention of the sacramental bread and wine after the consecration, saith, that they go not out of their former substance, form, and shape. These be some of my doubts, among many others, wherein I require to be answered."

Cheney.

Cheney's doubts about transubstantiation.

Then the prolocutor assigned Dr. Moreman to answer him, who, to St. Paul, answered him thus: "The sacrament is called by him bread indeed; but it is thus to be understood: that it is the sacrament of bread; that is, the form of bread."

Moreman's answer to St. Paul.

Then master Cheney inferred and alleged, that Hesychius called the sacrament both bread and flesh. "Yea," quoth Moreman, "Hesychius calleth it bread, because it *was* bread, and not because it *is* so." And passing over Origen, he came to Theodoret, and said, that men mistook his authority, by interpreting a general into a special, as Peter Martyr hath done in the place of Theodoret, interpreting *οὐσία*, for substance, which is a special signification of the word; whereas *οὐσία* is a general word, as well to accidents as to substance; "and therefore I answer thus unto Theodoret; That the sacramental bread and wine do not go out of their former substance, form, and shape; that is to say, not out of their accidental substance and shape."

Cheney replieth to Moreman's answer.

Moreman's answer to Theodoret.

After this master Cheney sat him down; and by and by master Elmar stood up, as one that could not abide to hear so fond an answer to so grave an authority, and reasoned upon the authority of Theodoret alleged before by master Cheney, and declared, that Moreman's answer to Theodoret was no just or sufficient answer, but an illusion and subtle evasion, contrary to Theodoret's meaning. "For," said he, "if *οὐσία* should signify an accident in the place alleged, as it is answered by master Moreman, then were it a word superfluous set in Theodoret there, where do follow two other words, which sufficiently do expound the accidents of the bread, that is *εἶδος καὶ σχῆμα*, which signify in

Elmar argueth against Moreman's answer.

(1) Archdeacon of Hereford; now bishop of Gloucester.

Mary. A. D. 1553.

English, shape and form." And so he proved out of the same author, by divers allegations, that *οὐσία*, in Greek, could not be so generally taken in that place, as Moreman for a shift would have it. But Moreman, as a man having no other salve for that sore, affirmed still, that *οὐσία*, which signifieth substance, must needs signify an accidental substance properly. To whose importunity, since he could have no other answer, Elmar, as a man wearied with his importunity, gave place.

Philpot's replication to Moreman's shift. The place of Theodoret opened.

After this stood up John Philpot, and said, that he could prove, that by the matter that Theodore entreateth of in the place above alleged, and by the similitude which he maketh to prove his purpose, by no means master Moreman's interpretation of *οὐσία*, might be taken for an accidental substance, as he for a shift would interpret it to be; for the matter which Theodoret entreateth of in that place, is against Eutiches a heretic, who denied two natures of substance to remain in Christ, being one person, and that his humanity, after the accomplishment of the mystery of our salvation, ascending into heaven, and being joined unto the divinity, was absorpt, or swallowed up of the same; so that Christ should be no more but of one divine substance only, by his opinion.

The argument of Theodoret a similitude.

Against which opinion Theodoret writeth, and by the similitude of the sacrament proveth the contrary against the heretic: that like as in the sacrament of the body of Christ, after the consecration, there is the substance of Christ's humanity, with the substance of bread remaining as it was before, not being absorpt by the humanity of Christ, but joined by the divine operation thereunto; even so in the person of Christ, being now in heaven, of whom this sacrament is a representation, there be two several substances, that is, his divinity and humanity united in one hypostasis or person, which is Christ; the humanity not being absorpt by the conjunction of the divinity, but remaining in his former substance.

The place of Theodoret falsely taken of the papists.

"And this similitude," quoth Philpot, "brought in of Theodoret to confound Eutiches, should prove nothing at all, if the very substance of the sacramental bread did not remain as it did before. But if Dr. Moreman's interpretation might take place for transubstantiation, then should the heretic have thereby a strong argument, by Theodoret's authority so taken, to maintain his heresy, and to prove himself a good christian man; and he might well say thus unto Theodoret: "Like as thou, Theodoret, if thou wert of Dr. Moreman's mind, dost say, that after the consecration in the sacrament, the substance of the bread is absorpt or transubstantiate into the human body of Christ coming thereunto, so that in the sacrament is now but one substance of the humanity alone, and not the substance of bread as it was before: even so likewise may I affirm, and conclude by thine own similitude, that the humanity ascending up by the power of God into heaven, and adjoined unto the Deity, was by the might thereof absorpt and turned into one substance with the Deity; so that now there remaineth but one divine substance in Christ, no more than in the sacramental signs of the Lord's supper, after the consecration, doth remain any more than one substance, according to your belief and construction."

The false exposition of Dr. Moreman upon Theodoret overthrown.

Philpot.

In answering to this, Dr. Moreman staggered, whose defect Philpot perceiving, spake on this wise, "Well, master Moreman, if you have no answer at this present ready, I pray you devise one, if you can conveniently, against our next meeting here again."

Weston is offended. Philpot's replication answered by commanding him to silence.

With that his saying the prolocutor was grievously offended, telling him that he should not brag there, but that he should be fully answered. Then said Philpot, "It is the only thing that I desire, to be answered directly in this behalf; and I desire of you, and of all the house at this present, that I may be sufficiently answered, which I am sure you are not able to do, saving Theodoret's authority and similitude upright, as he ought to be taken." None other answer, then, was made to Philpot's reason, but that he was commanded to silence.[1]

Philips.

Then stood up the dean of Rochester, offering himself to reason in the first question against the natural presence, wishing that the Scripture and the ancient doctors, in this point, might be weighed, believed, and followed. And against this natural presence, he thought the saying of Christ in St. Matthew to make

(1) This man, called Philips, continued dean of Rochester all queen Mary's time, and yet still remaineth.

sufficiently enough, if men would credit and follow Scripture; who said there of himself, that poor men we should have alway with us, but Him we should not have always: "which was spoken," quoth he, "concerning the natural presence of Christ's body. Therefore we ought to believe as he hath taught—that Christ is not *naturally* present on earth in the sacrament of the altar."

Weston. To this was answered by the prolocutor, that we should not have Christ present always to exercise alms-deeds upon him, but upon the poor.

Philips. But the dean prosecuted his argument, and showed it out of St. Augustine further, that the same interpretation of the Scripture alleged, was no sufficient answer; who writeth on this wise,[1] on the same sentence: "When he said (saith St. Augustine) 'me shall ye not have always with you;' he spake of the presence of his body. For by his majesty, by his providence, by his unspeakable and invisible grace, that is fulfilled which is said of him, 'Behold I am with you until the consummation of the world.' But in the flesh, which the Word took upon him, in that which was born of the Virgin, in that which was apprehended of the Jews, which was crucified on the cross, which was let down from the cross, which was wrapped in clouts, which was hid in the sepulchre, which was manifested in the resurrection, 'You shall not have me always with you.' And why? For after a bodily presence he was conversant with his disciples forty days; and they accompanying him, seeing and not following him, he ascended and is not here; for there he sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and yet here he is, because he is not departed in the presence of his majesty. After another manner we have Christ always, by the presence of his majesty; but, after the presence of his flesh, it is rightly said, 'You shall not verily have me always with you.' For the church had him in the presence of his flesh a few days, and now by faith it apprehendeth him, and seeth him not with eyes."

A notable authority out of St. Augustine.

Watson's answer to St. Augustine. To this authority Dr. Watson took upon him to answer, and said, he would answer St. Augustine *by* St. Augustine. And having a certain book in his hand of notes, he alleged out of the seventieth treatise upon St. John, that after that mortal condition and manner we have not now Christ on earth, as he was heretofore before his passion.

Philpot replieth to Watson. Against whose answer John Philpot replied, and said, that master Watson had not fully answered St. Augustine by St. Augustine, as he would seem to have done; for that in the place above mentioned by master dean of Rochester, he doth not only teach the mortal state of Christ's body before his passion, but also the immortal condition of the same after his resurrection: in the which mortal body St. Augustine seemeth plainly to affirm, that Christ is not present upon the earth, neither in form visibly, neither in corporal substance invisibly, as in few lines after the place above alleged, St. Augustine doth more plainly declare by these words, saying, "Now these two manners of Christ's presence declared, who is, by his majesty, providence, and grace, now present in the world, who before his ascension was present in flesh; and being now placed at the right hand of the Father, is absent in the same from the world, I think (saith St. Augustine) that there remaineth no other question in this matter."

"Now," quoth Philpot, "if St. Augustine acknowledged no more presence of Christ to be now on earth, but only his divine presence, and touching his humanity to be in heaven, we ought to confess and believe the same. But if we put a third presence of Christ, that is corporally to be present always in the sacrament of the altar invisibly, according to your suppositions, whereof St. Augustine maketh no mention at all in all his works; you shall seem to judge that, which St. Augustine did never comprehend."

Watson. "Why," quoth Watson, "St. Augustine, in the place by me alleged—maketh he no mention how St. Stephen, being in this world, saw Christ after his ascension?"

Philpot. "It is true," said Philpot: "but he saw Christ, as the Scripture telleth, in the heavens being open, standing at the right hand of God the Father." Further to this Watson answered not.

Weston. Then the prolocutor went about to furnish up an answer to St. Augustine, saying, that he is not now in the world after the manner of bodily presence, but yet present, for all that, in his body.

(1) Aug. in Johan. tract 50. [fol. 13, tom. iii. pars 2, col. 684. Benedict.—Ed.]

Mary. A.D. 1553.

To whom Philpot answered, that the prolocutor did grate much upon this word "secundum" in St. Augustine; which signifieth, after the manner, or in form: but he doth not answer to "id quod," which is that thing or substance of Christ, in the which Christ suffered, arose, and ascended into heaven, in the which thing and substance he is in heaven, and not in earth; as St. Augustine, in the place specified, most clearly doth define.

Philpot replieth to Weston.

To this nothing else being answered, the dean of Rochester proceeded in the maintenance of his argument, and read out of a book of annotations sundry authorities for the confirmation thereof; to the which Moreman, who was appointed to answer him, made no direct answer, but bade him make an argument, saying, that master dean had recited many words of doctors, but he made not one argument. Then said the dean, "The authorities of the doctors by me rehearsed, be sufficient arguments to prove mine intent, to the which my desire is to be answered of you." But still Moreman cried, "Make an argument," to shift off the authority which he could not answer unto.

Philips resumeth his argument. Moreman. Philips. Moreman.

Philips. Argument.

After this the dean made this argument out of the institution of the sacrament: "Do this in remembrance of me:" and, "Thus ye shall show forth the Lord's death until he come."—The sacrament is the remembrance of Christ: ergo, the sacrament is not very Christ; for yet he is not come. For these words, "until he come," do plainly signify the absence of Christ's body. Then the prolocutor went about to show that these words, "until he come," did not import any absence of Christ on the earth, by other places of Scripture, where "donec," "until," was used in like sense; but directly to the purpose he answered nothing. In conclusion the dean fell to questioning with Moreman, whether Christ did eat the paschal lamb with his disciples, or not? He answered, "Yea." Further, he demanded whether he did eat likewise the sacrament with them, as he did institute it? Moreman answered, "Yea." Then he asked, what he did eat, and whether he did eat his own natural body, as they imagine it to be, or no? which when Moreman had affirmed; then said the dean, "It is a great absurdity by you granted; and so he sat down."

Weston answereth to the argument. Master Dean's questions. Moreman affirmeth Christ did eat his own body.

Against this absurdity Philpot stood up and argued, saying, he could prove it by good reason deduced out of the Scripture, that Christ ate not his own natural body at the institution of the sacrament; and the reason is this:

Philpot. Argument.

Ba- Receiving of Christ's body hath a promise of remission of sins with it annexed.
ro- Christ, eating the sacrament, had no promise of remission of sin.
co. Ergo, Christ, in the sacrament, did not eat his own body.

To this reason Moreman answered, denying the former part of the argument, that the sacrament had a promise of remission of sins annexed unto it.

Moreman's denial.

Then Philpot showed this to be the promise in the sacrament: "Which is given for you, which is shed for you, for the remission of sins." But Moreman would not acknowledge that to be any promise, so that he drave Philpot to John vi., to vouch his saying with these words; "The bread which I will give, is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."

Philpot.

Moreman answering nothing directly to this argument, Harpsfield started up to supply that which was wanted in his behalf; and thinking to have answered Philpot, confirmed more strongly his argument, saying, "Ye mistake the promise which is annexed to the body of Christ in the sacrament: for it pertained not to Christ, but to his disciples, to whom Christ said, 'This is my body which is given for you,' and not for Christ himself."

Harpsfield affirmeth that which his fellow denied.

"You have said well for me," quoth Philpot, "for that is mine argument. The promise of the body of Christ took no effect in Christ: ergo, Christ ate not his own body."

Philpot.

Then the prolocutor, to shoulder out the matter said, the argument was nought; for by the like argument he might go about to prove, that Christ was not baptized, because the remission of sin, which is annexed unto baptism, took no effect in Christ. To the which Philpot replied, that like as Christ was baptized, so he ate the sacrament: but he took on him baptism, not that he had any need thereof, or that it took any effect in him; but as our master, to give the church an example to follow him in the ministration of the sacrament, and thereby to exhibit unto us himself; and not to give himself to himself.

Weston. Philpot. Philpot's argument not solved.

No more was said in this; but afterward the prolocutor demanded of Philpot, whether he would argue against the natural presence, or no? To whom he answered, Yea, if he would hear his argument without interruption, and assign one to answer him, and not many; which is a confusion to the opponent, and especially for him that was of an ill memory.

The convocation continued to the next day.

By this time the night was come on; wherefore the prolocutor brake up the disputation for that time, and appointed Philpot to be the first that should begin the disputation the next day after, concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament.

The Act of the Fourth Day.

Philpot not suffered to make his declaration.

On Wednesday, the 25th of October, John Philpot, as it was before appointed, was ready to have entered the disputation, minding first to have made a certain oration, and a true declaration in Latin of the matter of Christ's presence, which was then in question. Which thing the prolocutor perceiving, by and by he forbade Philpot to make any oration or declaration of any matter; commanding him, also, that he should make no argument in Latin, but to conclude on his arguments in English.

Philpot.

Then said Philpot, "This is contrary to your order taken at the beginning of this disputation. For then you appointed that all the arguments should be made in Latin, and thereupon I have drawn and devised all my arguments in Latin. And because you, master prolocutor, have said heretofore openly in this house, that I had no learning, I had thought to have showed such learning as I have, in a brief oration, and a short declaration of the questions now in controversy; thinking it so most convenient also, that in case I should speak otherwise in my declaration than should stand with learning, or than I were able to warrant and justify by God's word, it might the better be reformed by such as were learned of the house, so that the unlearned sort, being present, might take the less offence thereat."

But this allegation prevailed nothing with the prolocutor, who bade him still form an argument in English, or else to hold his peace. Then said Philpot, "You have sore disappointed me, thus suddenly to go from your former order: but I will accomplish your commandment, leaving mine oration apart; and I will come to my arguments, the which as well as so sudden a warning will serve, I will make in English. But before I bring forth any argument, I will, in one word, declare what manner of presence I disallow in the sacrament, to the intent the hearers may the better understand to what end and effect mine arguments shall tend; not to deny utterly the presence of Christ in his sacraments, truly ministered according to his institution; but only to deny that gross and carnal presence, which you of this house have already subscribed unto, to be in the sacrament of the altar, contrary to the truth and manifest meaning of the Scriptures: That by transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine, Christ's natural body should, by the virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, be contained and included under the forms or accidents of bread and wine. This kind of presence, imagined by men, I do deny," quoth Philpot, "and against this I will reason."

The presence of Christ in the sacrament distinguished. His true presence not denied. The gross presence of the papists denied.

But before he could make an end of that he would have said, he was interrupted of the prolocutor, and commanded to descend to his argument. At whose unjust importunity Philpot being offended, and thinking to purchase him a remedy there-for, he fell down upon his knees before the earls and lords which were there present, being a great number; whereof some were of the queen's council, beseeching them that he might have liberty to prosecute his arguments, without interruption of any man; the which was gently granted him of the lords. But the prolocutor, putting in use a point of the practice of prelates, would not condescend thereunto, but still cried, "Hold your peace, or else make a short argument." "I am about it," quoth Philpot, "if you will let me alone. But first, I must needs ask a question of my respondent,[1] concerning a word or twain of your supposition; that is, of the sacrament of the altar: What he meaneth thereby, and whether he taketh it as some of the ancient writers do, terming the Lord's supper the sacrament of the altar—partly because it is a sacrament of that lively sacrifice which Christ offered for our sins

Philpot craveth of the lords to prosecute his arguments without interruption. Philpot again interrupted by the prolocutor. Altar diversely taken.

(1) Dr. Chedsey

Mary. A.D. 1553.

upon the altar of the cross,—and partly because that Christ's body, crucified for us, was that bloody sacrifice, which the blood-shedding of all the beasts offered upon the altar in the old law, did prefigurate and signify unto us, in signification whereof the old writers sometimes do call the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, among other names which they ascribe thereunto, the sacrament of the altar? Or whether you take it otherwise; as for the sacrament of the altar which is made of lime and stone, over the which the sacrament hangeth, and to be all one with the sacrament of the mass, as it is at this present in many places? This done, I will direct mine arguments according as your answer shall give me occasion."

Chedsey.

Then made Dr. Chedsey this answer, that in their supposition they took the sacrament of the altar, and the sacrament of the mass, to be all one.

Philpot.

"Then," quoth Philpot, "I will speak plain English as master prolocutor willeth me, and make a short resolution thereof: That that sacrament of the altar, which ye reckon to be all one with the mass, once justly abolished, and now put in full use again, is no sacrament at all, neither is Christ in any wise present in it. And this his saying he offered to prove before the whole house, if they listed to call him thereunto; and likewise he offered to vouch the same before the queen's grace, and her most honourable council, [or] before the face of six of the best learned men of the house, of the contrary opinion, and refused none. "And if I shall not be able," quoth he, "to maintain by God's word that I have said, and confound those six which shall take upon them to withstand me in this point, let me be burned with as many faggots as be in London, before the court gates." This he uttered with great vehemency of spirit.

Philpot's offer in the convocation-house.

Weston. Philpot.

At this the prolocutor, with divers others, was very much offended, demanding of him, whether he wist what he said, or no? "Yea," quoth Philpot, "I wot well what I say;" desiring no man to be offended with his saying, for that he spake no more than by God's word he was able to prove. "And praised be God," quoth he, "that the queen's grace hath granted us of this house (as our prolocutor hath informed us), that we may freely utter our consciences in these matters of controversy in religion: and therefore I will speak here my conscience freely, grounded upon God's holy word, for the truth; albeit some of you here present mislike the same."

Argumentum à loco topico carceris.

Then divers of the house, besides the prolocutor, taunted and reprehended him for speaking so unfearingly against the sacrament of the mass, and the prolocutor said, he was mad; and threatened him, that he would send him to prison, if he would not cease his speaking.

Philpot.

Philpot, seeing himself thus abused, and not permitted with free liberty to declare his mind, fell into an exclamation, casting his eyes up towards the heaven, and said, "O Lord, what a world is this, that the truth of thy Holy Word may not be spoken and abiden by?" And for very sorrow and heaviness the tears trickled out of his eyes.

Philpot permitted to make a brief argument.

After this, the prolocutor being moved by some that were about him, was content that he should make an argument, so that he would be brief therein.

"I will be as brief," quoth Philpot, "as I may conveniently be, in uttering all that I have to say. And first, I will begin to ground my arguments upon the authority of Scriptures, whereupon all the building of our faith ought to be grounded; and after, I shall confirm the same by ancient doctors of the church. And I take the occasion of my first argument out of Matthew xxviii., of the saying of the angel to the three Marys, seeking Christ at the sepulchre, saying, 'He is risen, he is not here:' and Luke xxiii., the angel asketh them, Why they sought him that liveth among the dead. Likewise the Scripture testifieth, that Christ is risen, ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father: all the which is spoken of his natural body: ergo, it is not on earth included in the sacrament.

Argument of Philpot.

"I will confirm this yet more effectually, by the saying of Christ in John xvi.; 'I came,' saith Christ, 'from my Father into the world, and now I leave the world and go away to my Father:' the which coming and going he meant of his natural body. Therefore we may affirm thereby, that it is not now in the world.

Distinction of the papists.

"But I look here," quoth he, "to be answered with a blind distinction of visibly and invisibly, that he is visibly departed in his humanity, but invisibly he remaineth notwithstanding in the sacrament. But that answer I prevent

myself, that with more expedition I may descend to the pith of mine arguments, whereof I have a dozen to propose; and will prove that no such distinction ought to take away the force of that argument, by the answer which Christ's disciples gave unto him, speaking these words: 'Now thou speakest plainly, and utterest forth no proverb;' which words St. Cyril, interpreting, saith, 'That Christ spake without any manner of ambiguity and obscure speech.' And therefore I conclude hereby thus, that if Christ spake plainly, and without parable, saying; 'I leave the world now and go away to my Father,' then that obscure, dark, and imperceptible presence of Christ's natural body to remain in the sacrament upon earth invisibly, contrary to the plain words of Christ, ought not to be allowed. For nothing can be more uncertain, or more parabolical and insensible, than so to say. Here now will I attend what you will answer, and so descend to the confirmation of all that I have said by ancient writers."

Mary. A. D. 1553. Cyril.

Then Dr. Chedsey, reciting his argument in such order as it was made, took upon him to answer severally to every part thereof on this wise. First, to the saying of the angel, "That Christ is not here;" and, "Why seek ye the living among the dead?" he answered, that these sayings pertained nothing to the presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament; but that they were spoken of Christ's body being in the sepulchre, when the three Marys thought him to have been in the grave still. And therefore the angel said, "Why do ye seek him that liveth among the dead?" And to the authority of John xvi., where Christ saith, "Now I leave the world and go to my Father," he meant that of his ascension. And so likewise did Cyril, interpreting the saying of the disciples, that knew plainly that Christ would visibly ascend into heaven. But that doth not exclude the invisible presence of his natural body in the sacrament; for St. Chrysostome, writing to the people of Antioch, doth affirm the same, comparing Elijah and Christ together, and Elijah's cloak unto Christ's flesh: "Elijah," quoth he, "when he was taken up in the fiery chariot, left his cloak behind him unto his disciple Elisha. But Christ, ascending into heaven, took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him." Whereby we may right well gather, that Christ's flesh is visibly ascended into heaven, and invisibly abideth still in the sacrament of the altar.

Chedsey's answer to Philpot.

To this Philpot replied, and said, "You have not directly answered to the saying of the angel, 'Christ is risen, and is not here,' because you have omitted that which was the chiefest point of all. For," said he, "I proceeded further, as thus: He is risen, ascended, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father: ergo, he is not remaining on the earth. Neither is your answer to Cyril, by me alleged, sufficient; but by and by I will return to your interpretation of Cyril, and more plainly declare the same, after that I have first refelled the authority of Chrysostome, which is one of your chief principles that you alleged, to make for your gross carnal presence in the sacrament; which being well weighed and understood, pertaineth nothing thereunto."

Philpot's answer to Chedsey.

At that the prolocutor startled, that one of the chief pillars in this point should be overthrown; and therefore recited the said authority in Latin first, and afterward Englished the same, willing all that were present to note that saying of Chrysostome, which he thought invincible on their side. "But I shall make it appear," quoth Philpot, "by and by, that it doth make little for your purpose." And as he was about to declare his mind in that behalf, the prolocutor did interrupt him, as he did almost continually; wherewith Philpot, not being content, said, "Master prolocutor thinketh that he is in a sophistry school, where he knoweth right well the manner is, that when the respondent perceiveth that he is like to be enforced with an argument, to the which he is not able to answer, then he doth what he can, with cavillation and interruption, to drive him from the same."

Philpot interrupted. Philpot again interrupted.

This saying of Philpot was ill taken of the prolocutor and his adherents; and the prolocutor said, that Philpot could bring nothing to avoid that authority, but his own vain imagination. "Hear," quoth Philpot, "and afterward judge. For I will do in this, as in all other authorities wherewith you shall charge me in refelling any of my arguments that I have to prosecute, answering either unto the same by sufficient authorities of Scripture, or else by some other testimony of like authority of yours, and not of mine own imagination; the which if I do, I will it to be of no credit. And concerning the saying of Chrysostome, I have two ways to beat him from your purpose; the one out of Scrip-

Weston. Philpot.

Mary.

A. D. 1553.

ture, the other out of Chrysostome himself, in the place here by you alleged. First, where he seemeth to say, that Christ ascending took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him, truth it is: for we all do confess and believe, that Christ took on him our human nature in the Virgin Mary's womb, and, through his passion in the same, hath united us to his flesh; and thereby are we become one flesh with him: so that Chrysostome might therefore right well say, that Christ, ascending, took his flesh, which he received of the Virgin Mary, away with him; and also left his flesh behind him, which are we that be his elect in this world, who are the members of Christ, and flesh of his flesh; as very aptly St. Paul to the Ephesians, in the fifth chapter, doth testify, saying, 'We are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones.' And if percase any man will reply, that he entreateth there of the sacrament, so that this interpretation cannot so aptly be applied unto him in that place, then will I yet interpret Chrysostome another way by himself. For in that place, a few lines before those words which were here now lately read, are these words; that Christ, after he ascended into heaven, left unto us, endued with his sacraments, his flesh in mysteries; that is, sacramentally. And that mystical flesh Christ leaveth as well to his church in the sacrament of baptism, as in the sacramental bread and wine. And that St. Paul justly doth witness, saying, 'As many of us as are baptized in Christ have put upon us Christ:' and thus you may understand that St. Chrysostome maketh nothing for your carnal and gross presence in the sacrament, as you wrongfully take him."

The place of Chrysostome, of Christ taking up his flesh, and leaving his flesh, answered to by Philpot.

How Christ left his flesh behind him.

Chrysostome expounded by Chrysostome.

Galat. iii.

Pie.

Now in this mean while master Pie rounded the prolocutor in the ear, to put Philpot to silence, and to appoint some other, mistrusting lest he would shrewdly shake their carnal presence in conclusion, if he held on long, seeing in the beginning he gave one of their chief foundations such a pluck. Then the prolocutor said to Philpot, that he had reasoned sufficiently enough, and that some other should now supply his room. Wherewith he was not well content, saying: "Why, sir, I have a dozen arguments concerning this matter to be proposed, and I have yet scarce overgone my first argument; for I have not brought in any confirmation thereof out of any ancient writer (whereof I have for the same purpose many), being hitherto still letted by your oft interrupting of me."

Weston.

A good solution for all his argument.

Philpot.

Weston.

Philpot.

"Well," quoth the prolocutor, "you shall speak no more now, and I command you to hold your peace." "You perceive," quoth Philpot, "that I have stuff enough for you, and am able to withstand your false supposition, and therefore you command me to silence." "If you will not give place," quoth the prolocutor, "I will send you to prison." "This is not," quoth Philpot, "according to your promise made in this house, nor yet according to your brag made at Paul's Cross, that men should be answered in this disputation to whatsoever they can say; since you will not suffer me, of a dozen arguments, to prosecute one."

Then master Pie took upon him to promise that he should be answered another day. Philpot seeing he might not proceed in his purpose, being therewith justly offended, ended, saying thus: "A sort of you here, who hitherto have lurked in corners, and dissembled with God and the world, are now gathered together to suppress the sincere truth of God's holy word, and to set forth every false device, which, by the catholic doctrine of the Scripture, ye are not able to maintain."

Elmar again steppeth forth.

Οὐσία.

Moreman desireth a day, to imagine some crafty shift.

Then stepped forth master Elmar, chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, whom master Moreman took upon him to answer; against whom master Elmar objected divers and sundry authorities for the confirming of the argument he took the day before in hand, to prove that οὐσία in the sentence of Theodoret, brought in by master Cheney, must needs signify substance, and not accidents: whose reasons and probations, because they were all grounded and brought out of the Greek, I do pass over, for that they want their grace in English, and also their proper understanding. But his allegations so encumbered master Moreman, that he desired a day to overview them, for at that instant he was without a convenient answer.

Then did the prolocutor call master Haddon, dean of Exeter, and chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, who prosecuted Theodoret's authority in confirming master Elmar's argument: to whom Dr. Watson took upon him to give answer:

who, after long talk, was so confounded, that he was not able to answer to the word "mysterium:" but, forasmuch as he seemed to doubt therein, master Haddon took out of his bosom a Latin author to confirm his saying, and showed the same to master Watson, asking him whether he thought the translation to be true, or that the printer were in any fault. "There may be a fault in the printer," quoth Watson, "for I am not remembered of this word." Then did master Haddon take out of his bosom a Greek book, wherein he showed forth with his finger the same words; which master Watson could not deny. His arguments further, I omit to declare at large, because they were for the most part in Greek, about the bolting of the true signification of οὐσία.

Watson confounded by Haddon.

Then stept forth master Pern, and in argument made declaration of his mind against transubstantiation, and confirmed the sayings and authorities alleged by master Elmar and master Haddon; to whom the prolocutor answered, saying, "I much marvel, master Pern, that you will say thus; forsomuch as, on Friday last, you subscribed to the contrary." Which his saying master Elmar did mislike, saying to the prolocutor, that he was to blame, so to reprehend any man, "partly for that this house," quoth he, "is a house of free liberty for every man to speak his conscience, and partly for that you promised yesterday, that, notwithstanding any man had subscribed, yet he should have free liberty to speak his mind." And for that the night did approach, and the time was spent, the prolocutor, giving them praises for their learning, did yet notwithstanding conclude, that all reasoning set apart, the order of the holy church must be received, and all things must be ordered thereby.[1]

Pern against transubstantiation.

The Act of the Fifth Day.

On Friday, the 27th of October, Dr. Weston the prolocutor did first propound the matter, showing that the convocation hath spent two days in disputation already about one only doctor, who was Theodoret, and about one only word, which was οὐσία: yet were they come, the third day, to answer all things that could be objected, so that they would shortly put their arguments. So master Haddon, dean of Exeter, desired leave to oppose master Watson, who, with two other more, that is, Morgan and Harpsfield, was appointed to answer.

Master Haddon demanded this of him, "Whether any substance of bread or wine did remain after the consecration." Then master Watson asked of him again, Whether he thought there to be a real presence of Christ's body or no? Master Haddon said, It was not meet nor order-like, that he who was appointed to be respondent, should be opponent; and he whose duty was to object, should answer.—Yet master Watson, a long while, would not agree to answer; but, that thing first being granted him, at last an order was set, and master Haddon had leave to go forward with his argument.

Haddon, dean of Exeter, against Watson, Morgan, and Harpsfield.

Then he proved, by Theodoret's words,[2] a substance of bread and wine to remain. For these are his words: "The same they were before the sanctification, which they are after." Master Watson said, that Theodoret meant not the same substance, but the same essence.

The words of Theodoret.

Whereupon they were driven again unto the discussing of the Greek word οὐσία; and master Haddon proved it to mean a substance, both by the etymology of the word, and by the words of the doctor. "For οὐσία," quoth he, "cometh of the particle ὄν, which descendeth of the verb εἰμὶ; and so cometh the noun οὐσία, which signifieth substance." Then master Watson answered, that it had not that signification only: but master Haddon proved that it must needs so signify in that place.

A popish distinction between substance and essence.

Then Haddon asked Watson, When the bread and wine became symbols? Whereunto he answered, "After the consecration, and not before." Then gathered master Haddon this reason out of his author.

Argument of Haddon.

Da- The same thing, saith Theodoret, that the bread and wine were before they were symbols, the same they remain still in nature and substance, after they are symbols.

ti- Bread and wine they were before:

si. Therefore bread and wine they are after.

(1) Dr. Weston praiseth their learning, to flatter them, but he answereth not their arguments.

(2) Dial. vol. iv. p. 84. edit. Sirmond.: and vol. iv. edit. Schubre. Halæ, 1776.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1553.

Then master Watson fell to the denial of the author, and said he was a Nestorian; and he desired that he might answer to master Cheney who stood by, for that he was more meet to dispute in the matter, because he had granted and subscribed unto the Real Presence.

Cheney.

Master Cheney desired patience of the honourable men to hear him, trusting that he should so open the matter, that the verity should appear: protesting furthermore, that he was no obstinate or stubborn man, but would be conformable to all reason; and if they, by their learning (which he acknowledged to be much more than his), could answer his reasons, then he would be ruled by them, and say as they said; for he would be no author of schism, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy mother the church, which is Christ's spouse.

Dr. Weston liked this well, and commended him highly, saying that he was a well-learned and sober man, and well exercised in all good learning, and in the doctors; and finally, a man meet, for his knowledge, to dispute in that place: "I pray you hear him," quoth he.

Cheney's prayer.

Then master Cheney desired such as there were present, to pray two words with him unto God, and to say, "Vincat veritas;" "Let the verity take place, and have the victory;" and all that were present cried with a loud voice, "Vincat veritas, Vincat veritas."

Weston.

Then said Dr. Weston to him, that it was hypocritical. "Men may better say," quoth he, "Vicit veritas," "Truth hath gotten the victory." Master Cheney said again, If he would give him leave, he would bring it to that point, that he might well say so.

Cheney and Watson dispute.

Then he began with master Watson after this sort: "You said, that master Haddon was unmeet to dispute, because he granteth not the natural and real presence; but I say, you are much more unmeet to answer, because you take away the substance of the sacrament."

Cheney challenged, etc.

Master Watson said, he [Cheney] had subscribed to the Real Presence, and should not go away from that: so said Weston also, and the rest of the priests; insomuch that for a great while he could have no leave to say any more, till the lords spake, and willed that he should be heard.

Cheney.

Then master Cheney told them what he meant by his subscribing to the Real Presence, far otherwise than they supposed. So then he went forward, and prosecuted master Haddon's argument, in proving that οὐσία was a substance; using the same reason that master Haddon did before him. And when he had received the same answer also that was made to master Haddon, he said, it was but a lewd refuge, when they could not answer, to deny the author: and proved the author to be a catholic doctor; and, that being proved, he confirmed that which was said of the nature and substance further. "The similitude of Theodoret is this," quoth he: "As the tokens of Christ's body and blood, after the invocation of the priest, do change their names, and yet continue the same substance; so the body of Christ, after his ascension, changed its name, and was called immortal, yet had it its former fashion, figure, and circumscription; and, to speak at one word, the same substance of his body. Therefore," said master Cheney, "if, in the former part of the similitude, you deny the same substance to continue, then, in the latter part of the similitude, which agreeth with it, I will deny the body of Christ, after his ascension, to have the former nature and substance. But that were a great heresy; therefore it is also a great heresy to take away the substance of blood and wine after the sanctification."

The argument of Theodoret renewed by Cheney.

Watson.

Then was master Watson enforced to say, that the substance of the body, in the former part of the similitude brought in by him, did signify quantity, and other accidents of the sacramental tokens which be seen, and not the very substance of the same; and therefore Theodoret saith, "Quæ videntur," etc. that is, "those things which be seen." For, according to philosophy, the accidents of things be seen, and not the substances.

Cheney appealed to the lords.

Then master Cheney appealed to the honourable men, and desired that they should give no credit to them in so saying; for if they should so think as they would teach, after their lordships had ridden forty miles on horseback (as their business doth sometimes require), they should not be able to say at night, that they saw their horses all the day, but only the colour of their horses. And, by his reason, Christ must go to school, and learn of Aristotle to speak: for when

he saw Nathanael under the fig-tree, if Aristotle had stood by, he would have said, "No, Christ; thou sawest not him, but the colour of him." *Mary.*

After this, Watson said, "What if it were granted that Theodoret was on the other side? Where they had one of that opinion, there were a hundred on the other." A. D. 1553.

Then the prolocutor called for master Morgan to help, and said, that Theodoret did no more than he might lawfully do. For first, he granted the truth, and then, for fear of such as were not fully instructed in the faith, he spake αἰνιγματικῶς; that is, covertly, and in a mystery; and this was lawful for him to do: for first he granted the truth, and called them the body of Christ, and the blood of Christ. Then, afterwards, he seemed to give somewhat to the senses, and to reason: "but, that Theodoret is of the same mind that they were of, the words following," quoth he, do declare; for that which followeth is a cause of that which went before. And therefore he saith, 'The immortality,' etc. whereby it doth appear, that he meant the divine nature, and not the human." Morgan is called for, to help at a pinch.

Then was Morgan taken with misalleging of the text: for the book had not this word "for;" for the Greek word did rather signify "truly" and not "for;" so that it might manifestly appear, that it was the beginning of a new matter, and not a sentence rendering a cause of that he had said before. Morgan allegeth false the text.

Then it was said by Watson again, "Suppose that Theodoret be with you, who is one that we never heard of printed, but two or three years ago; yet is he but one, and what is one against the whole consent of the church?" After this, master Cheney inferred, that not only Theodoret was of that mind, that the substance of bread and wine do remain, but divers others also, and especially Irenæus, who, making mention of this sacrament, saith thus: "When the cup which is mingled with wine, and the bread that is broken, do receive the word of God, it is made the eucharist of the body and blood of Christ, by the which the substance of our flesh is nourished, and doth consist."[1] If the thanksgiving do nourish our body, then there is some substance besides Christ's body. Watson. Cheney.

To the which reason both Watson and Morgan answered, that "Ex quibus," "By the which," in the sentence of Irenæus, was referred to the next antecedent, that is, to the body and blood of Christ; and not to the wine which is in the cup, and the bread that is broken. Watson and Morgan.

Master Cheney replied, that it was not the body of Christ which nourished our bodies. "And let it be that Christ's flesh nourisheth to immortality, yet it doth not answer to that argument, although it be true, no more than that answer which was made to my allegation out of St. Paul, 'The bread which we break,' etc., with certain other like: whereunto you answered, That bread was not taken there in its proper signification, but for that it had been; no more than the rod of Aaron was taken for the serpent, because it had been a serpent." Cheney.

After this, master Cheney brought in Hesychius, and used the same reason that he did, of burning of symbols; and he asked them, What was burnt. Master Watson said, we must not inquire nor ask, but if there were any fault, impute it to Christ. Then said master Cheney, Whereof came those ashes—not of substance? or can any substance arise of accidents? Cheney.

Then was master Harpsfield called in to see what he could say in the matter; who told a fair tale of the omnipotency of God, and of the imbecility and weakness of man's reason, not able to attain to godly things. And he said, that it was convenient, whatsoever we saw, felt, or tasted, not to trust our senses. And he told a tale out of St. Cyprian, how a woman saw the sacrament burning in her coffer; "and that which burned there," quoth Harpsfield, "burneth here, and becometh ashes." But what that was that burnt, he could not tell. But master Cheney continued still, and forced them with this question, What it was that was burnt? "It was either," said he, "the substance of bread, or else the substance of the body of Christ, which were too much absurdity to grant." At length they answered, that it was a miracle; whereat master Cheney smiled, and said, that he could then say no more. Harpsfield called in to help Watson. Here is good stuff, as if it were out of the Legend of Lies.

Then Dr. Weston asked of the company there, whether those men were sufficiently answered, or no. Certain priests cried, "Yea," but they were not heard at all for the great multitude which cried, "No, No;" which cry was

(1) Iren. lib. v. contra Valent. [cap. 2. fol. 3.—Ed.]

Mary.

A. D. 1553.

heard and noised almost to the end of Paul's. Whereat Dr. Weston being much moved, answered bitterly, that he asked not the judgment of the rude multitude and unlearned people, but of them which were of the house. Then asked he of master Haddon and his fellows, whether they would answer them other three days? Haddon, Cheney, and Elmar said, "No." But the archdeacon of Winchester stood up and said, that they should not say, but they should be answered; and though all others did refuse to answer, yet he would not, but offered to answer them all one after another. With his proffer the prolocutor was not contented, but railed on him, and said, that he should go to Bedlam: to whom the archdeacon soberly made this answer, that he was more worthy to be sent thither, who used himself so ragingly in that disputation, without any indifferent equality. Then rose Dr. Weston up, and said:

Weston would know whether they were sufficiently answered, when he and his had answered no argument. Philpot offereth to answer them all.

"All the company have subscribed to our article, saving only these men which you see. What their reasons are, you have heard. We have answered them three days, upon promise (as it pleased him to descant without truth, for no such promise was made), that they should answer us again as long as the order of disputation doth require; and if they be able to defend their doctrine, let them so do."

A strong argument of Dr. Weston: where he is not able to answer, he would outface.

Then master Elmar stood up, and proved how vain a man Weston was; for he affirmed that they never promised to dispute, but only to open and testify to the world their consciences. For when they were required to subscribe, they refused, and said that they would show good reasons which moved them, that they could not with their consciences subscribe; as they had partly already done, and were able to do more sufficiently: "Therefore," quoth he, "it hath been ill called a disputation, and they were worthy to be blamed that were the authors of that name. For we meant not to dispute, nor now mean to answer, before our arguments," quoth he, "which we have to propound, be solved, according as it was appointed. For by answering we should but encumber ourselves, and profit nothing; since the matter is already decreed upon and determined, whatsoever we shall prove, or dispute to the contrary.

Elmar's reason why they would not answer.

The Act of the Sixth Day.

On Monday following, being the 30th of October, the prolocutor demanded of John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, whether he would answer in the questions before propounded to their objections, or no? To whom he made this answer, That he would willingly so do, if, according to their former determination, they would first answer sufficiently to some of his arguments, as they had promised to do, whereof he had a dozen, not half of the first being yet decided: and if they would answer fully and sufficiently but to one of his arguments, he promised that he would answer to all the objections that they should bring. Then the prolocutor bade him propound his argument, and it should be resolutely answered by one of them; whereunto master Morgan was appointed.

Philpot.

"Upon Wednesday last," quoth Philpot, "I was enforced to silence before I had prosecuted half mine argument; the sum whereof was this (as was gathered by the just context of the Scripture)—That the human body of Christ was ascended into heaven, and placed on the right hand of God the Father: wherefore it could not be situate upon earth in the sacrament of the altar, invisible after the imagination of man." The argument was denied by Morgan: for the proof whereof, Philpot said, that this was it wherewith he had to confirm his first argument, if they would have suffered him the other day, as now he trusted they would.

Argument.

Fe- "One self and same nature,' quoth he, "receiveth not in itself any thing that is contrary to itself.

ri- "But the body of Christ is a human nature, distinct from the Deity, and is a proper nature of itself:

o. "Ergo, It cannot receive any thing that is contrary to that nature, and that varieth from itself.

"But bodily to be present, and bodily to be absent; to be on earth, and to be in heaven, and all at one present time; be things contrary to the nature of a human body: ergo, it cannot be said of the human body of Christ, that the selfsame body is both in heaven, and also in earth at one instant, either visibly or invisibly."

Morgan denied the major, that is, the first part of the argument; the which Philpot vouched out of Vigilius,[1] an ancient writer. But Morgan cavilled that it was no Scripture, and bade him prove the same out of Scripture.[2] Marg.

A. D. 1553.

Philpot said, he could also so do, and right well deduce the same out of St. Paul, who saith, "that Christ is like unto us in all points, except sin:" and therefore, like as one of our bodies cannot receive in itself any thing contrary to the nature of a body, as to be in Paul's Church and at Westminster at one instant, or to be at London visibly, and at Lincoln invisibly, at one time (for that is contrary to the nature of a body, and of all creatures, as Didimus and Basil affirm, that an invisible creature, as an angel, cannot be at one time in divers places), wherefore he concluded that the body of Christ might not be in more places than in one, which is in heaven; and so consequently not to be contained in the sacrament of the altar. Philpot. One body cannot be at once in divers places.

To this the prolocutor took upon him to answer, saying, that it was not true that Christ was like unto us in all points, as Philpot took it, except sin. For that Christ was not conceived by the seed of man, as we be. Weston.

Whereunto Philpot again replied, that Christ's conception was prophesied before, by the angel, to be supernatural; but after he had received our nature by the operation of the Holy Ghost in the Virgin's womb, he became in all points like unto us, except sin. Philpot.

Then Morgan inferred that this saying of Paul did not plainly prove his purpose. Morgan.

"Well," quoth Philpot, "I perceive that you do answer but by cavillation, yet am I not destitute of other Scriptures to confirm my first argument, although you refuse the probation of so ancient and catholic a doctor as Vigilius is. St. Peter, in the sermon that he made in Acts iii., making mention of Christ, saith these words, "Whom heaven must receive, until the consummation of all things," etc.: which words are spoken of his humanity. If heaven must hold Christ, then can he not be here on earth, in the sacrament, as is pretended." Philpot.

Then Morgan, laughing at this, and giving no direct answer at all, Harpsfield stood up, being one of the bishop of London's chaplains, and took upon him to answer to the saying of St. Peter, and demanded of Philpot, whether he would, "ex necessitate," that is, of necessity, force Christ to any place, or no. Harpsfield stepeth in.

Philpot said, that he would no otherwise force Christ of necessity to any place, than he is taught by the words of the Holy Ghost, which sound thus: That Christ's human body must abide in heaven until the day of judgment,—as he rehearsed out of the chapter before mentioned. Philpot.

"Why," quoth Harpsfield, "do ye not know that God is God omnipotent?" Harpsfield.

"Yes," said Philpot, "I know that right well; neither doubt I any thing at all of his omnipotency. But of Christ's omnipotency what he may do, is not our question, but rather what he doth. I know he may make a stone in the wall a man, if he list, and also that he may make more worlds: but doth he therefore so? It were no good consequent so to conclude; he may do this or that, therefore he doth it.

Ba- "Only so much is to be believed of God's omnipotency, as is in the word expressed.

ro- "That Christ's body is both in heaven, and here also really in the sacrament, is not expressed in the word:

co. "Ergo, It is not to be believed, that the body of Christ, being in heaven, is here also really in the sacrament."

"Why," quoth the prolocutor, "then you will put Christ in prison in heaven."[3] To the which Philpot answered, "Do you reckon heaven to be a prison? God grant us all to come to that prison."

(1) "Vigilius" was bishop of Thapsus, and flourished about the year 500, or earlier; his treatise against Eutyches is included in the Bibliothecæ Patrum, as in the first Paris collection, vol. v. pp. 567—584, where it is incorrectly assigned to Vigilius, bishop of Trent. His works have been published in a collected form by Chifflet; Divione. 1665. He also published separately, the treatise here referred to. Tiguri, 1539; also Basileæ, 1571. See Oudin. Comment. de Scrip. Eccles. tom. i. col. 1330; also Walchii Biblioth.—Pat. p. 611. Jenæ, 1834; and Rivet's Critici Sacri, lib. iv. cap. 28.—Ed.

(2) Here is a new evasion invented by Morgan, who dare not plainly deny Vigilius's authority, but under a colour.

(3) If Weston charge them for prisoning Christ in heaven, how may they charge the papists for prisoning Christ in a box!

Mary. A.D. 1553.

After this, Harpsfield inferred that this word "oportet" in St. Peter, which signifieth in English "must," did not import so much as I would infer, of necessity, as by other places of Scripture it may appear, as in 1 Timothy iii., where Paul saith, "Oportet episcopum esse unius uxoris virum," "A bishop must be the husband of one wife." "Here," quoth he, "'oportet' doth not import such a necessity; but that he that never was married, may be a bishop."

Philpot. "Oportet," how it is taken diversely in Scripture.

To this Philpot said again, that the places were not alike, which he went about to compare; and that in comparing of the Scriptures we must not consider the naked words, but the meaning rather of the Scriptures, for that, in the place by him alleged, St. Paul doth declare of what quality a bishop ought to be. But in the other, St. Peter teacheth us the place where Christ must necessarily be, until the end of the world: which we ought to believe to be true. "And this comparison of this word 'oportet' doth no more answer mine argument, than if I should say of you now being here, 'Oportet te hic esse,' 'You must needs be here;' which importeth such a necessity for the time, that you can no otherwise be but here: and yet you would go about in words to avoid this necessity with another 'oportet' in another sense, as this; 'Oportet te esse virum bonum,' 'You must be a good man;' where 'oportet' doth not in very deed conclude any such necessity, but that you *may* be an evil man. Thus you may see that your answer is not sufficient, and as it were no answer to my argument."

Weston.

Then the prolocutor brought in another "oportet," to help this matter (if it might be), saying, "What say you to this, 'Oportet hæreses esse;' must heresies needs be therefore, because of this word 'oportet?'"

Philpot.

"Yea, truly," quoth Philpot, "it cannot otherwise be, if you will add that which followeth immediately upon these words of Paul, that is, 'Ut qui electi sunt manifestentur;' that is, 'That such as be the elect of God may be manifested and known.'"

Weston.

"Why," quoth the prolocutor, "the time hath been, that no heresies were."

Philpot.

"I know no such time," quoth Philpot; "for since the time of Abel and Cain heresies have been, and then began they."

Weston.

Then said the prolocutor, "Will you now answer Morgan an argument or two?"

Philpot.

"I will," quoth Philpot, "if I may first be answered to my argument any thing according to truth and learning."

Weston.

"What!" quoth the prolocutor, "you will never be answered."

Philpot.

"How I am answered," quoth Philpot, "let all men that are here present judge, and especially such as be learned; and with what cavillations you have dallied with me. First, to the ancient authority of Vigilius you have answered nothing at all, but only denying it to be Scripture, that he saith. Secondly, to the saying of St. Peter in the Acts, ye have answered thus—demanding of me whether I would keep Christ in prison. or no. Let men now judge, if this be a sufficient answer, or no."

Morgan.

Then stood Morgan up again, and asked Philpot whether he would be ruled by the universal church, or no?

Philpot.

"Yes," quoth he, "if it be the true catholic church. And since you speak so much of the church, I would fain that you would declare what the church is."

Morgan.

"The church," quoth Morgan, "is diffused and dispersed throughout the whole world."

Philpot.

"That is a diffuse definition," quoth Philpot, "for I am yet as uncertain as I was before, what you mean by the church: but I acknowledge no church but that, which is grounded and founded on God's word; as St. Paul saith, 'Upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and upon the Scriptures of God.'"

Moreman. Whether the church was before the Scripture.

"What!" quoth Moreman, "was the Scripture before the church?" "Yea," quoth Philpot.

"But I will prove nay," quoth Moreman, "and I will begin at Christ's time. The church of Christ was before any Scripture written; for Matthew was the first that wrote the gospel, about a dozen years after Christ: ergo, the church was before the Scripture."

Philpot.

To whom Philpot answering, denied his argument; which when Moreman could not prove, Philpot showed that his argument was "elenchus," or a fallacy that is, a deceivable argument. For he took the Scripture only to be that

which is written by men in letters; whereas, in very deed, all prophecy uttered by the Spirit of God, was counted to be Scripture before it was written in paper and ink, for that it was written in the hearts, and graven in the minds, yea, and inspired in the mouths, of good men and of Christ's apostles, by the Spirit of Christ: as the salutation of the angel was the Scripture of Christ, and the word of God before it was written.

Mary. A.D. 1553.

At that Moreman cried, "Fie! fie!" wondering that the Scripture of God should be counted Scripture before it was written; and affirmed, that *he* had no knowledge that said so.

Moreman.

To whom Philpot answered, that concerning knowledge in this behalf, for the trial of the truth about the questions in controversy, he would wish himself no worse matched than with Moreman.

Philpot.

At the which saying the prolocutor was grievously offended, saying, that it was arrogantly spoken of him, that would compare with such a worshipful learned man as Moreman was, being himself a man unlearned, yea, a madman; meeter to be sent to Bethlehem, than to be among such a sort of learned and grave men as were there; and a man that never would be answered, and one that troubled the whole house: and therefore he did command him that he should come no more into the house, demanding of the house, whether they would agree thereupon, or no. To whom a great company answered "Yea." Then said Philpot again, that he might think himself happy that was out of that company.

Weston raileth against Philpot to be a madman.

After this Morgan rose off, and rounded the prolocutor in the ear. And then again the prolocutor spake to Philpot, and said, "Lest thou shouldest slander the house, and say that we will not suffer you to declare your mind, we are content you shall come into the house as you have done before; so that you be apparelled with a long gown and a tippet, as we be, and that you shall not speak, but when I command you." "Then," quoth Philpot, "I had rather be absent altogether."

Morgan.

Philpot to come in a long gown and a tippet.

Thus they, reasoning to and fro, at length, about the 13th of December, queen Mary, to take up the matter, sendeth her commandment to Bonner bishop of London, that he should dissolve and break up the convocation. The copy of which commandment here followeth.

The Precept of the Queen to Bonner, Bishop of London, for the dissolving of the aforesaid Convocation.

Maria, &c., reverendo in Christo Patri et domino, domino Edmundo Londinensis episcopo, salutem. Cum præsens Convocatio Cleri Cantuariensis provinciæ apud S. Paulum London. jam modo tenta et instans existit, certis tamen urgentibus causis et considerationibus nos specialiter moventibus, de advisamento concilii nostri ipsam præsentem convocationem duximus dissolvendam. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eandem præsentem convocationem apud Sanctum Paulum prædictum debito modo absque aliquâ dilatione dissolvatis, dissolvive faciatis prout convenit, significantes ex parte nostrâ universis et singulis episcopis, necnon archidiaconis, decanis, et omnibus aliis personis ecclesiasticis quibuscunque dictæ Cantuariensis provinciæ quorum interest, vel interesse poterit, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet huic mandato nostro exequendo intendentes sint et obedientes prout decet.—Teste meipsâ apud Westmonasterium 13 die Decembris, anno regni nostri primo.

During the time of this disputation, the 20th day of November, the mayor of Coventry sent up unto the lords of the council Baldwin Clarke, John Careless, Thomas Wilcocks, and Richard Estelin, for their behaviour upon Allhallows-day last before: whereupon Careless and Wilcocks were committed to the Gatehouse, and Clarke and Estelin to the Marshalsea.

Mary. A. D. 1553.

The same day there was a letter directed to sir Christopher Heydon, and sir William Farmer, knights, for the apprehension of John Huntingdon preacher, for making a rhyme against Dr. Stokes and the sacrament: who, appearing before the council the 3d of December next after, was, upon his humble submission and promise to amend as well in doctrine as in living, again suffered to depart.

In the days of king Henry, and also king Edward reigning after him, divers noble men, bishops, and others, were cast into the Tower, some charged with treason, as lord Courtney,[1] and the duke of Norfolk—whose son lord Henry, earl of Surrey, had been the same time beheaded, a worthy and ingenuous gentleman, for what cause, or by whom, I have not here to deal: this is certain, that not many years after his death followed the beheading of both the lord Seymours, and at last of the duke of Northumberland also—some for the pope's supremacy, and suspicious letters tending to sedition (as Tonstal, bishop of Durham), and others for other things, all which continued there prisoners till queen Mary's coming-in: unto whom the said queen eftsoons granted their pardon, and restored them to their former dignities; amongst whom, also, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, whom she not only freed out of captivity, but also advanced him to be high chancellor of England. Furthermore, to the lord Courtney she showed such favour, that she made him earl of Devonshire, insomuch that there was a suspicion amongst many, that she would marry him; but that proved otherwise.

Gardiner, bishop, made lord chancellor.

Lord Courtney made earl of Devon.

The same time Bonner, also, had been prisoner in the Marshalsea; whom likewise queen Mary delivered, and restored to the bishopric of London again, displacing Dr. Ridley, with divers other good bishops more, as is above mentioned: as Cranmer from Canterbury, the archbishop of York likewise, Poynet from Winchester, John Hooper from Worcester, Barlow from Bath, Harley from Hereford, Taylor from Lincoln, Ferrar from St. David's, Coverdale from Exeter, Scorry from Chichester, etc., with a great number of archdeacons, deans, and briefly, all such beneficed men, who either were married, or would constantly adhere to their profession. All which were removed from their livings, and others of the contrary sect set in the same, as cardinal Pole (who was then sent for), Gardiner, Heath, White, Day, Tubervill,[2] etc.

Good bishops displaced.

Popish prelates intruded.

And as touching Cranmer, of whom mention was made before, forsomuch as there was rumour spread of him the same time in London, that he had recanted, and caused mass to be said at Canterbury, for purging of himself he published abroad a declaration of his truth and constancy in that behalf, protesting that he neither had so done, nor minded so to do: adding moreover, that if it would so please the queen, he, with Peter Martyr, and certain others whom he would choose, would, in open disputation, sustain the cause of the doctrine taught and set forth before in the time of king Edward, against all persons whomsoever. But while he was in expectation to have this disputation obtained, he, with other bishops, was laid fast in the Tower, and Peter Martyr permitted to depart the realm; and so went he to Strasburg.

False report.

Cranmer with Peter Martyr, and others, offer to defend their doctrine against all men.

(1) This lord Courtney was son to the marquis of Exeter (2) Or "Troublefield."—Ed.

November.—After this, in the month of November, the archbishop Cranmer, notwithstanding he had earnestly refused to subscribe to the king's will in disinheriting his sister Mary, alleging many grave and pithy reasons for her legitimation, was, in Guildhall of London, arraigned and attainted of treason, with the lady Jane, and three of the duke of Northumberland's sons, who, at the entreaty of certain persons, were had again to the Tower, and there kept for a time. All which notwithstanding, Cranmer, being pardoned of treason, stood only in the action and case of doctrine, which they called heresy, whereof he was right glad and joyful.

Mary. A.D. 1553.

Cranmer, with lady Jane, arraigned of treason.

Cranmer quit of treason.

This being done in November, the people, and especially the churchmen, perceiving the queen so eagerly set upon her old religion, they likewise, for their parts, to show themselves no less forward to serve the queen's appetite (as the manner is, of the multitude, commonly to frame themselves after the humour of the prince and time present), began in their choirs to set up the pageant of St. Katharine, and of St. Nicholas, and of their processions in Latin, after all their old solemnity, with their gay gardeviance, and grey amices.

Going about of St. Katharine and St. Nicholas.

December.—And when the month of December was come, the parliament brake up, but first of all such statutes were repealed, which were made either of præmunire, or touched any alteration of religion and administration of sacraments under king Edward: in the which parliament, also, communication was moved of the queen's marriage with king Philip the emperor's son.

In this meanwhile cardinal Pole, being sent for by queen Mary, was by the emperor requested to stay with him, to the intent (as some think) that his presence in England should not be a let to the marriage which he intended between Philip his son, and queen Mary. For the making whereof he sent a most ample ambassade, with full power to make up the marriage betwixt them; which took such success, that after they had communed of the matters a few days, they knit up the knot.

Cardinal Pole sent for.

Marriage between Philip and Mary concluded.

January.—The 13th of January, 1554, Dr. Crome, for his preaching upon Christmas-day without license, was committed to the Fleet.

A.D. 1554.

The 21st of January, master Thomas Wootton, esquire, was, for matters of religion, committed to the Fleet close prisoner.

This mention of marriage was about the beginning of January, and was very evil taken of the people, and of many of the nobility, who, for this, and for religion, conspiring among themselves, made a rebellion, whereof sir Thomas Wyat, knight, was one of the chief beginners; who, being in Kent, said (as many else perceived), that the queen and the council would, by foreign marriage, bring upon this realm most miserable servitude, and establish popish religion. About the 25th of January news came to London of this stir in Kent, and shortly after of the Duke of Suffolk, who was fled into Warwickshire and Leicestershire, there to gather a power. The queen therefore caused them both, with the Carews of Devonshire, to be proclaimed traitors; and sent into Kent against Wyat, Thomas, duke of Norfolk, who, being about Rochester-bridge forsaken of them that went

Jan. 25.

The duke of Norfolk sent against Wyat.

Mary. with him, returned safe to London without any more harm done to him, and without bloodshed on either part.

A. D. 1554.

The duke of Suffolk apprehended.

Furthermore, to apprehend the duke of Suffolk, being fled into Warwickshire, was sent the earl of Huntingdon in post, who, entering the city of Coventry before the duke, disappointed him of his purpose. Wherefore the duke, in great distress, committed himself to the keeping of a servant of his, named Underwood, in Astley-park, who, like a false traitor, betrayed him. And so he was brought up to the Tower of London.

Queen Mary cometh to the Guildhall.

February.—In the meanwhile sir Peter Carew, hearing of that was done, fled into France; but the others were taken, and Wyat came towards London in the beginning of February. The queen, hearing of Wyat's coming, came into the city to the Guildhall, where she made a vehement oration against Wyat; the contents (at least the effect) whereof, here followeth, as near as out of her own mouth could be penned.

The Oration of Queen Mary in the Guildhall, on the First of February, 1554.

Demands pretended to be sent from master Wyat and his company to queen Mary

I am come unto you in mine own person, to tell you that, which already you see and know; that is, how traitorously and rebelliously a number of Kentishmen have assembled themselves against both us and you. Their pretence (as they said at the first) was for a marriage determined for us: to the which, and to all the articles thereof, ye have been made privy. But since, we have caused certain of our privy council to go again unto them, and to demand the cause of this their rebellion; and it appeared then unto our said council, that the matter of the marriage seemed to be but a Spanish cloak to cover their pretended purpose against our religion; for that they arrogantly and traitorously demanded to have the governance of our person, the keeping of the Tower, and the placing of our councillors.

Now, loving subjects, what I am, ye right well know. I am your queen, to whom at my coronation, when I was wedded to the realm and laws of the same (the spousal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off), you promised your allegiance and obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor of the crown of this realm of England, I take all Christendom to witness. My father, as ye all know, possessed the same regal state, which now rightly is descended unto me: and to him always ye showed yourselves most faithful and loving subjects; and therefore I doubt not, but ye will show yourselves [such] likewise to me, and that ye will not suffer a vile traitor to have the order and governance of our person, and to occupy our estate, especially being so vile a traitor as Wyat is; who most certainly, as he hath abused mine ignorant subjects which be on his side, so doth he intend and purpose the destruction of you, and spoil of your goods.[1] And I say to you, on the word of a prince, I cannot tell how naturally the mother loveth the child, for I was never the mother of any; but certainly, if a prince and governor may as naturally and earnestly love her subjects, as the mother doth love the child, then assure yourselves, that I, being your lady and mistress, do as earnestly and tenderly love and favour you. And I, thus loving you, cannot but think that ye as heartily and faithfully love me; and then I doubt not but we shall give these rebels a short and speedy overthrow.

Queen Mary excuseth her marriage.

As concerning the marriage, ye shall understand, that I enterprised not the doing thereof without advice, and that by the advice of all our privy council, who so considered and weighed the great commodities that might ensue thereof, that they not only thought it very honourable, but also expedient, both for the wealth of the realm, and also of you our subjects. And as touching myself, I

(1) How he intended the spoil of their goods, it appeareth in that he, coming to Southwark, did hurt neither man, woman, nor child, neither in body, nor in a penny of their goods.

assure you, I am not so bent to my will, neither so precise nor affectionate, that either for mine own pleasure I would choose where I lust, or that I am so desirous, as needs I would have one. For God, I thank him, to whom be the praise therefore, I have hitherto lived a virgin, and doubt nothing, but with God's grace, I am able so to live still. But if, as my progenitors have done before, it may please God that I might leave some fruit of my body behind me, to be your governor, I trust you would not only rejoice thereat, but also I know it would be to your great comfort. And certainly, if I either did think or know, that this marriage were to the hurt of any of you my commons, or to the impeachment of any part or parcel of the royal state of this realm of England, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And on the word of a queen, I promise you, that if it shall not probably appear to all the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament, that this marriage shall be for the high benefit and commodity of the whole realm, then will I abstain from marriage while I live.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

The promise of queen Mary touching her marriage.

And now, good subjects, pluck up your hearts, and, like true men, stand fast against these rebels, both our enemies and yours, and fear them not; for I assure you, I fear them nothing at all. And I will leave with you my lord Howard, and my lord treasurer, who shall be assistants with the mayor for your defence.

Here is to be noted, that at the coming of queen Mary to the Guildhall, it being bruited before, that she was coming with harnessed men, such a fear came among them, that a number of the Londoners, fearing lest they should be there entrapped and put to death, made out of the gate before her entering in. Furthermore note, that when she had ended her oration (which she seemed to have perfectly conned without book), Winchester, standing by her, when the oration was done, with great admiration cried to the people, "O how happy are we, to whom God hath given such a wise and learned prince," etc.

Two days after, which was the 3d of February, the lord Cobham was committed to the Tower, and master Wyat entered into Southwark, who, forasmuch as he could not enter that way into London, returning another way by Kingston with his army, came up through the streets into Ludgate, and returning thence was resisted at Temple-bar, and there yielded himself to sir Clement Parson, and so was brought by him to the court, and with him the residue of his army (for before, sir George Harpar, and almost half of his men ran away from him at Kingston-bridge) were also taken, and about a hundred killed, and they that were taken were had to prison, and a great many of them were hanged, and he himself afterward executed at the Tower-hill, and then quartered; whose head, after being set up upon Hay-hill, was thence stolen away, and great search made for the same: of which story ye shall hear more (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Feb. 3.

Wyat in Southwark.

Wyat cometh to Ludgate.

Apprehended at Temple-bar.

Wyat executed.

The 12th day of February was beheaded the lady Jane, to whom was sent master Fecknam, alias Howman, from the queen, two days before her death, to commune with her, and to reduce her from the doctrine of Christ to queen Mary's religion: the effect of which communication here followeth:

Lady Jane beheaded.

The Communication had between the Lady Jane and Fecknam.

Fecknam:—"Madam, I lament your heavy case; and yet I doubt not, but that you bear out this sorrow of yours with a constant and patient mind."

Jane:—"You are welcome unto me, sir, if your coming be to give christian exhortation. And as for my heavy case, I thank God, I do so little lament it,

Lady Jane comfortably taketh her trouble.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

that rather I account the same for a more manifest declaration of God's favour toward me, than ever he showed me at any time before. And therefore there is no cause why either you, or others which bear me good will, should lament or be grieved with this my case, being a thing so profitable for my soul's health."

Fecknam:—"I am here come to you at this present, sent from the queen and her council, to instruct you in the true doctrine of the right faith: although I have so great confidence in you, that I shall have, I trust, little need to travail with you much therein."

Jane:—"Forsooth, I heartily thank the queen's highness, which is not unmindful of her humble subject: and I hope, likewise, that you no less will do your duty therein both truly and faithfully, according to that you were sent for."

Fecknam:—"What is then required of a christian man?"

Jane:—"That he should believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God."

Fecknam:—"What? Is there nothing else to be required or looked for in a christian, but to believe in him?"

Jane:—"Yes, we must love him with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourself."

Fecknam:—"Why? then faith justifieth not, nor saveth not."

Faith only justifieth.

Jane:—"Yes verily, faith, as Paul saith, only justifieth."

Fecknam:—"Why? St. Paul saith, 'If I have all faith without love, it is nothing.'"

Jane:—"True it is; for how can I love him whom I trust not, or how can I trust him whom I love not? Faith and love go both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith."

Fecknam:—"How shall we love our neighbour?"

Jane:—"To love our neighbour is to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to ourselves."

Fecknam:—"Why? then it is necessary unto salvation to do good works also, and it is not sufficient only to believe."

Good works necessary, yet do not profit to salvation.

Jane:—"I deny that, and I affirm that faith only saveth: but it is meet for a christian, in token that he followeth his master Christ, to do good works; yet may we not say that they profit to our salvation. For when we have done all, yet we be unprofitable servants, and faith only in Christ's blood saveth us."

Fecknam:—"How many sacraments are there?"

Two sacraments.

Jane.—"Two: the one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the sacrament of the Lord's supper."

Fecknam:—"No, there are seven."

Jane:—"By what scripture find you that?"

Fecknam:—"Well, we will talk of that hereafter. But what is signified by your two sacraments?"

The sacraments of baptism, and the Lord's supper.

Jane:—"By the sacrament of baptism I am washed with water and regenerated by the Spirit, and that washing is a token to me that I am the child of God. The sacrament of the Lord's supper, offered unto me, is a sure seal and testimony that I am, by the blood of Christ, which he shed for me on the cross, made partaker of the everlasting kingdom."

Fecknam:—"Why? what do you receive in that sacrament? Do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?"

What we receive with the sacrament.

Jane:—"No surely, I do not so believe. I think that at the supper I neither receive flesh nor blood, but bread and wine: which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunken, put me in remembrance how that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed on the cross; and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his body, and shedding of his blood, for our sins on the cross."

Fecknam:—"Why, doth not Christ speak these words, 'Take, eat, this is my body?' Require you any plainer words? Doth he not say, it is his body?"

Jane:—"I grant, he saith so; and so he saith, 'I am the vine, I am the door;' but he is never the more for that, the door or the vine. Doth not St. Paul say, 'He calleth things that are not, as though they were?'[1] God forbid that I should say, that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ: for then either

(1) Rom. iv.

I should pluck away my redemption, or else there were two bodies, or two Christs. One body was tormented on the cross, and if they did eat another body, then had he two bodies: or if his body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the cross; or if it were broken upon the cross, it was not eaten of his disciples."

Fecknam:—"Why, is it not as possible that Christ, by his power, could make his body both to be eaten and broken, and to be born of a virgin, as to walk upon the sea, having a body, and other such like miracles as he wrought by his power only?"

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Jane:—"Yes verily, if God would have done at his supper any miracle, he might have done so: but I say, that then he minded no work nor miracle, but only to break his body, and shed his blood on the cross for our sins. But I pray you to answer me to this one question: Where was Christ when he said, 'Take, eat, this is my body?' Was he not at the table, when he said so? He was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day. What took he, but bread? what brake he, but bread? and what gave he, but bread? Look, what he took, he brake: and look, what he brake, he gave: and look, what he gave, they did eat: and yet all this while he himself was alive, and at supper before his disciples, or else they were deceived."

Christ had power to turn bread into his body, but that is no argument that he did so.

Fecknam:—"You ground your faith upon such authors as say and unsay both in a breath; and not upon the church, to whom ye ought to give credit."

Jane:—"No, I ground my faith on God's word, and not upon the church. For if the church be a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God's word; and not God's word by the church, neither yet my faith. Shall I believe the church because of antiquity, or shall I give credit to the church that taketh away from me the half part of the Lord's supper, and will not let any man receive it in both kinds? which things, if they deny to us, then deny they to us part of our salvation. And I say, that it is an evil church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the devil, that altereth the Lord's supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that church, say I, God will add plagues; and from that church will he take their part out of the book of life. Do they learn that of St. Paul, when he ministered to the Corinthians in both kinds? Shall I believe this church? God forbid!"

A note of the false church.

Fecknam:—"That was done for a good intent of the church, to avoid a heresy that sprang on it."

Jane:—"Why, shall the church alter God's will and ordinance, for good intent? How did king Saul? The Lord God defend!"

With these and such like persuasions he would have had her lean to the church, but it would not be. There were many more things whereof they reasoned, but these were the chiefest.

After this, Fecknam took his leave, saying, that he was sorry for her: "For I am sure," quoth he, "that we two shall never meet."

Jane:—"True it is," said she, "that we shall never meet, except God turn your heart; for I am assured, unless you repent and turn to God, you are in an evil case. And I pray God, in the bowels of his mercy, to send you his Holy Spirit; for he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it pleased him also to open the eyes of your heart."[1]

A Letter of the Lady Jane, sent unto her Father.

Lady Jane's letter to her father.

Father, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, by whom my life should rather have been lengthened; yet can I so patiently take it, as I yield God more hearty thanks for shortening my woful days, than if all the world had been given unto my possession, with life lengthened at my own will. And albeit I am well assured of your impatient dolours, redoubled manifold ways, both in bewailing your own woe, and especially, as I hear, my unfortunate state; yet, my dear father (if I may without offence rejoice in my own mishaps), meseems in this I may account myself blessed, that washing my hands with the innocency of my fact, my guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, Mercy to the innocent! And yet, though I must needs acknowledge, that

(1) These words were spoken openly

Mary. A. D. 1554.

being constrained, and, as you wot well enough, continually assayed, in taking upon me I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the queen and her laws: yet do I assuredly trust, that this my offence towards God is so much the less, (in that being in so royal estate as I was) mine enforced honour blended never with mine innocent heart. And thus, good father, I have opened unto you the state wherein I at present stand; whose death at hand, although to you perhaps it may seem right woful, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of misery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure with Christ our Saviour. In whose steadfast faith (if it may be lawful for the daughter so to write to the father),[1] the Lord that hitherto hath strengthened you, so continue you, that at the last we may meet in heaven with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

At what time her father was flourishing in freedom and prosperity in the time of king Edward, there belonged unto him a certain learned man, student and graduate of the university of Oxford; who, then, being chaplain to the said duke, and a sincere preacher (as he appeared) of the gospel, according to the doctrine of that time set forth and received, shortly after that the state of religion began to alter by queen Mary, altered also in his profession with the time, and of a protestant became a friend and defender of the pope's proceedings. At whose sudden mutation and inconstant mutability, this christian lady being not a little aggrieved, and most of all lamenting the dangerous state of his soul, in sliding so away for fear from the way of truth, writeth her mind unto him in a sharp and vehement letter: which, as it appeareth to proceed of an earnest and zealous heart, so would God it might take such effect with him, as to reduce him to repentance, and to take better hold again for the health and wealth of his own soul. The copy of the letter is this as followeth.

Another Letter of the Lady Jane to Master Harding,[2] late Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk her Father, and then fallen from the truth of God's most Holy Word.[3]

So oft as I call to mind the dreadful and fearful saying of God, "That he which layeth hold upon the plough, and looketh back, is not meet for the kingdom of heaven;"[4] and, on the other side, the comfortable words of our Saviour Christ to all those that, forsaking themselves, do follow him: I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy case, who seemed sometime to be the lively member of Christ, but now the deformed imp of the devil; sometime the beautiful temple of God, but now the stinking and filthy kennel of Satan; sometime the unspotted spouse of Christ, but now the unshamefaced paramour of Antichrist; sometime my faithful brother, but now a stranger and apostate; sometime a stout christian soldier, but now a cowardly runaway. Yea, when I consider these things, I cannot but speak to thee, and cry out upon thee, thou seed of Satan, and not of Judah, whom the devil hath deceived, the world hath beguiled, and

(1) This parenthesis includeth with a prayer, a privy admonition to her father, that he fall not from his religion.

(2) This man, a little before king Edward died, was heard openly in his sermons in London to exhort the people with great vehemency after this sort: that if trouble came, they should never shrink from the true doctrine of the gospel which they had received; but should take it rather for a trial of God to prove them, whether they would abide by it or no. All which to be true they can testify, that heard him, and be yet alive; who also foreseeing the plague to come, were then much confirmed by his words.

(3) It is thus that Foxe introduces this Letter in the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments, p. 920. "Here followeth a letter or epistle of the aforesaid lady Jane to a certain learned man, whom both I know, and could also here nominate, if I were disposed. But, partly reverencing the worthy learning of the person, and partly, again, trusting and hoping again of some better towardness of the party hereafter, so have I set forth this her zealous letter to the man, that neither he be at any time thereby made the worse (being by me, as yet, unknown), and [that] others with himself also [may be] made the better; in that they may take heed, thereby not to fall in the like: and he also, being graciously and secretly admonished, may recover the fall, and avoid the peril; which I pray the Lord (if his will so be) he may."—Ed.

(4) Luke ix.

the desire of life subverted, and made thee of a christian an infidel. Wherefore hast thou taken the testament of the Lord in thy mouth? Wherefore hast thou preached the law and the will of God to others? Wherefore hast thou instructed others to be strong in Christ, when thou thyself dost now so shamefully shrink, and so horribly abuse the Testament and law of the Lord? when thou thyself preachest, not to steal, yet most abominably stealest, not from men, but from God, and, committing most heinous sacrilege, robbest Christ thy Lord of his right members, thy body and soul; and choosest rather to live miserably with shame to the world, than to die, and gloriously with honour reign with Christ, in whom even in death is life? Why dost thou now show thyself most weak, when indeed thou oughtest to be most strong? The strength of a fort is unknown before the assault, but thou yieldest thy hold before any battery be made. O wretched and unhappy man, what art thou, but dust and ashes? and wilt thou resist thy Maker that fashioned thee and framed thee? Wilt thou now forsake Him, that called thee from the custom gathering among the Romish antichristians, to be an ambassador and messenger of his eternal word? He that first framed thee, and since thy first creation and birth preserved thee, nourished and kept thee, yea, and inspired thee with the spirit of knowledge (I cannot say of grace), shall he not now possess thee? Darest thou deliver up thyself to another, being not thine own, but his? How canst thou, having knowledge, or how darest thou neglect the law of the Lord, and follow the vain traditions of men; and whereas thou hast been a public professor of his name, become now a defacer of his glory? Wilt thou refuse the true God, and worship the invention of man, the golden calf, the whore of Babylon, the Romish religion, the abominable idol, the most wicked mass? Wilt thou torment again, rend and tear the most precious body of our Saviour Christ, with thy bodily and fleshly teeth? Wilt thou take upon thee to offer up any sacrifice unto God for our sins, considering that Christ offered up himself, as Paul saith, upon the cross, a lively sacrifice once for all? Can neither the punishment of the Israelites (which, for their idolatry, they so oft received), nor the terrible threatenings of the prophets, nor the curses of God's own mouth, fear thee to honour any other god than him? Dost thou so regard Him, that spared not his dear and only Son for thee, so diminishing, yea, utterly extinguishing his glory, that thou wilt attribute the praise and honour due unto him to the idols, "which have mouths and speak not, eyes and see not, ears and hear not;" which shall perish with them that made them?

What saith the prophet Baruch, where he recited the epistle of Jeremy, written to the captive Jews?[1] Did he not forewarn them that in Babylon they should see gods of gold, silver, wood, and stone borne upon men's shoulders, to cast fear before the heathen? "But be not ye afraid of them," saith Jeremy, "nor do as other do. But when you see others worship them, say you in your hearts, It is thou, O Lord, that oughtest only to be worshipped; for, as for those gods, the carpenter framed them and polished them: yea, gilded be they, and laid over with silver and vain things, and cannot speak." He showeth, moreover, the abuse of their deckings, how the priests took off their ornaments, and apparelled their women withal: how one holdeth a sceptre, another a sword in his hand, and yet can they judge in no matter, nor defend themselves, much less any other, from either battle, or murder, nor yet from gnawing of worms, or any other evil thing. These, and such like words, speaketh Jeremy unto them, whereby he proveth them to be but vain things, and no gods. And at last he concludeth thus: "Confounded be all they that worship them." They were warned by Jeremy, and thou as Jeremy hast warned others, and art warned thyself by many scriptures in many places. God saith, he is "a jealous God," which will have all honour, glory, and worship given to him only. And Christ saith, in Luke iv. to Satan which tempted him, even to the same Beelzebub, the same devil, which hath prevailed against thee: "It is written," saith he, "thou shalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."[2]

These, and such like, do prohibit thee and all christians to worship any other god than that which was before all worlds, and laid the foundations both of heaven and earth. And wilt thou honour a detestable idol, invented by Romish popes, and the abominable college of crafty cardinals? Christ offered himself up once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy pleasure?—But thou wilt

(1) Baruch vi. (2) Matt. iv.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

say, thou doest it for a good intent. Oh sink of sin! Oh child of perdition. Dost thou dream therein of a good intent, where thy conscience beareth thee witness of God's threatened wrath against thee? How did Saul? who for that he disobeyed the word of the Lord for a good intent, was thrown from his worldly and temporal kingdom. Shalt thou, then, that dost deface God's honour, and rob him of his right, inherit the eternal and heavenly kingdom? Wilt thou, for a good intent, dishonour God, offend thy brother, and endanger thy soul, where-for Christ hath shed his most precious blood? Wilt thou, for a good intent, pluck Christ out of heaven, and make his death void, and deface the triumph of his cross by offering him up daily? Wilt thou, either for fear of death, or hope of life, deny and refuse thy God, who enriched thy poverty, healed thy infirmity, and yielded to thee his victory, if thou couldest have kept it? Dost thou not consider that the thread of thy life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can (as his will is) either twine it harder to last the longer, or untwine it again to break the sooner? Dost thou not then remember the saying of David, a notable king, to teach thee, a miserable wretch, in his hundred and fourth Psalm, where he saith thus: "When thou takest away thy Spirit, O Lord, from men, they die and are turned again to their dust; but when thou lettest thy breath go forth, they shall be made, and thou shalt renew the face of the earth." Remember the saying of Christ in his gospel: "Whosoever seeketh to save his life, shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, shall find it."[1] And in the same place, "Whosoever loveth father or mother above me, is not meet for me. He that will follow me, let him forsake himself and take up his cross, and follow me." What cross? the cross of infamy and shame, of misery and poverty, of affliction and persecution, for his name's sake. Let the oft falling of those heavenly showers pierce thy stony heart. Let the two-edged sword of God's holy word shear asunder the sinews of worldly respects, even to the very marrow of thy carnal heart, that thou mayest once again forsake thyself, and embrace Christ. And, like as good subjects will not refuse to hazard all, in the defence of their earthly and temporal governor, so fly not like a white-livered milksop from the standing wherein thy chief captain Christ hath set thee in array of this life. "Viriliter age, confortetur cor tuum, sustine Dominum."[2] Fight manfully, come life, come death: the quarrel is God's, and undoubtedly the victory is ours.

Good intent.

The cross, for Christ's sake.

But thou wilt say, "I will not break unity." What? not the unity of Satan and his members? not the unity of darkness, the agreement of Antichrist and his adherents? Nay, thou deceivest thyself with a fond imagination of such a unity as is among the enemies of Christ. Were not the false prophets in a unity? Were not Joseph's brethren and Jacob's sons in a unity? Were not the heathen, as the Amalekites, the Perizites and Jebusites, in a unity? Were not the Scribes and Pharisees in a unity? Doth not king David testify, "Convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum?" Yea, thieves, murderers, conspirators, have their unity. But what unity? Tully saith of amity: "Amicitia non est, nisi inter bonos." But mark, my friend (yea, friend, if thou be not God's enemy); there is no unity but where Christ knitteth the knot among such as be his. Yea, be well assured, that where his truth is resident, there it is verified what he himself saith: "Non veni mittere pacem in terram, sed gladium," etc. but to set one against another, the son against the father, and the daughter against the mother in law. Deceive not thyself, therefore, with the glittering and glorious name of Unity; for Antichrist hath his unity, yet not in deed, but in name. The agreement of ill men is not a unity but a conspiracy.

Antichrist also hath his unity, which is not to be kept.

The agreement of evil men is no unity but a conspiracy.

Thou hast heard some threatenings, some cursings, and some admonitions, out of the Scripture, to those that love themselves above Christ. Thou hast heard, also, the sharp and biting words to those that deny him for love of life. Saith he not, "He that denieth me before men, I will deny him before my Father in heaven?"[3] And to the same effect writeth Paul,[4] "It is impossible," saith he, "that they which were once lightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God, if they fall and slide away, crucifying to themselves the Son of God afresh, and making of him a mocking-stock, should be renewed again by repentance." And again, saith he, "If we shall willingly sin, after we have received the knowledge of his truth, there is no oblation left for sin, but the

(1) Matt. x. (2) Psalm xvi. (3) Matt. x. (4) Heb. vi.

terrible expectation of judgment, and fire which shall devour the adversaries."[1] Thus St. Paul writeth, and this thou readest; and dost thou not quake and tremble?

Well, if these terrible and thundering threatenings cannot stir thee to cleave unto Christ, and forsake the world; yet let the sweet consolations and promises of the Scriptures, let the example of Christ and his apostles, [and of] holy martyrs and confessors encourage thee to take faster hold of Christ. Hearken what he saith: "Blessed are you when men revile you, and persecute you for my sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets that were before you."[2] Hear what Isaiah the prophet saith: "Fear not the curse of men; be not afraid of their blasphemies; for worms and moths shall eat them up like cloth and wool: but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving health from generation to generation. What art thou then," saith he, "that fearest a mortal man, the child of man, which fadeth away like the flower, and forgettest the Lord that made thee, that spread out the heavens, and laid the foundation of the earth? I am the Lord thy God, that make the sea to rage, and be still, whose name is the Lord of Hosts: I shall put my word in thy mouth, and defend thee with the turning of a hand."[3] And our Saviour Christ saith to his disciples, "They shall accuse you, and bring you before princes and rulers, for my name's sake; and some of you they shall persecute and kill: but fear you not," saith he, "nor care you what you shall say: for it is the Spirit of your Father, that speaketh within you."[4] "Even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Lay up treasure for yourselves," saith he, "where no thief cometh, nor moth corrupteth."[5] "Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but fear him that hath power to destroy both soul and body."[6] "If ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you."[7]

Let these and suchlike consolations, taken out of the Scriptures, strengthen you to Godward: let not the examples of holy men and women go out of your mind, as Daniel and the rest of the prophets; of the three children; of Eleazar, that constant father; of the seven of the Maccabees' children; of Peter, Paul, Stephen, and other apostles and holy martyrs in the beginning of the church, as of good Simeo, archbishop of Solyma,[8] and Zetrophone, with infinite others under Sapor, the king of the Persians and Indians, who contemned all torments devised by the tyrants, for their Saviour's sake. Return, return again into Christ's war, and, as becometh a faithful warrior, put on that armour that St. Paul teacheth to be most necessary for a christian man.[9] And, above all things, take to you the shield of faith, and be you provoked by Christ's own example to withstand the devil, to forsake the world, and to become a true and faithful member of his mystical body, who spared not his own body for our sins.

Throw down yourself with the fear of his threatened vengeance, for this so great and heinous an offence of apostasy: and comfort yourself, on the other part, with the mercy, blood, and promise of him that is ready to turn unto you, whensoever you turn unto him. Disdain not to come again with the lost son, seeing you have so wandered with him. Be not ashamed to turn again with him from the swill of strangers, to the delicates of your most benign and loving Father, acknowledging that you have sinned against heaven and earth: against heaven, by staining the glorious name of God, and causing his most sincere and pure word to be evil spoken of through you: against earth, by offending so many of your weak brethren, to whom you have been a stumbling-block through your sudden sliding. Be not abashed to come home again with Mary, and weep bitterly with Peter, not only with shedding the tears of your bodily eyes, but also pouring out the streams of your heart—to wash away, out of the sight of God, the filth and mire of your offensive fall. Be not abashed to say with the publican, "Lord be merciful unto me a sinner."[10] Remember the horrible history of Julian of old, and the lamentable case of Spira of late, whose case, methinks, should be yet so green in your remembrance, that, being a thing of our time, you should fear the like inconvenience, seeing you are fallen into the like offence.

(1) Heb. x. (2) Matt. v. (3) Isaiah li. (4) Luke xii. (5) Matt. xiii.
(6) Matt. x. (7) John xv. (8) Simeo was archbishop of Seleucia about A.D. 250.—Ed.
(9) Ephes. vi. (10) Luke xviii.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

Last of all, let the lively remembrance of the last day be always before your eyes, remembering the terror that such shall be in at that time, with the runagates and fugitives from Christ, which, setting more by the world than by heaven, more by their life than by him that gave them life, did shrink, yea did clean fall away, from him that forsook not them: and, contrariwise, the inestimable joys prepared for them, that fearing no peril, nor dreading death, have manfully fought, and victoriously triumphed over all power of darkness, over hell, death, and damnation, through their most redoubted captain, Christ, who now stretcheth out his arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your neck and kiss you, and, last of all, to feast you with the dainties and delicates of his own precious blood: which undoubtedly, if it might stand with his determinate purpose, he would not let to shed again, rather than you should be lost. To whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and glory everlasting. Amen.

Be constant, be constant; fear not for any pain:
Christ hath redeemed thee, and heaven is thy gain.

A Letter written by the Lady Jane in the end of the New Testament in Greek, the which she sent unto her sister the Lady Katherine, the night before she suffered.

A faithful exhortation of the lady Jane to the lady Katherine her sister, to read God's word.

I have here sent you, good sister Katherine, a book, which, although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious stones. It is the book, dear sister, of the law of the Lord. It is his testament and last will, which he bequeathed unto us wretches; which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy: and, if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest mind do purpose to follow it, it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It shall teach you to live, and learn you to die. It shall win you more than you should have gained by the possession of your woful father's lands. For as, if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his lands; so, if you apply diligently to this book, seeking to direct your life after it, you shall be an inheritor of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Desire with David, good sister, to understand the law of the Lord God. Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life. And trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life; for as soon (if God call) goeth the young as the old: and labour always to learn to die. Defy the world, deny the devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord. Be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not: be strong in faith, and yet presume not; and desire, with St. Paul, to be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom even in death there is life. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest, when death cometh and stealeth upon you as a thief in the night, you be, with the evil servant, found sleeping; and lest, for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish women; and like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then ye be cast out from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I do. Follow the steps of your Master Christ, and take up your cross: lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him. And as touching my death, rejoice as I do, good sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am assured, that I shall, for losing of a mortal life, win an immortal life, the which I pray God grant you, and send you of his grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true christian faith, from the which (in God's name), I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither for hope of life, nor for fear of death. For if you will deny his truth for to lengthen your life, God will deny you, and yet shorten your days. And if you will cleave unto him, he will prolong your days, to your comfort and his glory: to the which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaseth him to call you. Fare you well, good sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you.

So live to die, that by death you may live.

Here followeth a certain effectual prayer, made by the lady Jane in the time of her trouble.

A Prayer of the Lady Jane.

Mary.

A. D. 1554.

O Lord, thou God and Father of my life, hear me, poor and desolate woman, which flieth unto thee only, in all troubles and miseries. Thou, O Lord, art the only defender and deliverer of those that put their trust in thee: and therefore I, being defiled with sin, encumbered with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and grievously tormented with the long imprisonment of this vile mass of clay, my sinful body, do come unto thee, O merciful Saviour, craving thy mercy and help, without the which so little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly despair of any liberty. Albeit it is expedient, that, seeing our life standeth upon trying, we should be visited sometime with some adversity, whereby we might both be tried whether we be of thy flock or no, and also know thee and ourselves the better: yet thou, that saidst thou wouldest not suffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me now, a miserable wretch, I beseech thee; who, with Solomon, do cry unto thee, humbly desiring thee, that I may neither be too much puffed up with prosperity, neither too much pressed down with adversity, lest I, being too full, should deny thee my God, or being too low brought, should despair, and blaspheme thee my Lord and Saviour.

O merciful God, consider my misery, best known unto thee; and be thou now unto me a strong tower of defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power, but either be thou a deliverer unto me out of this great misery, or else give me grace, patiently to bear thy heavy hand and sharp correction. It was thy right hand, that delivered the people of Israel out of the hands of Pharaoh, which for the space of four hundred years did oppress them, and keep them in bondage. Let it therefore, likewise, seem good to thy fatherly goodness, to deliver me, sorrowful wretch (for whom thy Son Christ shed his precious blood on the cross) out of this miserable captivity and bondage, wherein I am now. How long wilt thou be absent? for ever? O Lord, hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and hast thou shut up thy loving-kindness in displeasure? Wilt thou be no more entreated? Is thy mercy clean gone for ever, and thy promise come utterly to an end for evermore?[1] Why dost thou make so long tarrying? Shall I despair of thy mercy, O God? Far be that from me. I am thy workmanship, created in Christ Jesus. Give me grace, therefore, to tarry thy leisure, and patiently to bear thy works, assuredly knowing, that as thou canst, so thou wilt, deliver me, when it shall please thee, nothing doubting or mistrusting thy goodness towards me; for thou knowest better what is good for me than I do: therefore do with me in all things what thou wilt, and plague me what way thou wilt. Only, in the mean time, arm me, I beseech thee, with thy armour, that I may stand fast, my loins being girded about with verity, having on the breastplate of righteousness, and shod with the shoes prepared by the gospel of peace: above all things taking to me the shield of faith, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked; and taking the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is thy most holy word: praying always with all manner of prayer and supplication,[2] that I may refer myself wholly to thy will, abiding thy pleasure, and comforting myself in those troubles that it shall please thee to send me; seeing such troubles be profitable for me, and seeing I am assuredly persuaded that it cannot be but well, all that thou doest. Hear me, O merciful Father! for his sake, whom thou wouldest should be a sacrifice for my sins: to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory: Amen.

After these things thus declared, it remaineth now, coming to the end of this virtuous lady, next to infer the manner of her execution, with the words and behaviour of her at the time of her death.

THE WORDS AND BEHAVIOUR OF THE LADY JANE UPON THE SCAFFOLD.

These are the words that the lady Jane spake upon the scaffold, at the hour of her death. First, when she mounted upon the scaffold,

(1) Psalm lxxvii. (2) Ephes. vi.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

she said to the people standing thereabout, "Good people, I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. The fact against the queen's highness was unlawful, and the consenting thereunto by me: but, touching the procurement and desire thereof by me, or on my behalf, I do wash my hands thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you, good christian people, this day:" and therewith she wrung her hands, wherein she had her book. Then said she, "I pray you all, good christian people, to bear me witness that I die a true christian woman, and that I do look to be saved by no other mean, but only by the mercy of God, in the blood of his only Son Jesus Christ: and I confess, that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the same, loved myself and the world; and therefore this plague and punishment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my sins; and yet I thank God, that of his goodness he hath thus given me a time and respite to repent. And now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you assist me with your prayers." And then, kneeling down, she turned her to Fecknam, saying: "Shall I say this psalm?" And he said, "Yea." Then said she the psalm of "Miserere mei Deus" in English, in most devout manner, throughout to the end; and then she stood up, and gave her maiden, mistress Ellen, her gloves and handkerchief, and her book to master Bruges. And then she untied her gown, and the hangman pressed upon her to help her off with it; but she, desiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith, and also with her frowes, paaft and neckerchief, giving to her a fair handkerchief to knit about her eyes.

Then the hangman kneeled down and asked her forgiveness, whom she forgave most willingly. Then he willed her to stand upon the straw; which doing, she saw the block. Then she said, "I pray you dispatch me quickly." Then she kneeled down, saying, "Will you take it off, before I lay me down?" And the hangman said, "No, madam." Then tied she the handkerchief about her eyes, and feeling for the block, she said, "What shall I do? Where is it? Where is it?" One of the standers-by guiding her thereunto she laid her head down upon the block, and then stretched forth her body, and said, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit;" and so finished her life, in the year of our Lord God 1554, the 12th day of February.

Certain Verses, written by the said Lady Jane with a Pin.

Non aliena putes homini, quæ obtingere possunt:
Sors hodierna mihi, tunc erit illa tibi.

*Do[1] never think it strange,
Though now I have misfortune,
For if that fortune change,
The same to thee may happen.*

JANE DUDLEY.

Deo juvante, nil nocet livor malus:
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.
Post tenebras spero lucem.

(1) This and the succeeding English verse are from the Edition of 1563, page 922.—ED.

*If God do help thee,
Hate shall not hurt thee;
If God do fail thee,
Then shall not labour prevail thee.*

Mary. A. D. 1554.

Certain Epitaphs written in Commendation of the worthy Lady Jane Gray.

De Jana Graia [1] Johannis Parkhursti Carmen.

Miraris Janam Graio sermone valere?
Quo primum nata est tempore, Graia fuit.

In Historiam Janæ. J. F.

Tu quibus ista legas, incertum est, lector, ocellis:
Ipse equidem siccis scribere non potui.

De Jana, D. Laurentii Humfredi decastichon.

Jana jacet sævo non æquæ vulnere mortis,
Nobilis ingenio, sanguine, martyrio.
Ingenium Latiis ornavit fœmina musis,
Fœmina virgineo tota dicata choro.
Sanguine clara fuit, regali stirpe creata,
Ipsaque reginæ nobilitata throno.
Bis Graia est, pulchrè Graiis nutrita camœnis,
Et prisco Graiûm sanguine creta ducum.
Bis martyr, sacræ fidei verissima testis,
Atque vacans regni crimine, Jana jacet.

Lady Jane and lord Guilford Dudley beheaded.

Thus, the twelfth day of February, as I said, was beheaded the lady Jane, and with her, also, the lord Guilford her husband, one of the duke of Northumberland's sons; two innocents in comparison of them that sat upon them. For they did but ignorantly accept that, which the others had willingly devised, and, by open proclamation, consented to take from others, and give to them.

A wonderful example upon Morgan the judge.

Touching the condemnation of this lady Jane, here is to be noted, that the judge Morgan, who gave the sentence of condemnation against her, shortly after he had condemned her, fell mad, and in his raving cried out continually to have the lady Jane taken away from him; and so ended his life.

Henry duke of Suffolk beheaded.

And not long after the death of the lady Jane, upon the 21st of the same month, was Henry duke of Suffolk also beheaded at the Tower-hill, the 4th day after his condemnation: about which time, also, were condemned for this conspiracy many gentlemen and yeomen, whereof some were executed at London, and some in the country. In the number of whom was also the lord Thomas Gray, brother to the said duke, being apprehended not long after in North Wales, and executed for the same. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton very hardly escaped, as ye shall hear (the Lord willing) in another place.

Lord Thomas Gray apprehended and executed.

The 24th of the same month, the year of our Lord 1554, Bonner, bishop of London, sent down a commission, directed to all the curates and pastors of his diocese, for the taking of the names of such as would not come the Lent following, to auricular confession, and to the receiving at Easter: the copy of which monition here followeth.

(1) Gray, being her surname, signifieth in Latin a Grecian.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

A Monition of Bonner Bishop of London, sent down to all and singular Curates of his Diocese, for the certifying of the Names of such as would not come in Lent to Confession, and receiving at Easter.

Edmund, by the permission of God bishop of London, to all parsons, vicars, curates, and ministers of the church within the city and diocese of London, sendeth grace, peace, and mercy, in our Lord everlasting: Forasmuch as by the order of the ecclesiastical laws and constitutions of this realm, and the laudable usage and custom of the whole catholic church, by many hundred years agone, duly and devoutly observed and kept, all faithful people, being of lawful age and discretion, are bound once in the year at least (except reasonable cause excuse them) to be confessed to their own proper curate, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, with due preparation and devotion: And forasmuch, also, as we be credibly informed, that sundry evil disposed and undevout persons, given to sensual pleasures and carnal appetites, following the lusts of their body, and neglecting utterly the health of their souls, do forbear to come to confession according to the said usage, and to receive the sacrament of the altar accordingly, giving thereby pernicious and evil example to the younger sort, to neglect and contemn the same: We, minding the reformation hereof for our own discharge, and desirous of good order to be kept, and good example to be given; do will and command you, by virtue hereof, that immediately upon the receipt of this our commandment, ye, each and every of you, within your cure and charge, do use all your diligence and dexterity to declare the same, straitly charging and commanding all your parishioners, being of lawful age and discretion, to come before Easter next coming, to confession, according to the said ordinance and usage, with due preparation and devotion to receive the said sacrament of the altar; and that ye do note the names of all such as be not confessed unto you, and do not receive of you the said sacrament, certifying us or our chancellor or commissary thereof, before the 6th day of April next ensuing the date hereof: that so we, knowing thereby who did not come to confession, and receiving the sacrament accordingly, may proceed against them, as being persons culpable, and transgressors of the said ecclesiastical law and usage. Further, also, certifying us, our said chancellor or commissary, before the day aforesaid, whether you have your altars set up, chalice-book, vestments, and all things necessary for mass, and the administration of sacraments and sacramentals, with procession, and all other divine service prepared and in readiness, according to the order of the catholic church, and the virtuous and godly example of the queen's majesty: and, if ye so have not, ye then, with the churchwardens, cause the same to be provided for, signifying by whose fault and negligence the same want or fault hath proceeded; and generally, of the not coming of your parishioners to church, undue walking, talking, or using of themselves there unreverently in the time of divine service, and of all other open faults and misdemeanours; not omitting thus to do, and certify as before, as you will answer upon your peril for the contrary.

Coming to confession. Receiving the sacrament of the altar.

Given at London the 23d of February, in the year of our Lord 1554.

March.—The next month following, which was the month of March, and the 4th day of the said month, there was a letter sent from the queen to Bonner bishop of London, with certain articles also annexed, to be put in speedy execution, containing as here followeth.

Articles sent from the Queen to the Bishop of London, by him and his Officers, at her Commandment, to be put in speedy execution, with her Letter to the said Bishop before prefixed, dated March 3.

Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well: And whereas heretofore in the time of the late reign of our most dearest brother king Edward the Sixth (whose soul God pardon), divers notable crimes, excesses, and faults, with sundry kinds of heresies, simony, adultery, and other

enormities, have been committed within this our realm, and other our dominions, the same continuing yet hitherto in like disorder since the beginning of our reign, without any correction or reformation at all; and the people both of the laity and also of the clergy, and chiefly of the clergy, have been given to much insolency, and ungodly rule, greatly to the displeasure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evil contentation, and to no little slander of other christian realms, and in a manner to the subversion and clean defacing of this our realm: and remembering our duty to Almighty God to be, to foresee (as much as in us may be) that all virtue and godly living should be embraced, flourish, and increase; and therewith also, that all vice and ungodly behaviour should be banished and put away, or at the leastwise (so nigh as might be) so bridled and kept under, that godliness and honesty might have the upper hand; understanding by very credible report and public fame, to our no small heaviness and discomfort, that within your diocese, as well in not exempted, as exempted places, the like disorder and evil behaviour hath been done and used, like also to continue and increase, unless due provision be had and made to reform the same; which earnestly, in very deed, we do mind and intend to the uttermost, all the ways we can possible, trusting of God's furtherance and help in that behalf: For these causes, and other most just considerations us moving, we send unto you certain articles of such special matters, as, among other things, be most necessary now to be put in execution by you and your officers, extending to the end by us desired, and the reformation aforesaid: wherein ye shall be charged with our special commandment, by these our letters, to the intent you and your officers may the more earnestly and boldly proceed thereunto, without fear of any presumption to be noted on your part, or danger to be incurred of any such our laws, as, by our doing of that is in the said articles contained, might any wise grieve you, whatsoever be threatened in any such case. And therefore we straitly charge and command you and your said officers, to proceed to the execution of the said articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will answer to the contrary.

Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 3d day of March, the first year of our reign.

Articles sent from the Queen unto the Ordinary, and by him and his Officers, by her Commandment, to be put in Execution in the whole Diocese.

First, that every bishop and his officers, with all others having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall, with all speed and diligence, and all manner of ways to them possible, put in execution all such canons and ecclesiastical laws, heretofore, in the time of king Henry the Eighth, used within this realm of England, and the dominions of the same, not being directly and expressly contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm. Ecclesiastical laws of king Henry VIII. renewed.

Item, That no bishop, or any of his officers, or other person aforesaid, hereafter, in any ecclesiastical writings, in process, or other extrajudicial acts, do use to put in this clause or sentence, "Regia authoritate fulcitus."

Item, That no bishop, or any of his officers, or other person aforesaid, do hereafter exact or demand, in the admission of any person to any ecclesiastical promotion, order, or office, any oath touching the primacy or succession, as of late, in few years passed, hath been accustomed and used. The supremacy of the king repealed.

Item, That every bishop and his officers, with all other persons aforesaid, have a vigilant eye, and use special diligence and foresight, that no person be admitted or received to any ecclesiastical function, benefice, or office, being a sacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable kind of heresy, or other great crime, and that the said bishop do stay, and cause to be stayed, as much as lieth in him, that benefices and ecclesiastical promotions do not notably decay or take hinderance by passing or confirming of unreasonable leases.

Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do diligently travail for the repressing of heresies and notable crimes, especially in the clergy, duly correcting and punishing the same. For punishing of heresies, as they call them.

Item, That every bishop, and all the other persons aforesaid, do likewise travail for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty opinions, unlawful books, ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendering

Mary. A. D. 1554.

hatred amongst the people, and discord among the same. And that schoolmasters, preachers, and teachers, do exercise and use their offices and duties without teaching, preaching, or setting forth any evil and corrupt doctrine; and that, doing the contrary, they may be, by the bishop and his said officers, punished and removed.

Against priests' marriage.

Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, proceeding summarily, and with all celerity and speed, may and shall deprive, or declare deprived, and remove, according to their learning and discretion, all such persons from their benefices and ecclesiastical promotions, who, contrary to the state of their order, and the laudable custom of the church, have married and used women as their wives, or otherwise notably and slanderously disordered or abused themselves: sequestering also, during the said process, the fruits and profits of the said benefices and ecclesiastical promotions.

Provision for priests who renounce their wives.

Item, That the said bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do use more lenity and clemency with such as have married, whose wives be dead, than with others, whose women do yet remain alive; and likewise such priests, as (with the consent of their wives or women) openly in the presence of the bishop do profess to abstain, to be used more favourably. In which case, after the penance effectually done, the bishop, according to his discretion and wisdom, may, upon just consideration, receive and admit them again to their former administration, so it be not in the same place; appointing them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their benefice whereof they be deprived, by discretion of the said bishop or his officer, as he shall think may be spared of the said benefice.

Married priests divorced both from wife and benefice.

Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do foresee that they suffer not any religious man, having solemnly professed chastity, to continue with his woman or wife; but that all such persons, after deprivation of their benefice or ecclesiastical promotion, be also divorced every one from his said woman, and due punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein.

Provision for want of priests.

Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do take order and direction with the parishioners of every benefice where priests do want, to repair to the next parish for divine service, or to appoint for a convenient time, till other better provision may be made, one curate to serve, "alienis vicibus," in divers parishes, and to allot to the curate, for his labour, some portion of the benefice that he so serveth.

Processions in Latin.

Item, That all and all manner of processions of the church be used; and frequented and continued, after the old order of the church, in the Latin tongue.

Holy days and fasting days.

Item, That all such holy days and fasting days be observed and kept, as were observed and kept in the latter time of king Henry the Eighth.

Ceremonies restored.

Item, That the laudable and honest ceremonies which were wont to be used, frequented, and observed in the church, be also hereafter frequented, used, and observed.

Item, That children be christened by the priest, and confirmed by the bishop, as heretofore hath been accustomed and used.

Orders.

Item, Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any orders, after the new sort and fashion of orders: considering they were not ordered in very deed, the bishop of the diocese finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before; and then, according to his discretion, admit them to minister.

Coming to divine service.

Item, That by the bishop of the diocese a uniform doctrine be set forth by homilies, or otherwise, for the good instruction and teaching of all people; and that the said bishop, and other persons aforesaid, do compel the parishioners to come to their several churches, and there devoutly to hear divine service, as of reason they ought.

Provision for catholic schoolmasters.

Item, That they examine all schoolmasters and teachers of children; and, finding them suspect in any wise, to remove them, and place catholic men in their rooms, with a special commandment to instruct their children, so as they may be able to answer the priest at the mass, and so help the priest to mass, as hath been accustomed.

Item, That the said bishop, and all others the persons aforesaid, have such regard, respect, and consideration of and for the setting-forth of the premises, with all kind of virtue, godly living, and good example, with repressing also and keeping under of vice and unthriftiness, as they and every of them may be

seen to favour the restitution of true religion; and also to make an honest account and reckoning of their office and cure, to the honour of God, our good contentation and profit of this our realm, and the dominions of the same.

Mary. A. D. 1554. March 4.

A like prescript also, with articles, was sent from the said queen Mary to the lord mayor of London, the 4th day of March, in the year abovesaid; which lord mayor, upon the same, directed his commandment to the aldermen, every one severally in his ward, containing as followeth:

A Prescript of the Lord Mayor to the Aldermen.

On the queen our most gracious and most benign sovereign lady's behalf, we most straitly charge and command you, that ye (the said aldermen) fail not personally to call before your own person, in such place within your said ward, as to you shall seem most convenient and meet, upon Wednesday next coming, which shall be the seventh day of this present month, at seven of the clock in the morning of the same day, all and every the householders both poor and rich of your said ward, and then and there openly and plainly, for your own discharge, and for the eschewing the perils that to you might otherwise be justly imputed and laid, do not only straitly admonish, charge, and command, in the queen our said sovereign lady's name and behalf, all and every the said householders, that both in their own persons, and also their wives, children and servants, being of the age of twelve years and upwards, [all] and every of them, do, at all and every time and times from henceforth, and namely at the holy time of Easter, now approaching, honestly, quietly, obediently, and catholicly, use and behave themselves like good and faithful christian people, in all and every thing and things touching and concerning the true faith, profession, and religion of his catholic church, both according to the laws and precepts of Almighty God, and also their bounden duty of obedience towards our sovereign lady the queen, her laws and statutes, and her highness's most good example and gracious proceeding according to the same, and according also to the right wholesome, charitable, and godly admonition, charge, and exhortation, lately set forth and given by the right reverend father in God the bishop of London, our diocesan and ordinary, to all the parsons, vicars, and curates, within his diocese: but, also, that they and every of them do truly, without delay, advertise you of the names and surnames of all and every person and persons, that they or any of them can or may at any time hereafter know, perceive, or understand, to transgress or offend in any point or article concerning the premises, at their utmost perils; [and] that ye, immediately after such notice thereof to you given, do forthwith advertise us thereof. Fail ye not thus to do with all circumspection and diligence, as ye will answer to our said most dread sovereign lady the queen for the contrary, at your like peril.

Given at the Guildhall of the city of London, the 5th day of March, in the first year of the reign of our said sovereign lady the queen

Blackwell.

And likewise do you give to every of the said householders straitly in commandment, that they or their wives depart not out of the said city, until this holy time of Easter be past.

About the same year and time, when Dr. Bonner set forth this prescript or monitory, there came from the queen another proclamation, against strangers and foreigners within this realm: the purpose and intent of which proclamation, because it chiefly and most specially concerned religion and doctrine, and the true professors thereof, I thought here to annex the tenor and manner of the same.

A Copy of the Queen's Proclamation for the driving out of the Realm Strangers and Foreigners.

The queen our sovereign lady, understanding that a multitude of evil disposed persons, being born out of her highness's dominions in other sundry nations,

Mary. A.D. 1554.

Causes laid against strangers.

flying from the obeisance of the princes and rulers under whom they be born (some for heresy; some for murder, treason, robbery; and some for other horrible crimes), be resorted into this her majesty's realm, and here have made their demurrer, and yet be commorant and lingering, partly to eschew such condign punishment as their said horrible crimes deserve, and partly to dilate, plant, and sow the seeds of their malicious doctrine and lewd conversation among the good subjects of this her said realm, on purpose to infect her good subjects with the like, insomuch as (besides innumerable heresies, which divers of the same, being heretics, have preached and taught within her highness's said realm) it is assuredly known unto her majesty, that not only their secret practices have not failed to stir, comfort, and aid, divers her highness's subjects to this most unnatural rebellion against God and her grace, but also some others of them desist not still to practise with her people eftsoons to rebel: her majesty therefore, having (as afore is said) knowledge and intelligence hereof, hath for remedy herein determined, and most straitly chargeth and commandeth, that all and every such person or persons born out of her highness's dominions, now commorant or resident within this realm, of whatsoever nation or country, being either preacher, printer, bookseller, or other artificer, or of whatsoever calling else, not being denizen or merchant known, using the trade of merchandise, or servant to such ambassadors as be liegers here from the princes and states joined in league with her grace, shall within twenty-four days of this proclamation, avoid the realm, upon pain of most grievous punishment by imprisonment, and forfeiture and confiscation of all their goods and movables; and also to be delivered unto their natural princes or rulers, against whose persons or laws they have offended. Giving to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other her ministers, officers, and good subjects, straitly also in charge, if they know any such person, not born in the queen's highness's dominions (except before excepted), that shall, after the time and day limited in the proclamation, tarry within this realm, that they shall apprehend the same person or persons, and commit him or them to ward, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till her grace's pleasure, or her councils be signified unto them, for the further ordering of the said person or persons. And that if any of her said officers, after the said twenty-four days, apprehend, take, or know of any such, they shall, with all diligence, immediately certify her said council thereof, to the intent order may be forthwith given for their punishment accordingly.

Peter Martyr and John Alasco banished the realm. English-men flee out of the realm for religion. The number of English exiles well near 800 persons.

In the meanwhile, upon the proclamation before mentioned, not only the strangers in king Edward's time received into the realm for religion (among whom was Peter Martyr, and John Alasco uncle to the king of Poland), but many Englishmen fled, some to Friesland, some to Cleveland, some to High Germany, where they were diversely scattered into divers companies and congregations, at Wesel, at Frankfort, Emden, Marburg, Transborough, Basil, Arow, Zurich, Geneva, and other places; where, by the providence of God, they were all sustained, and there entertained with greater favour amongst strangers abroad, than they could be in their own country at home, well near to the number of 800 persons, students and others together.

March 15; lady Elizabeth and lord Courtney committed to the Tower.

In the said month of March, the lord Courtney earl of Devonshire, whom the queen, at her first entering, delivered out of the Tower, and lady Elizabeth also, the queen's sister, were both in suspicion to have consented to Wyat's conspiracy, and for the same, this March, were apprehended and committed to the Tower.

Touching the imprisonment of which lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney, thou shalt note here for thy learning, good reader! a politic point of practice in Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester, not unworthy to be considered. This Gardiner being always a capital enemy to the lady Elizabeth, and thinking now, by the occasion of

master Wyat, to pick out some matter against the lord Courtney, and so in the end to entangle the lady Elizabeth, devised a pestilent practice of conveyance, as in the story here following may appear.

A point of practice of Gardiner against the lady Elizabeth.

The story is this. The same day that sir Thomas Wyat died, he desired the lieutenant to bring him to the presence of the lord Courtney; who there, before the lieutenant and the sheriffs kneeling down upon his knees, besought the lord Courtney to forgive him, for that he had falsely accused both the lady Elizabeth and him: and so, being brought from thence unto the scaffold to suffer there, openly (in the hearing of all the people) cleared the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney, to be free and innocent from all suspicion of that commotion. At which confession Dr. Weston, there standing by, cried to the people, saying: "Believe him not, good people! for he confessed otherwise before, unto the council."

Weston against the lady Elizabeth.

After the execution done of sir Thomas Wyat, which was the eleventh day of April, word was brought immediately unto the lord mayor, sir Thomas White, a little before dinner, how master Wyat had cleared the lady Elizabeth and lord Courtney, and the words also which Dr. Weston spake unto the people; whereunto the lord mayor answering, "Is this true?" quoth he;—"said Weston so? In sooth, I never took him otherwise but for a knave." Upon this the lord mayor sitting down to dinner (who dined the same day at the Bridgehouse), cometh in sir Martin Bowes with the recorder, newly come from the parliament-house, who, hearing of the mayor and sheriffs this report of Wyat's confession, both upon the scaffold and also in the Tower, marvelled thereat, declaring how there was another tale, contrary to this, told the same day in the parliament-house, which was, that sir Thomas Wyat should desire the lord Courtney to confess the truth, so as he had done before.

The lord mayor's judgment of Weston.

Cut, prentice in London, brought before Stephen Gardiner.

Upon this it followed not long after, that a certain prentice, dwelling in St. Laurence-lane, named Cut, as he was drinking with one Denham a plasterer, being one of queen Mary's servants, amongst other talk made mention how sir Thomas Wyat had cleared the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney to be no consenters to his rising. These words being brought to Gardiner (by what means I know not) incontinent upon the same, sir Andrew Judd was sent by the said bishop unto the lord mayor, commanding him to bring the said prentice to the Star-chamber, who was accused of these words, that he should say, that Wyat was constrained by the council to accuse the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney. Which fellow, when he was come to the Star-chamber, the aforesaid Gardiner, letting pass other matters that were in hand, began to declare to the whole multitude, how miraculously Almighty God had brought the queen's majesty to the crown, the whole realm in a manner being against her; and that he had brought this to pass for this singular intent and purpose, that this realm, being overwhelmed with heresies, she might reduce again the same unto the true catholic faith. And whereas she took the lady Elizabeth into her favour, and loved her so tenderly, and also the lord Courtney, who had long time been detained in prison, and by her was set at liberty, and received great benefits at her hands; and, notwithstanding all this, they had conspired most unnaturally and traitorously against her, with that heinous traitor Wyat, as by the confession

Gardiner's tale in the star-chamber against the lady Elizabeth.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

of Wyat, said he, and the letters sent to and fro, may plainly appear: yet there were some in the city of London who reported, that Wyat was constrained by the council to accuse the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney, "and yet you, my lord mayor," quoth he, "have not seen the same punished."

"The party is here," said the lord mayor. "Take him with you," said Gardiner, "and punish him according to his desert;" and said further, "My lord, take heed to your charge! The city of London is a whirlpool and sink of all evil rumours, where they be bred, and from thence spread into all parts of this realm."

The lord Chandos's false report in the star-chamber against lady Elizabeth and lord Courtney.

There stood by, the same time, the lord Chandos, who, being then lieutenant of the Tower, and now hearing the bishop thus speak, to sooth his tale came in with these words as followeth:

"My lords," quoth he, "this is a truth that I shall tell you. Being lieutenant of the Tower when Wyat suffered, he desired me to bring him to the lord Courtney; which when I had done, he fell down upon his knees before him in my presence, and desired him to confess the truth of himself, as he had done before, and to submit himself unto the queen's majesty's mercy."

And thus much I thought of this matter to declare, to the intent that the reader, perceiving the proceedings of the bishop in the premises, and comparing the same with the true testimony of Wyat himself, and with the testimony of the sheriffs, who were present the same time when sir Thomas Wyat asked the lord Courtney forgiveness, may the better judge of the whole case and matter for which the lady Elizabeth, and the lord Courtney were so long in trouble; of which her grace's trouble, hereafter (God willing) more shall be said in the story of her life. In the mean time to let this matter stay, let us now pass further in our history.

Queen Mary not favouring the Londoners.

A parliament intended to be kept at Oxford.

One holden at Westminster.

The queen's marriage.

Not long after this, queen Mary, partly fearing the Londoners by occasion of Wyat's conspiracy; partly perceiving most of the city, for religion's sake, not greatly to favour her proceedings, to their displeasure and hinderance summoned a parliament to be holden at Oxford: as it were to gratify that city, where both the university, town, and country, had showed themselves very obedient, and forward, especially, in restoring popish religion. For this purpose great provision was made, as well by the queen's officers, as by the townsmen and inhabitants of Oxford, and the country about. But the queen's mind in short space changed, and the same parliament was holden at Westminster in April following. Then the queen, beside other things, proposed concerning her marriage to king Philip, and restoring of the pope's supremacy: as touching her marriage, it was agreed upon; but the other request could not as then be obtained.

Bonner made vicegerent and president in the convocation.

The same time when this parliament was summoned, she also summoned a convocation of bishops, and of the clergy, writing unto Bonner (whom she had made vicegerent in the stead of Cranmer, being then in the Tower) after the tenor and form of a new style, differing from the old style of king Henry and king Edward, as followeth.

The Style of Queen Mary altered, writing to Bonner for the summoning of a Convocation.

Maria Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regina, fidei defensor, reverendo in Christo patri Edmundo Londinensi episcopo salutem. Licet nuper quibusdam arduis et urgentibus negotiis nos securitatem et defensionem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem et tranquillitatem, etc.

Where note, good reader, concerning the altering and changing the queen's style, the latter part thereof to be left out of her style, which is: "Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ *supremum caput*," because in this present parliament the supremacy being given away from the crown of England to the pope, thereupon this parcel of the title was also taken away. Likewise the said Bonner, giving his certificate upon the same, leaves out "auctoritate illustrissimæ, etc. legitimè suffultus:" which parcel, also, in the said parliament was repealed and taken away the same time.

"Supremum caput" in the queen's style.

"Legitimè suffultus," in the bishop's title.

THE DIGNITY OF PRIESTS EXTOLLED BY BISHOP BONNER.

In this aforesaid convocation, Bonner bishop of London, being vicegerent and president, as is said, made a certain exhortation or oration to the clergy (which was in this convocation, or much about the said time), wherein he seemeth to show a great piece of profound and deep learning, in setting forth the most incomparable and superangelical order of priesthood, as may appear by this parcel or fragment of his aforesaid oration, being collected and gathered by some that stood by: which, as it came to our hands, so I thought to impart it to the reader, both for that the author of so worthy a work should not pass unknown, and partly, also, for that the estimation of this blessed order should lose nothing of its pre-eminence, but might be known in most ample perfection, so as it standeth above angels and kings, if it be true that Bonner saith.

A Piece or Fragment of the Exhortation in praise of Priesthood, made by Bonner Bishop of London, to them of the Convocation-house; copied out by them that stood by and heard him.

Wherefore it is to be known, that priests and elders be worthy of all men to be worshipped for the dignity' sake which they have of God, as in Matthew xvi.: "Whatsoever ye shall loose upon earth," etc. "and whatsoever ye shall bind," etc. For a priest, by some means, is like Mary the Virgin, and is showed by three points. As the blessed Virgin, by five words, did conceive Christ, as it is said in Luke i.,[1] "Be it unto me according to thy word;" so the priest, by five words, doth make the very body of Christ. Even as immediately after the consent of Mary, Christ was all whole in her womb; so, immediately after the speaking of the words of consecration, the bread is substantiated into the very body of Christ. Secondly, as the Virgin carried Christ in her arms, and laid him in an ox-stall after his birth; even so the priest, after the consecration, doth lift up the body of Christ, and placeth it, and carrieth it, and handleth it with his hands. Thirdly, as the blessed Virgin was sanctified before she had conceived; so the priest, being ordained and anointed before he doth consecrate, because without orders he could consecrate nothing, therefore the layman cannot do that thing, although he be never so holy, and do speak the selfsame words of consecration. Therefore here is to be known, that the dignity of priests, by

Priests compared to the Virgin Mary in three points.

(1) "Fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum."

Mary. A. D. 1554.

some means, passeth the dignity of angels, because there is no power given to any of the angels to make the body of Christ. Whereby the least priest may do in earth, that which the greatest and highest angel in heaven cannot do; as St. Bernard saith, "O worshipful dignity of priests, in whose hands the Son of God is, as in the womb of the Virgin he was incarnate." St. Augustine saith, that angels, in the consecration of the sacred host, do serve him; and the Lord of heaven descendeth to him. Whereupon St. Ambrose upon St. Luke saith, "Doubt thou not the angels to be where Christ is present upon the altar." Wherefore priests are to be honoured before all kings of the earth, princes, and nobles. For a priest is higher than a king, happier than an angel, maker of his Creator. Wherefore, etc.

Priesthood compared and preferred before the state of angels.

Blasphemy.

It was declared a little before, how Dr. Ridley was had from Framlingham to the Tower; where being in durance, and invited to the lieutenant's table, he had certain talk or conference with secretary Bourn, master Fecknam, and others, concerning the controversies in religion; the sum whereof, as it was penned with his own hand, hereafter ensueth.

The Sum and Effect of the Communication between Dr. Ridley and Secretary Bourn, with others, at the Lieutenant's Table in the Tower.

Sir Thomas of Bridges.

Who, is a heretic.

Master Thomas of Bridges said at his brother master lieutenant's board, "I pray you master doctors, for my learning, tell me what a heretic is." Master secretary Bourn said, "I will tell you who is a heretic: whoso stubbornly and stiffly maintaineth an untruth—he is a heretic." "You mean, sir," said I, "an untruth in matters of religion, and concerning our faith." "Yea, that is true," said he; "and in this we are soon agreed." Then said master Fecknam (whom they called master dean of Paul's), sitting at the upper end of the table, I will tell you by St. Augustine, who is a heretic: "Qui adulandi principibus vel lucri gratia falsas opiniones gignit vel sequitur, hæreticus est," saith St. Augustine.[1] And then he Englished the same. "Sir," said I, "I ween St. Augustine addeth the third number, which is, 'vel vanæ gloriæ causa.'" "You say even true, master doctor," said he. And thus far we did agree all three.

A heretic defined by St. Augustine.

Fecknam provoking Ridley.

Master Fecknam began again to say, "Whoso doth not believe what the Scripture affirmeth, but will obstinately maintain the contrary, he is 'hæreticus:' as in the sacrament of the altar, Matthew doth affirm there to be Christ's body, Mark doth affirm it, Luke affirmeth it, Paul affirmeth it, and none denieth it: therefore, to hold the contrary, is heresy. It is the same body and flesh that was born of the Virgin; and this is confirmed by unity, antiquity, and universality. For none before Berengarius did ever doubt of this, and he was a heretic, as master doctor there knoweth full well: I do take to witness his own conscience," said he.

Unity, antiquity, universality.

"Marry sir," said master secretary, "master Fecknam hath spoken well. These be great matters, unity, antiquity, and universality. Do you not think so, master doctor?" said he to me.

Here, while I strained courtesy, and pretended no willingness to talk; said one of the commissioners, "Peradventure master Ridley doth agree with master Fecknam; and then there needs not much debating of the matter."

"Sir," said I, "in some things I do and shall agree with him, and in some things which he hath spoken, to be plain, I do not agree with him at all. Masters," said I, "ye be, as I understand, the queen's commissioners here, and if ye have commission to examine me in these matters, I shall declare unto you plainly my faith; if ye have not, then I shall pray you either to give me leave to speak my mind freely, or else to hold my peace."

"There is none here," said master secretary, "that doth not favour you:" and then every man showed what favour they bear towards me, and how glad they would be of an agreement.

But as I strained to have license of them in plain words to speak my mind, some thought they granted me it but *vix* or *ægrè*. Well, at the last I was content to take it for licensed, and so began to talk.

(1) Augustine de Utilitate Credendi, cap. 1, vol. viii. page 45. Benedict.—Ed.

To master Fecknam's arguments of the manifold affirmation where no denial was, I answered, "Where is a multitude of affirmations in Scripture, and where is one affirmation, all is one concerning the truth of the matter: for that which any one of the evangelists spake, inspired by the Holy Ghost, was as true as that which is spoken of them all. It is as true that John saith of Christ: 'Ego sum ostium ovium,' i. e. 'I am the door of the sheep,' as if all had said it. For it is not in Scripture as in witness of men, where the number is credited more than one, because it is uncertain with what spirit he doth speak." And whereas master Fecknam spake of so many, affirming without any negation, etc., "Sir," said I, "all they do affirm the thing which they meant. Now if ye take their words, to leave their meaning—then do they affirm what ye take, but not what they meant. Sir," said I, "if, in talk with you, I should so utter my mind in words, that ye, by the same, do and may plainly perceive my meaning, and could, if you would be captious, cavil at my words, and writhe them to another sense, I would think ye were no gentle companions to talk with, except ye would take my words as ye did perceive I did mean."

Truth in Scripture goeth not by number of affirmation, where one is sufficient.

"Marry," quoth master secretary, "we should else do you plain injury and wrong."

Master Fecknam, perceiving whereunto my talk went, "Why," quoth he, "what circumstances can ye show me, that shall move to think of any other sense, than as the words plainly say, 'Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur,' 'This is my body which shall be betrayed for you?'"

"Hoc est corpus meum" expounded.

"Sir," said I, "even the next sentence that followeth, viz. 'Hoc facite in meam commemorationem.' 'Do this in my remembrance.' And also by what reason ye say the bread is turned into Christ's carnal body, by the same I may say, that it is turned into his mystical body. For as that saith of it, 'Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur:' so Paul, who spake by Christ's spirit, saith, 'Unus panis et unum corpus multi sumus omnes, qui de uno pane participamus,' i. e. 'We, being many, are all but one bread and one body, inasmuch as we are partakers of one bread.'"

"Here he calleth one bread, one loaf," said master secretary.

"Yea," said I, "one loaf, one bread: all is one with me."

"But what say ye," quoth master secretary, "of the universality, antiquity, and unity, that master Fecknam did speak of?"

"I assure you," said I, "I think them matters weighty, and to be considered well. As for unity, the truth is before God, I do believe it, and embrace it, so it be with verity, and joined to our Head, Christ, and such a one as Paul speaketh of, saying, 'Una fides, unus Deus, unum baptisma;' i. e. 'One faith, one God, one baptism.' And for Antiquity, I am also persuaded that to be true which Irenæus saith, 'Quod primum verum,' i. e. 'That which is first is true.' In our religion Christ's faith was first truly taught by Christ himself, by his apostles, and by many good men that from the beginning did succeed next unto them; and for this controversy of the sacrament, I am persuaded that those old writers, who wrote before the controversy and the usurping of the see of Rome, do all agree, if they be well understood in this truth."

Unity with verity to be allowed.

Antiquity.

"I am glad to hear," said master secretary, "that you do so well esteem the doctors of the church."

"Now as for universality," said I, "it may have two meanings; one to understand that to be universal, which from the beginning in all ages hath been allowed; another to understand universality for the multitude of our age, or of any other singular age."

Universality.

"No, no," saith master secretary, "these three do always agree, and where there is one, there is all the rest." And here he and I changed many words; and finally, to be short, in this matter we did not agree.

"There was none," quoth master Fecknam, "before Berengarius, Wickliff, and Huss; and now, in our days, Carolostadius and Œcolampadius. Carolostadius saith, 'Christ pointed to his own body, and not to the sacrament, and said, Hoc est corpus meum.' And Melancthon writeth to one Miconius (Miconius said I) these or the like words:[1] "I can find no grounded reason, to cause me to dissent from the belief of our fore-elders."

Thus when he had spoken at length, with many other words more; "Sir,"

(1) "Nullam satis gravem rationem invenire possum, propter quam à fide majorum in hac materia dissentiam."

Mary. A. D. 1554.

said I, "it is certain that others, before these, have written of this matter: not by the way only, and 'obiter;' as do for the most all the old writers, but even 'ex professo;' and their whole books entreat of it alone; as Bertram."

Bertram.

"Bertram," said the secretary, "what man was he? and who was he? and how do you know?" etc. with many questions.

"Sir," quoth I, "I have read his book. He propoundeth the same which is now in controversy, and answereth so directly, that no man may doubt but that he affirmeth, that the substance of bread remaineth still in the sacrament; and he wrote unto Charlemagne."

"Marry," quoth he, "mark, for there is a matter. He wrote," quoth he, "ad Henricum, and not ad Carolum; for no author maketh any such mention of Bertram."

"Yes," quoth I, "Trithemius, in Catalogo illustrium Scriptorum,[1] speaketh of him. Trithemius was but of late time; but he speaketh," quoth I, "of them that were of antiquity." Here, after much talk of Bertram, "What authors have ye," quoth master secretary, "to make of the sacrament a figure?"

Doctors that make the sacrament but a figure.

"Sir," quoth I, "ye know, I think, that Tertullian[2] in plain words speaketh thus:[3] 'This is my body; that is to say, a figure of my body.' And Gelasius[4] saith plainly, that[5] 'the substance of bread remaineth.' And Origen[6] saith likewise,[7] 'That which is sanctified, as touching the matter or substance passeth away into the draught.'" This when I had Englished, master secretary said to me, "You know very well as any man," etc. And here, if I would, I might have been set in a foolish paradise of his commendation of my learning, and "quod essem vir multæ lectionis," "that I was a man of much reading." But this I would not take at his hand. He set me not up so high, but I brought myself as low again; and here was much ado.

"As for Melancthon," quoth I, "whom master Fecknam spake of, I marvel that ye will allege him, for we are more nigh an agreement here in England, than the opinion of Melancthon is to you: for in this point we all agree here, that there is in the sacrament but one material substance; and Melancthon, as I ween, saith there are two."

"Ye say truth," quoth master secretary; "Melancthon's opinion is so. But, I pray you, have ye read that the sacrament was in old time so reverenced, that many were then forbidden to be present at the ministration thereof"—"catechumini," quoth he, "and many more?"

"Truth sir," quoth I, "there were some called 'audientes,' some 'pœnitentes,' some 'catechumeni,' and some 'energumeni,' which were commanded to depart."

The book of catechism.

"Now," quoth he, "then; and how can ye then make but a figure or a sign of the sacrament, as that book doth, which is set forth in my lord of Canterbury's name? I wis, ye can tell who made it. Did not ye make it?" And here was much murmuring of the rest, as though they would have given me the glory of the writing of that book; which yet was said, of some there, to contain the most heinous heresy that ever was.

"Master secretary," quoth I, "that book was made of a great learned man, and him which is able to do the like again. As for me, I assure you (be not deceived in me), I was never able to do or write any such like thing. He passeth me, no less than the learned master his young scholar."

Now, here every man would have his saying, which I pass over, not much material for to tell. "But, sir," quoth I, "methinks it is not charitably done, to bear the people in hand, that any man doth so lightly esteem the sacrament, as to make it but a figure; for that but maketh it a bare figure without any

(1) "Johannes Trithemius, Abbas Spanheimensis, Ord. S. Bened. anno 1500 claruit, pluribus scriptis editis celebris. Imprimis nomen meruit insigni opere de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, ad sua tempora deducto, et Basileæ 1494, primum; postea et Col. Agrip. 1531 divulgato." Hallervordii spicelegium de hist. Lat. as included in Supplementa et observat. ad Vossium cum præf. I. A. Fabricii. (Hamburgi, 1709, page 746.) The work of Vossius may itself also be consulted, page 644, Edit. 1651. Upon "Bertram," Mr. Gibbings' Preface (pp. 44 to 47) to an exact reprint of the Roman Index Expurgatorius (Dublin, 1837) will well repay a reference.—Ed.

(2) Tertullian contra Marcion, lib. iv. cap. 40.—Ed.

(3) "Hoc est corpus meum, id est, figura corporis mei."

(4) Gelasius de duobus nat. in Christo, vol. v. page 475, in the Bibliotheca Patrum (Paris, 1575); where however the words are "et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini."—Ed.

(5) "Substantia panis manet."

(6) Origen in Matthæum; tom. xi. fol. 14, vol. iii. p. 499. Paris, 1740.—Ed.

(7) "Quod sanctificatur secundum materiam, ingreditur stomachum, et vadit in secessum."

more profit; which that book doth often deny, as appeareth to the reader most plainly."

"Yes," quoth he, "that they do."

"Sir, no," quoth I, "of a truth; and as for me, I assure you I make no less of the sacrament than thus: I say, whosoever receiveth the sacrament, he receiveth therewith either life or death."

"No," quoth master secretary, "Scripture saith not so."

"Sir," quoth I, "although not in the same sound of words, yet it doth in the same sense; and St. Augustine saith,[1] in the sound of words also: for Paul saith, 'The bread which we break, is it not the partaking or fellowship of the body of Christ?' And St. Augustine, 'Eat life, drink life.'"

Then said master Pope, "What can ye make of it, when ye say, 'There is not the real body of Christ,' which *I* do believe, etc.; and I pray God I may never believe other. How can it bring (as ye say) either life or death, when Christ's body is not there?"

"Sir," quoth I, "when you hear God's word truly preached, if you do believe it, and abide in it, ye shall and do receive life withal; and if ye do not believe it, it doth bring unto you death: and yet Christ's body is still in heaven, and not carnal—in every preacher's mouth."

"I pray you tell me," quoth he, "how can you answer to this:[2] 'Which shall be given for you?' Was the figure of Christ's body given for us?"

"No sir," quoth I, "but the very body itself, whereof the sacrament is a sacramental figure."

"How say you then," quoth he,[3] "to 'Which shall be given for you?'"

"Forsooth," quoth I, "Tertullian's exposition maketh it plain; for he saith,[4] 'The body is a figure of the body.' Now put to,[5] 'Which shall be given for you,' and it agreeth exceeding well." Tertullian.

"In faith," quoth he, "I would give forty pound that ye were of a good opinion; for I assure you, I have heard you, and had an affection to you."

"I thank you, master Pope, for your heart and mind; and ye know," quoth I, "I were a very fool if I would, in this matter, dissent from you, if that in my conscience the truth did not enforce me so to do. For I wis (as ye do perceive, I trow), it is somewhat out of my way, if I would esteem worldly gain."

"What say ye," quoth he, "to Cyprian?" Doth he not say plainly,[6] 'The bread which the Lord did deliver being changed, not according to the form, but according to the nature thereof, by the omnipotent word, is made flesh?'" Cyprian.

"True sir, so he doth say; and I answer even the same which once, by chance, I preached at Paul's Cross in a sermon, for the which I have been as unjustly and as untruly reported of, as any poor man hath been. For there I, speaking of the sacrament, and inveighing against them that esteemed it no better than a piece of bread, told even the same thing of 'pœnitentes,' 'audientes,' 'catechumeni,' 'energumeni,' that I spake of before: and I bade them depart as unworthy to hear the mystery. And then I said to those that be 'sancti:' Cyprian the martyr shall tell you how it is that Christ calleth it, saying,[7] 'Bread is the body, meat, drink, flesh; because that unto this material substance is given the property of the thing whereof it beareth the name.' And this place then took I to utter, as the time would then suffer, that the material substance of bread doth remain.

Dr. Ridley falsely reported of, for a sermon of his at Paul's.

The place of St. Cyprian expounded.

Master Fecknam (who, as is reported to me, did belie me openly in the same matter at Paul's Cross) heard all this my talk, as red as scarlet in his face, and herein answered me not a word.

"You do know well," quoth master secretary, "that Origen and Tertullian were not catholic, but erred."

"Sir," quoth I, "there is no one of all the doctors that is holden in all points, but is thought to have erred in some things. But yet I never heard that it was either laid to Origen's charge or to Tertullian's, that ever they were thought to have erred in this matter of the sacrament."

No one of all the doctors is holden in all points.

"What," quoth master Cholmley, late chief justice, "doth not Christ plainly

(1) "Manduca vitam; bibe vitam." [Sermo 131, De verbis Evang. Joh. vi. fol. 1, tom. v. edit. Benedict.—Ed.]
(2) "Quod pro vobis tradetur." (3) Ibid.
(4) "Corpus est figura corporis." (5) "Quod pro vobis tradetur."
(6) "Panis quem dedit Dominus non effigie, sed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus est caro." (7) "Panis est corpus, cibus, potus, caro," etc.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

say, that it is his very flesh, and his very blood, and we must needs eat him, or else we can have no life?" "Sir," quoth I, "if you will hear how St. Augustine expoundeth that place, you shall perceive that you are in a wrong box." And then I began to tell St. Augustine's mind in his book "De Doctrina Christiana."[1] "Yea, yea," quoth master secretary, "that is true; St. Augustine doth take it figuratively indeed."

St. Augustine.

"Forty years ago," quoth master Fecknam, "all were of one opinion in this matter."

"Forty years ago," quoth I, "all held that the bishop of Rome was supreme head of the universal church."

"What then?" was master Fecknam beginning to say, etc.; but master secretary took the tale, and said, "That was but a positive law."

"A positive law?" quoth I; "No sir, he would not have it so: for it is in his decrees, that he challenged it by Christ's own word. For his decree saith:[2] 'The church of Rome was advanced above all other churches in the world, not by any synodical constitutions, nor by any councils, but by the lively voice of the Lord, according as the Lord said to Peter, Thou art Peter,' etc. And in another place he entreateth,[3] 'Thou art Cephas, that is to say, the head.'"

"Tush! it was not counted an article," quoth master secretary, "of our faith."

"Yes," said I, "if ye call that an article of our faith, which is believed under pain of damnation. For he saith,[4] 'We do absolutely determine, declare, and pronounce, that every creature is subject to the obedience of the bishop of Rome, upon necessity of salvation.'"

And here, when we spake of laws and decrees, master Roger Cholmley thought himself much wronged, that he could not be suffered to speak, the rest were so ready to interrupt him. And then he up and told a long tale, what laws were of kings in England made against the bishop of Rome; and was vehement to tell how they alway of the clergy did fly to him. And here, because he seemed to speak of many things beside our purpose, whereof we spake before, he was answered of his own fellows, and I let them talk.

Ridley's books given away.

Finally, we departed in peace, and master secretary promised in the end, that of their talk there, should come to me no harm. And after I had made my moan for lack of my books, he said, they were all once given him: "But since I know," said he, "who hath them now, write me the names of such as you would have, and I will speak for you the best I can."

Upon the articles above mentioned, and inquisition made upon the same, divers ministers were divorced from their wives. Amongst whom was one John Draper, and Joan Gold his wife, in the diocese of London, troubled and vexed for the same by Bonner bishop of London, who sent forth a commission,[5] with a process to sequester and separate them; enjoining also penance to the poor woman.

(1) Lib. iii. fol. 16.—Ed.

(2) "Nullis synodicis constitutis, neque conciliis, sed viva voce Domini, præmissa est ecclesia Romana omnibus ecclesiis in toto mundo; dicente Domino Petro, Tu es Petrus," etc. Dist. 21. "Quamvis." [See Corpus Juris Canonici, tom. i. p. 58; where, however, the language is rather different.—Ed.]

(3) "Tu es Cephas, id est, caput."

(4) "Omninò definimus, declaramus, pronunciamus, omnem creaturam subesse Romano pontifici, de necessitate salutis." [See Extravag. Comm. lib. i. tit. 8. Corpus Juris Canonici, tom. ii. p. 394. Paris, 1687.—Ed.]

(5) The tenor of this commission we have here adjoined:—"Edmundus, etc. Dilecto nobis in Christo, magistro Wilhelmo Ropero, in legibus baccalaureo salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. De tuâ sanâ doctrinâ, conscientiæ puritate, et circumspectionis industriâ plurimum confidentes, ad evocandum et evocari faciendum coram te in judicio, quibuscunque die et loco congruis et opportunis, arbitrio tuo limitandis, Johannem Draper presbyterum, nuper rectorem ecclesiæ parochialis de Rayleigh, nostræ Londini diœcesis et jurisdictionis, et quandam Johannem Gold, quam aliàs dictus Johannes contra sacros canones constitutionesque et ordinationes laudabiles sanctæ matris ecclesiæ catholicæ temerè et de facto duxit in uxorem; causamque et negotium illius pretensi et illegitimi matrimonii cum suis annexis, connexis, quibuscunque, audiendum et examinandum: eosdem quoque delinquentes juxta juris exigentiam ab invicem divortiandum et separandum, atque ut de cætero seorsum et separatim vivant nulloque modo invicem cohabitent, aut carnale commercium habeant, mandandum et, sub pœnâ juris, monendum et jubendum, necnon pœnitentiam salutarem et condignam dictæ Johannæ Gold, propter sua delicta et excessus in hâc parte ac jurisdictione, juxtà qualitatem eorundem, prout discretioni tuæ melius videbitur expedire, injungendum et imponendum; ceteraque omnia et singula in præmissis, aut ea necessaria seu quomodo libet requisita, faciendum, exercendum, exequendum, et expediendum, vices nostras committimus, ac plenam in Domino, tenore præsentium, concedimus potestatem, cujuslibet legitimæ coertionis ecclesiasticæ quam decreveris in hâc parte, assumpto tibi in actorum scribum in præmissis quocumque notario fideli, et idoneo: mandantes, quatenus de omni eo quod in præmissis et circa ea feceritis, sigillum officialitatis, etc.; in cujus rei, etc." See Edition 1563, page 931.—Ed.

Besides this John Draper, divers others, also, were divorced the same time against their wills; and some were contented, of their own unconstant accord, to be separated from their wives: as of Chichester one (who, because he soon recovered again, shall be here nameless), another named Edmund Alstone, another Alexander Bull; amongst whom also was Dr. Standish, with many others, whose names together, in the end of this story of queen Mary, we may peradventure, by God's grace, in a general catalogue together comprehend.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

Ministers divorced from their wives.

The 10th of March a letter was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, to deliver the bodies of master doctor Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, master doctor Ridley, and master Latimer, to sir John Williams, to be conveyed by him unto Oxford.

The 26th of March, there was a letter directed to sir Henry Doell, and one Foster, to attach the bodies of doctor Taylor, parson of Hadley, and of Henry Askew, and to send them up to the council.

HOW THOMAS CRANMER ARCHBISHOP, BISHOP RIDLEY, AND MASTER LATIMER, WERE SENT DOWN TO OXFORD TO DISPUTE; WITH THE ORDER AND MANNER, AND ALL OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES UNTO THE SAID DISPUTATION, AND ALSO TO THEIR CONDEMNATION, APPERTAINING.[1]

About the 10th of April, Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, bishop also some time of Worcester, were conveyed as prisoners from the Tower to Windsor; and after from thence to the university of Oxford, there to dispute with the divines and learned men of both the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the presence, substance, and sacrifice of the sacrament. The names of the university doctors and graduates appointed to dispute against them, were these: of Oxford, Dr. Weston, prolocutor, Dr. Tresham, Dr. Cole, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Pie, master Harpsfield, master Fecknam. Of Cambridge, Dr. Young, vice-chancellor, Dr. Glyn, Dr. Seton, Dr. Watson, Dr. Sedgewick, Dr. Atkinson, etc. The articles or questions whereupon they should dispute were these:

Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, sent down to Oxford to dispute.

The university doctors appointed to dispute against them.

Three questions.

First, Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest, or no?

Secondly, Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance do remain, than the substance of the body and blood of Christ?

Thirdly, Whether in the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead?

Touching the order and manner of all the things there done, with the notes, arguments, and all circumstances thereunto pertaining, to deduce the matter from the beginning, leaving out nothing (as near as we may) that shall seem necessary to be added: First, Here is to be understood, that upon Saturday the 7th day of April, the heads of the colleges in Cambridge being congregated together, letters coming

(1) This portion of Foxe's history has been excellently illustrated in "The Remains of Thomas Cranmer, D.D. collected and arranged by the Rev. H. Jenkyns," (vol. iv. pp. 4 to 66), who says: "There still exists, in manuscript, the official report" (of this disputation) "from Weston the prolocutor to Bonner, in the Harl. MSS. 3642. Also short notes of the chief arguments, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 340, art. 13; and some longer notes in the public library of the same university, K. h. 5. 14."—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

down from Stephen Gardiner lord chancellor were read, with articles therewith annexed, that should be disputed upon at Oxford: the contents of which three articles are sufficiently expressed before. Whereupon, in the said congregation of the aforesaid university of Cambridge, there was granted first a grace in this form, proposed by the senior proctor:[1] "May it please you to have an instrument made, that the doctrine of these aforesaid articles is sound and catholic, and consonant with the verity of the right meaning faith; and that the same may be approved by your consent and voices?" Secondly, in the said congregation, another grace was given and granted, that Dr. Young being vice-chancellor, Dr. Glyn, Dr. Atkinson, Dr. Scot, and master Sedgewick, should go to Oxford to defend the said articles against Canterbury, London, and Latimer: also to have letters to the Oxford men, sealed with their common seal. Item, Another grace granted to master Sedgewick to be actual doctor, being thereupon immediately admitted. The aforesaid letters, being then drawn out, the third day after (which was the 11th day of April) were read in the aforesaid congregation-house, and there sealed.

Letters sent down from Stephen Gardiner to Cambridge.

A grace for articles.

A grace for the Cambridge doctors to dispute against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer.

The coming of the Cambridge men to Oxford.

Whereupon the next day after (the 12th of the said month) the aforesaid doctors, with the full grace of that university, set forward to Oxford: and coming thither the next day after (being Friday, the 13th of April), were all lodged at the Cross-inn, with one Wakecline, being some time servant to bishop Bonner.

Their welcoming to Oxford.

Anon after their coming, Dr. Crooke presented them with wine for their welcome; and, shortly after, two of the beadles came from the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and presented the vice-chancellor of Cambridge with a dish of apples and a gallon of wine; after whom, next came master Pie and Fecknam to welcome them. Then, after consultation concerning the delivery of their letters, and instrument of grace (which was in Dr. Seton and Dr. Watson's keeping), they went all to Lincoln-college, to Dr. Weston the prolocutor, and to the vice-chancellor Dr. Tresham; and there they delivered their letters, and declared what they had done touching the articles, letters, and graces. Half an hour after eight they returned to their inn again: but first they concluded of a procession, sermon, and convocation, to be had the morrow following; and that the doctors of Cambridge should be incorporate in the university of Oxford, and likewise that the doctors of Oxford should be incorporate in the university of Cambridge. The same day the aforesaid prisoners were dissevered, as was said afore; Dr. Ridley to alderman Irish's house, master Latimer to another, and Dr. Cranmer remained still in Bocardo.

The Cambridge doctors repair to Dr. Weston.

The three prisoners, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, dissevered.

Consultation.

On Saturday, being the 14th of April, at eight of the clock, the aforesaid vice-chancellor of Cambridge, with the other doctors of the same university, repaired to Lincoln-college again, and found the prolocutor above in a chapel, with a company of the house singing Requiem mass, and tarried there until the end. Then they, consulting all together in the master's lodging, about nine of the clock came all to the university church called St. Mary's; and there, after a short consultation in a chapel, the vice-chancellor, the prolocutor, etc. of Oxford, caused the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and the rest

(1) "Placet vobis ut instrumentum fiat, quòd horum jam prælectorum articulorum doctrina sana sit et catholica, atque cum veritate orthodoxæ fidei consentiens, et vestro consensu et suffragiis comprobetur?"

of the doctors of that university to send for their scarlet robes, brought from Cambridge; save that doctors Seton and Watson borrowed of the Oxford men. And in this time, the regents in the congregation-house had granted all the Cambridge doctors their graces, to be incorporate there; and so they went up, and were admitted immediately, Dr. Oglethorpe presenting them, and the proctor reading the statute, and giving them their oaths.

The doctors in their scarlet robes.

That done, they came all into the choir, and there held the convocation of the university. They had mass of the Holy Ghost solemnly sung in prick-song,[1] by the choir-men of Christ's church. But first, the cause of the convocation was opened in English, partly by the vice-chancellor, and partly by the prolocutor, declaring that they were sent by the queen, and wherefore they were sent; and caused master Say, the register, openly to read the commission. That done, the vice-chancellor read Cambridge letters openly, and then concluded, that three notaries, master Say for the convocation, a beadle of Cambridge for that university, and one master White for Oxford, should testify of their doing; and then willed the said notaries to provide parchment, that the whole assembly might subscribe to the articles, save those that had subscribed before in the convocation-house at London and Cambridge. And so the vice-chancellor began first; after him the rest of the Oxford men, as many as could in the mass time.

The causes of their assembly declared.

Cambridge letters read.

Three notaries assigned.

Subscribing to the articles.

The mass being done, they went in procession: First, The choir in their surplices followed the cross; then the first-year regents and proctors; then the doctors of law, and their beadles before them; then the doctors of divinity of both universities intermingled, the divinity and arts' beadles going before them, the vice-chancellor and prolocutor going together. After them bachelors of divinity, "Regentes, et non regentes," in their array; and last of all, the bachelors of law and art; after whom followed a great company of scholars and students not graduate. And thus they proceeded through the street to Christ's church; and there the choir sung a psalm, and after that a collect was read. This done, departed the commissioners, doctors, and many others to Lincoln-college, where they dined with the mayor of the town, one alderman, four beadles, master Say, and the Cambridge notary. After dinner they went all again to St. Mary's church; and there, after a short consultation in a chapel, all the commissioners came into the choir, and sat all on seats before the altar, to the number of thirty-three persons; and first they sent to the mayor, that he should bring in Dr. Cranmer, who, within a while, was brought to them with a great number of rusty bill-men.

Procession in Oxford.

The array of the solemn procession.

Another consultation of the doctors and priests.

Thus the reverend archbishop, when he was brought before the commissioners, reverenced them with much humility, and stood with his staff in his hand, who notwithstanding, having a stool offered him, refused to sit. Then the prolocutor, sitting in the midst in a scarlet gown, began with a short preface or oration in praise of unity, and especially in the church of Christ; declaring withal his bringing up, and taking degrees in Cambridge, and also how he was promoted by king Henry, and had been his councillor and a catholic man, one of the same unity, and a member thereof in times past, but, of late years,

Archbp. Cranmer brought before the doctors and high priests at St. Mary's church.

(1) 'Mass in prick-song,'—mass in pike-sauce, I would say.

Mary A. D. 1554.

did separate and cut off himself from it, by teaching and setting forth of erroneous doctrine, making every year a new faith: and therefore it pleased the queen's grace, to send them of the convocation, and other learned men, to bring him to this unity again, if it might be. Then showed he him, how they of the convocation-house had agreed upon certain articles, whereunto they willed him to subscribe.

Answer of the archbishop to Weston.

The archbishop answered to the preface very wittily, modestly, and learnedly, showing that he was very glad of a unity, forasmuch as it was[1] "The preserver of all commonwealths, as well of the heathen as of the christians:" and so he dilated the matter with one or two stories of the Romans' commonwealth. Which thing when he had done, he said, that he was very glad to come to a unity, so that it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy word.

When he had thus spoken his full mind, the prolocutor caused the articles to be read unto him, and asked if he would grant and subscribe unto them. Then the bishop of Canterbury did read them over three or four times; and, touching the first article, he asked what they meant by these terms, "Verum et naturale," i. e. "True and natural." "Do you not mean," saith he, "Corpus organicum," i. e. "A sensible body?" Some answered, "Idem quod natum est ex Virgine," i. e. "The same that was born of the Virgin;" and so confusedly, some said one thing, some another.

The articles denied by the archbishop.

Then the bishop of Canterbury denied it utterly; and when he had looked upon the other two, he said, they were all false, and against God's holy word: and therefore he would not agree, he said, in that unity with them.

Warning given to Cranmer to dispute.

This done, the prolocutor, first willing him to write his mind of them that night, said moreover, that he should dispute in them, and caused a copy of the articles to be delivered him, assigning him to answer thereunto on Monday next: and so charged the mayor with him again, to be had to Bocardo, where he was kept before; offering moreover unto him, to name what books he would occupy, and should have them brought unto him. The archbishop was greatly commended of every body for his modesty; insomuch that some masters of arts were seen to weep for him, who in judgment were contrary to him.

Ridley brought in. His answer to the articles. Ridley falsely reported for a sermon.

Then was Dr. Ridley brought in, who, hearing the articles read unto him, answered without any delay, saying, they were all false; and said further, that they sprang out of a bitter and sour root. His answers were sharp, witty, and very learned. Then did they lay to his charge a sermon that he made when he was bishop of Rochester, wherein (they said) he spake with transubstantiation. He denied it utterly, and asked whether they could bring out any that heard him, which would say and affirm with them the same. They could bring no proof of it at all. After that, he was asked of one, whether he desired not my lord chancellor that now is, to stick to the mass, and other things? He said, that my lord would say no such things or words of him; for if he did, he reported not the truth of him.

Then he was asked, whether he would dispute or no? He answered, that as long as God gave him life, he should not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend his truth: but he

(1) "Conservatrix omnium rerum publicarum, tam Ethnicorum quam Christianorum."

required time and books. They said, he could not, and that he should dispute on Thursday, and till that time he should have books. He said it was not reason, that he might not have his own books, and time, also, to look for his disputations. Then gave they him the articles, and bade him write his mind of them that night, and so did they command the mayor to have him from whence he came.

Latimer brought in.

Last of all came in master Latimer in like sort, with a kerchief, and two or three caps on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staff in his hand, and was set in a chair; for so was he suffered by the prolocutor. And after his denial of the articles, when he had Wednesday appointed for disputation, he alleged age, sickness, disuse, and lack of books, saying, that he was almost as meet to dispute, as to be a captain of Calais: but he would, he said, declare his mind either by writing or word, and would stand to all they could lay upon his back: complaining moreover, that he was permitted to have neither pen nor ink, nor yet any book but only the New Testament there in his hand, which, he said, he had read over seven times deliberately, and yet could not find the mass in it, neither the marrow-bones nor sinews of the same. At which words the commissioners were not a little offended; and Dr. Weston said, that he would make him grant that it had both marrow-bones[1] and sinews in the New Testament. To whom master Latimer said again, "That you will never do, master doctor:" and so, forthwith, they put him to silence; so that whereas he was desirous to tell what he meant by those terms, he could not be suffered. There was a very great press and throng of people, and one of the beadles swooned by reason thereof, and was carried into the vestry.

Latimer could not find the mass in all the New Testament.

After this, bringing home the prolocutor first, the Cambridge men, viz. Dr. Young, vice-chancellor, Seton, Glyn, Atkinson, Scot, Watson, and Sedgewick, went to the Cross-inn to supper. And this was on Saturday, being the 14th day of April.

On Sunday after, master Harpsfield preached at St. Mary's, the university church, at nine of the clock, where were divers of the doctors of the university in their robes, and placed accordingly. After the sermon they went all to dinner to Magdalen-college, and there had a great dinner. They supped at Lincoln-college with the prolocutor, whither Dr. Cranmer sent answer of his mind upon the articles, in writing.

Subscription.

On Monday, being the 16th of April, master Say and master White, notaries, went about in the morning to the colleges, to get subscriptions to the articles. And, about eight of the clock, the prolocutor, with all the doctors and the vice-chancellor, met together at Exeter-college; and so they went into the schools. And when the vice-chancellor, the prolocutor, and doctors were placed, and four (appointed to be "exceptores argumentorum,") sat at a table in the midst, and four notaries sitting with them, Dr. Cranmer came to the answerer's place, the mayor and aldermen sitting by him; and so the disputation began to be set to work by the prolocutor with a short "præludium." Dr. Chedsey began to argue first, and ere he left, the prolocutor divers times. Drs. Tresham, Oglethorpe, Marshal, the

Four "exceptores argumentorum."

(1) What he meaneth by the marrow-bones of the mass, read after, in his protestation given in writing to the prolocutor.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

Disputers against Cranmer.

vice-chancellor, Pie, Cole, and Harpsfield did interrupt and press him with their arguments, so that every man said somewhat, as the prolocutor would suffer, disorderly; sometimes in Latin, sometimes in English, so that three hours of the time were spent ere the vice-chancellor of Cambridge began; who also was interrupted as before. He began with three or four questions subtilely. Here the beadles had provided drink, and offered the answerer; but he refused with thanks. The prolocutor offered him, if he would retire for a brief interval, he should. Thus the disputation continued until almost two of the clock, with this applausion of the audience: "Vicit veritas." Then were all the arguments, written by the four appointed, delivered into the hand of master Say, registrar; and as for the prisoner, he was had away by the mayor; and the doctors dined together at the University college.

And thus much concerning the general order and manner of these disputations, with such circumstances as there happened, and things there done, as well before the disputation, and in the preparation thereof, as also in the time of their disputing. Now followeth to infer and declare the orations, arguments, and answers, used and brought forth in the said disputations on both parts.

THE ARGUMENTS, REASONS, AND ALLEGATIONS USED IN THIS DISPUTATION.

April 16.

On Monday, Dr. Weston, with all the residue of the visitors, censors, and opponents, repairing to the divinity school, each one installed himself in his place. Dr. Cranmer, with a rout of rusty bills, was brought thither, and set in the answerer's place, with the mayor and aldermen sitting by him; where Dr. Weston, prolocutor, apparelled in a scarlet gown after the custom of the university, began the disputation with this oration. His words in Latin, as he spake them, were these:

Weston speaketh truer than he wist.

"Convenistis hodie, fratres, profligaturi detestandam illam hæresin de veritate corporis Christi in sacramento," etc., that is, "Ye are assembled hither, brethren, this day, to confound the detestable heresy of the verity of the body of Christ in the sacrament," etc. At which words thus pronounced of the prolocutor unawares, divers of the learned men there present, considering and well weighing the words by him uttered, burst out into a great laughter, as though, even in the entrance of the disputations, he had betrayed himself and his religion, that termed the opinion of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament, a detestable heresy. The rest of his oration tended all to this effect, that it was not lawful by God's word to call these questions into controversy: for such as doubted of the words of Christ, might well be thought to doubt both of the truth and power of God. Whereunto Dr. Cranmer, desiring license, answered in this wise.

Cranmer's answer to the preface.

"We are assembled," saith he, "to discuss these doubtful controversies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the world; whereof ye think it unlawful to dispute. It is indeed no reason," saith he, "that we should dispute of that which is determined upon, before the truth be tried. But if these questions be not called into controversy, surely mine answer then is looked for in vain."

This was the sum and effect of his answer; and, this done, he prepared himself to disputation. *Mary.* A. D. 1554.

Then Chedsey, the first opponent, began in this wise to dispute.

"Reverend master doctor, these three conclusions are put forth unto us at present, to dispute upon; Articles.

"First, in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and also his blood present really under the forms of bread and wine, by virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest.

"Secondly, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine after the consecration, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.

"Thirdly, the lively sacrifice of the church is in the mass propitiatory, as well for the quick as the dead.

"These be the conclusions propounded, whereupon this our present controversy doth rest. Now, to the end we might not doubt how you take the same, you have already given up unto us your opinion thereof: I term it *your* opinion, in that it disagreeth from the catholic. Wherefore I thus argue:

"Your opinion differeth from the Scripture:

"Ergo, you are deceived."

Cranmer:—"I deny the antecedent."

Chedsey:—"Christ, when he instituted his last supper, spake to his disciples, 'Take, eat: this is my body which shall be given for you.'

"But his true body was given for us:

"Ergo, his true body is in the sacrament.

"The right form of this argument is thus to be framed:

Da- "The same which was given for us is in the sacrament.

ri- "But his true body was given for us:

i. "Ergo, his true body is in the sacrament."

Cranmer:—"His true body is truly present to them that truly receive him: but spiritually. And so it is taken after a spiritual sort; for when he said, 'This is my body,' it is all one as if he had said, 'This is the breaking of my body; this is the shedding of my blood.'—As oft as you shall do this, it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my body, and the shedding of my blood; that as truly as you receive this sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefit promised by receiving the same worthily."

Chedsey:—"Your opinion differeth from the church, which saith, that the true body is in the sacrament:

"Ergo, your opinion therein is false."

Cranmer:—"I say and agree with the church, that the body of Christ is in the sacrament effectually, because the passion of Christ is effectual."

Chedsey:—"Christ when he spake these words, 'This is my body,' spake of the substance, but not of the effect."

Cranmer:—"I grant he spake of the substance, and not of the effect after a sort: and yet it is most true that the body of Christ is effectually in the sacrament. But I deny that he is there truly present in bread, or that under the bread is his organical body."

And because it should be too tedious (he said) to make discourse of the whole, he delivered up there his opinion thereof to Dr. Weston, written at large; with answers to every one of their three propositions, which he desired Dr. Weston, sitting there on high, to read openly to the people; which he promised to do. But it was not the first promise that such papists have broken. Papists false of promise.

The copy of this writing, although it were not there read, yet the contents thereof we have drawn out as followeth.

An Explication of Cranmer upon the aforesaid Conclusions exhibited in Writing.

In the assertions of the church and of religion, trifling and new fangled novelties of words, so much as may be, are to be eschewed, whereof ariseth

Mary. A. D. 1554.

nothing but contention and brawling about words; and we must follow, so much as we may, the manner of speaking of the Scripture.

In the first conclusion, if ye understand by this word "really" "re ipsa," i. e. in very deed and effectually, so Christ by the grace and efficacy of his passion, is indeed and truly present to all his true and holy members.

How Christ is really present

But if ye understand by this word "really" "corporaliter," i. e. "corporally;" so that by the body of Christ is understood a natural body and organical[1]; so, the first proposition doth vary, not only from the usual speech and phrase of Scripture, but also is clean contrary to the holy word of God, and christian profession: when as both the Scripture doth testify by these words, and also the catholic church hath professed from the beginning,—Christ to have left the world, and to sit at the right hand of the Father till he come to judgment.

And likewise I answer to the second question; that is, that it swerveth from the accustomed manner and speech of Scripture.

This conclusion contumelious against Christ.

The third conclusion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtful and ambiguous words, and differing also much from the true speech of the Scripture, so as the words thereof seem to import no open sense; is most contumelious against our only Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, and a violating of his precious blood, which, upon the altar of the cross, is the only sacrifice and oblation for the sins of all mankind.

Chedsey:—"By this your interpretation which you have made upon the first conclusion, this I understand,—the body of Christ to be in the sacrament only by the way of participation: insomuch as we, communicating thereof, do participate the grace of Christ, so that you mean hereby only the effect thereof. But our conclusion standeth upon the substance, and not the efficacy only, which shall appear by the testimony both of Scriptures, and of all the fathers a thousand years after Christ.

Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. 1 Cor. xi.

"And first (to begin with the Scripture), let us consider what is written in Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii., and 1 Cor. xi. Matthew saith, 'As they sat at supper, Jesus took bread,' etc. In Mark there is the same sense, although not the same words, who, also, for one part of the sacrament speaketh more plainly, 'Jesus taking bread,' etc. After the same sense also writeth Luke xxii., 'And when Jesus had taken bread,' etc. 'In the mouth of two or three witnesses,' saith the Scripture, 'standeth all truth.' Here we have three witnesses together, that Christ said that to be his body, which was given for many; and that to be his blood, which should be shed for many: whereby is declared the substance, and not only the efficacy alone thereof. Ergo, it is not true that you say, there to be not the substance of his body, but the efficacy alone thereof."

Substance and efficacy both granted, etc.

Cranmer:—"Thus you gather upon mine answer, as though I did mean of the efficacy, and not of the substance of the body; but I mean of them both, as well of the efficacy as of the substance. And, forsomuch as all things come not readily to memory, to a man that shall speak extempore, therefore, for the more ample and fuller answer in this matter, this writing here I do exhibit."

A further Explication exhibited by Cranmer.[2]

The final cause why the supper was ordained.

Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at the time of his maundy—preparing himself to die for our cause, that he might redeem us from eternal death, forgive us all our sins, and cancel out the handwriting that was against us—that we, through ungrateful oblivion should not forget his death, therefore, at the time of his holy supper, did institute a perpetual memory of this his death, to be celebrated among christians in bread and wine, according as it is said: "Do this in remembrance of me;" and "So often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you shall show forth the Lord's death, till he come."[3] And this remembrance or sacrament of his holy passion, that is, of his body slain, and blood shed, he would all christians to frequent and celebrate in bread and wine, according as he said, "Take eat, and drink ye all of this."[4] Therefore, who-

(1) Organical, is called that which is a perfect body, having all the members and parts complete, belonging to the same.

(2) Mr. Jenkyns has printed, in his work alluded to (page 439, in the note), the original Latin of this explication from the official report in the British Museum.—Ed.

(3) 1 Cor. xi. (4) Matt. xxvi.

soever, for man's tradition, denieth the cup of Christ's blood to laymen, they manifestly repugn against Christ, forbidding that which Christ commandeth to be done, and be like to those Scribes and Pharisees of whom the Lord spake: "Ye hypocrites, ye have rejected the commandments of God for your traditions. Well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. Without cause do they worship me, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men."[1] The sacrament and mystical bread being broken and distributed after the institution of Christ, and the mystical wine being likewise taken and received, be not only sacraments of the flesh of Christ wounded for us, and of his blood-shedding, but also be most certain sacraments for us, and (as a man would say), seals of God's promises and gifts, and also of that holy fellowship which we have with Christ and all his members. Moreover, they be to us memorials of that heavenly food and nourishment, wherewith we are nourished unto eternal life, and the thirst of our boiling conscience [is] quenched; and finally, whereby the hearts of the faithful be replenished with unspeakable joy, and be corroborated and strengthened unto all works of godliness. "We are many," saith St. Paul, "one bread, and one body, all we which do participate of one bread, and one cup."[2] And Christ saith: "Eat ye; this is my body;" and, "Drink ye; this is my blood."[3] And, "I am the living bread which came down from heaven. He that eateth me, shall also live for ever. Not as your fathers did eat manna in the desart, and are dead: he that eateth me, shall also live for ever."[4]

Sacraments seals of God's promises.

Thus, therefore, true bread and true wine remain still in the eucharist (until they be consumed of the faithful) to be signs, and as seals unto us annexed unto God's promises, making us certain of God's gifts towards us. Also Christ remaineth in them, and they in Christ, who eat his flesh, and drink his blood, as Christ himself hath promised: "They that eat my flesh, and drink my blood, abide in me, and I in them." Moreover, he abideth also in them that worthily receive the outward sacrament; neither doth he depart so soon as the sacrament is consumed, but continually abideth, feeding and nourishing us so long as we remain bodies of that head, and members of the same. I acknowledge not here the natural body of Christ, which is only spiritual, unintelligible, and insensible, having no distinction of members and parts in it: but that body only I acknowledge and worship, which was born of the Virgin, which suffered for us, which is visible, palpable, and hath all the form, and shape, and parts, of the true natural body of man. Christ spake not these words of any uncertain substance, but of the certain substance of bread, which he then held in his hands, and showed his disciples, when he said, "Eat ye; this is my body:" and likewise of the cup, when he said, "Drink ye; this is my blood:" meaning verily of that bread, which by nature is usual and common with us, which is taken out of the fruit of the ground, compacted by the uniting of many grains together made by man, and by man's hand brought to that visible shape, being of round compass, and without all sense or life; which nourisheth the body, and strengtheneth the heart of man: of this same bread (I say) and not of any uncertain and wandering substance, the old fathers say that Christ spake these words, "Eat ye; this is my body." And likewise also of the wine, which is the creature and fruit of the vine pressed out of many clusters of grapes, and maketh man's heart merry, of the very same wine (I say) Christ spake, "Drink ye; this is my blood." And so the old doctors do call this speaking of Christ tropical, figurative, analogical, allegorical; which they do interpret after this sort, that although the substance of bread and wine do remain, and be received of the faithful, yet, notwithstanding, Christ changed the appellation thereof, and called the bread by the name of his flesh, and the wine by the name of his blood;[5] "Not that it is so in very deed, but signified in a mystery." So that we should consider, not what they be in their own nature, but what they import to us and signify; and should understand the sacrament not carnally, but spiritually; and should attend not to the visible nature of the sacraments, neither have respect only to the outward bread and cup, thinking to see there with our eyes no other things but only bread and wine: but that, lifting up our minds, we should look up to the blood of Christ with our faith; should touch him with our mind, and receive him with our inward man; and that being like eagles

Bread and wine remain still in the eucharist, and be seals to us annexed with God's promises.

Christ's words are spoken not of an uncertain substance, but of a certain substance of bread.

How the doctors do take the speech of Christ.

Bread called by the name of the body.

(1) Matt. xv. (2) 1 Cor. x. (3) Matt. xxvi. (4) John vi.
(5) "Non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio"

Mary.

A. D. 1554.

in this life, we should fly up into heaven in our hearts, where that Lamb is resident at the right hand of his Father, which taketh away the sins of the world; by whose stripes we are made whole; by whose passion we are filled at his table, and whose blood we, receiving out of his holy side, do live for ever, being made the guests of Christ; having him dwelling in us through the grace of his true nature, and, through the virtue and efficacy of his whole passion, being no less assured and certified, that we are fed spiritually unto eternal life by Christ's flesh crucified, and by his blood shed, the true food of our minds, than that our bodies be fed with meat and drink in this life: and hereof this said mystical bread on the table of Christ, and the mystical wine, being administered and received after the institution of Christ, be to us a memorial, a pledge, a token, a sacrament, and a seal. And thereof it is that Christ saith not thus: "This is my body; eat ye:" but, after he had bidden them eat, then he said, "This is my body, which shall be given for you:" which is to mean, as though he should say, "In eating of this bread, consider you that this bread is no common thing, but a mystical matter; neither do you attend that which is set before your bodily eyes, but what feedeth you within. Consider and behold my body crucified for you; *that* eat and digest in your minds; chew you upon my passion; be fed with my death. This is the true meat; this is the drink that moisteneth, wherewith you—being truly fed and inebriate—shall live for ever. The bread and wine which be set before your eyes are only declarations of me, but I myself am the eternal food. Wherefore, whensoever at this my table you shall behold the sacraments, have not regard so much to them, as consider ye what I promise you by them; which is—myself to be meat for you of eternal life."

Consider not what the sacrament is in nature, but what it signifieth in mystery.

A memorial, a pledge, a token, a sacrament, and a seal.

What is eating the mystical bread.

What the crucified body of Christ doth to our souls.

The only oblation of Christ (wherewith he offered himself to God the Father once to death upon the altar of the cross for our redemption) was of such efficacy, that there is no more need of any sacrifice for the redemption of the whole world; but all the sacrifices of the old law he took away, performing that in very deed, which they did signify and promise. Whosoever therefore shall fix the hope of his salvation in any other sacrifice, he falleth from the grace of Christ, and is contumelious against the blood of Christ. For "he was wounded for our transgressions, and was broken for our iniquities. All we like sheep have wandered astray. Every man hath turned after his own way, and the Lord hath laid all our iniquities upon him.[1] For he hath entered once for all into the holy place by the blood, not of goats or calves, but by his own blood, finding eternal redemption:" "And hath entered into heaven, to appear now in the sight of God for us: not to offer himself oftentimes (for so should he have suffered many times); but now hath he appeared once to put away sin, through his own oblation. And as it is appointed to all men once to die, so also Christ once was offered:"[2] "Who, offering up one oblation for sins, sitteth now for ever on the right hand of God: for by one oblation hath he made perfect for ever those that be sanctified." "For where is remission of sins, there is now no oblation for sin,"[3] but this only sacrifice of Christ. Whosoever shall seek any other sacrifice propitiatory for sin, maketh the sacrifice of Christ of no validity, force, or efficacy: for if it be sufficient to remit sins, what need is there of any other? for the necessity of another argueth and declareth this to be insufficient. Almighty God grant, that we may truly lean to one sacrifice of Christ, and that we to him again may repay our sacrifices of thanksgiving, of praise, of confessing his name, of true amendment, of repentance, of mercifulness towards our neighbours, and of all other good works of charity: for by such sacrifices we shall declare ourselves neither ungrateful to God, nor altogether unworthy of this holy sacrifice of Christ.

The sacrifice of Christ's body once, sufficient for all.

No sacrifice now for sin, but one.

Christ sacrificed once for sin: we sacrifice daily by thanksgiving, and thankful works of charity.

And thus you have out of the testimonies of holy Scripture, and of the ancient doctors of the church, the true and sincere use of the Lord's holy supper, and the fruit of the true sacrifice of Christ; which whosoever, through captious or wrested interpretations, or by men's traditions, shall go about, otherwise than Christ ordained them, to alter or transubstantiate, he shall answer to Christ in the latter day, when he shall understand (but then too late), that he hath no participation with the body and blood of Christ, but that out of the supper of eternal life, he hath eaten and drunken eternal damnation to himself.

(1) Isa. liii. (2) Heb. ix. (3) Heb. x.

Weston:—"Because we will not consume and spend the time in waste, this your writing which you exhibit, hereafter shall be read in this place. In the mean season let us now fall to the arguments." *Mary.* A.D. 1554.

Chedsey:—"The Scriptures in many places do affirm, that Christ gave his natural body: Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. Ergo, I do conclude that the natural body is in the sacrament." Argument.

Cranmer:—"To your argument I answer, If you understand by the body natural 'organicum,' that is, having such proportion and members as he had living here, then I answer negatively. Furthermore, concerning the evangelists thus I say and grant, that Christ took bread, and called it, his body." Answer.

Chedsey:—"The text of the Scripture maketh against you, for the circumstance thereto annexed doth teach us, not only there to be the body, but also teacheth us what manner of body it is, and saith, 'The same body which shall be given.'

Baroco. "That thing is here contained, that is given for us. Argument.
"But the substance of bread is not given for us.
"Ergo, The substance of bread is not here contained."

Cranmer:—"I understand not yet what you mean by this word 'contained.' If ye mean 'really,' then I deny your major." Answer.

Chedsey:—"The major is the text of Scripture. He that denieth the major, denieth the Scripture: for the Scripture saith, 'This is my body which is given for you.'"

Cranmer:—"I grant he said it was his body which should be given, but he said it was not his body which is here contained; 'but the body,' saith he, 'that shall be given for you.' As though he should say, 'This bread is the breaking of my body; and this cup is the shedding of my blood.' What will ye say then? Is the bread the breaking of his body, and the cup the shedding of his blood really? If you say so, I deny it." The body of Christ contained not really, but sacramentally.

Chedsey:—"If you ask what is the thing therein contained; because his apostles should not doubt what body it was that should be given, he saith, 'This is my body which shall be given for you, and my blood which shall be shed for many.' Ergo, here is the same substance of the body, which the day after was given, and the same blood which was shed. And here I urge the Scripture, which teacheth that it was no fantastical, no feigned, no spiritual body, nor body in faith; but the substance of the body."

Cranmer:—"You must prove that it is contained: but Christ said not, 'which is contained.' He gave bread, and called that his body. I stick not in the words of the Scripture, but in your word, which is feigned and imagined of yourself."

Chedsey:—"When Christ took bread and brake it, what gave he?"

Cranmer:—"He gave bread. The bread sacramentally, and his body spiritually, and the bread there he called his body."

Chedsey:—"This answer is against the Scripture, which saith, that he gave his body."

Cranmer:—"It did signify that which they did eat."

Chedsey:—"They did not eat the body as the Capernaites did understand it, but the selfsame body which was given for the sins of the world. Ergo, it was his body which should be given, and his blood which should be shed."

[In some other copies I find this argument to be made by Chedsey.

Baroco. "The same body is in the sacrament, which was given for us on the cross. Argument.
"But bread was not given on the cross for us:
"Ergo, Bread is not given in the sacrament."

Cranmer:—"I deny the major, which is, that the same natural body is given in the sacrament, which was given on the cross, except you understand it spiritually."—And after, he denied also the argument as utterly nought, as he might well do, the major in the second figure being not universal.] Answer.

When master Chedsey had put forth his argument, and prosecuted the same, and Dr. Cranmer answered as before is showed, Dr. Ogle-

Mary. A. D. 1554.

thorpe, one of those doctors which the prolocutor called "censores" (belike to be arbiters to order the disputations), said on this wise:

Oglethorpe breaketh Priscian's head, and speaketh false Latin.

Oglethorpe:—"You come in still with one evasion or starting hole to flee to. He urgeth the Scriptures, saying, that Christ gave his very body. You say, that he gave his body in bread. Quomodo prædicatur corpus? qualis est corpus? qualis est prædicatio? panis est corpus."

Cranmer:—"You should say, 'Quale corpus.'[1] I answer to the question: It is the same body which was born of the Virgin, was crucified, ascended; but tropically, and by a figure. And so I say, 'Panis est corpus,' is a figurative speech, speaking sacramentally; for it is a sacrament of his body."

Oglethorpe:—"This word 'body,' being 'prædicatum,' doth signify substance.

"But 'substantia' is not predicated denominatively.

"Ergo, It is an essential predication; and so it is his true body, and not the figure of his body."

Cranmer:—"Substantia may be predicated denominatively in an allegory, or in a metaphor, or in a figurative locution."

Oglethorpe:—"It is not a likely thing, that Christ hath less care for his spouse the church, than a wise householder hath for his family, in making his will or testament."

Cranmer:—"Your reason is drawn out of the affairs of men, and not taken out of the holy Scriptures."

Oglethorpe:—"But no householder maketh his testament after that sort."

Tropes may be used in men's testaments: why not?

Cranmer:—"Yes, there are many that so do. For what matter is it, so it be understood and perceived? I say, Christ did use figurative speech in no place more than in his sacraments; and specially in this of his supper."

Oglethorpe:—"No man of purpose doth use tropes in his testament; for if he do, he deceiveth them that he comprehendeth in his testament: therefore Christ useth none here."

Cranmer:—"Yes, he may use them well enough. You know not what tropes are."

Oglethorpe:—"The good man of the house hath respect that his heirs, after his departure, may live in quiet and without brabling.

"But they cannot be in quiet, if he do use tropes:

"Therefore, I say, he useth no tropes."

Cranmer:—"I deny your minor."

Augustine.

Weston:—"Augustine, in his book entituled 'De unitate Ecclesiæ,' chap. x.,[2] hath these words following:[3]

A place of Augustine recited by the prolocutor.

"'What a thing is this, I pray you? When the last words of one lying upon his death-bed are heard, who is ready to go to his grave, no man saith, that he hath made a lie; and he is not accounted his heir, who regardeth not those words. How shall we then escape God's wrath, if either not believing, or not regarding, we shall reject the last words both of the only Son of God, and also of our Lord and Saviour,—both ascending into heaven, and beholding from thence, who despiseth, who observeth them not; and so shall come from thence to judge all men?'

"The Argument is thus formed:

Argument.

Barba- "Whosoever saith that the testator lieth, is a wicked heir.

ra. "But whosoever saith that Christ spake by figures, saith that he did lie:

"Ergo, Whosoever saith that Christ here spake by figures, is a wicked heir."

Answer.

Cranmer:—"I deny the minor: as who say, it is necessary that he that useth to speak by tropes and figures, should lie in so doing."

Oglethorpe:—"Your judgment is disagreeing with all churches."

(1) Cranmer might have found fault with this argument, as well as with his Latin, being made in no mood or figure.

(2) "This authority is stated in the Cambridge MS. to have been alleged by Oglethorpe; it certainly forms part of his train of reasoning." Jenkyns, vol. iv. p. 24.—Ed.

(3) "Quid hoc esto rogo? Cum verba novissima hominis morientis audiantur ituri ad inferos, nemo eum dicit esse mentitum, et illius non judicatur hæres qui fortè ea contempserit. Quomodo ergo effugiemus iram Dei, si vel non credentes, vel contemnentes, expulerimus verba novissima, et unici filii Dei et Domini nostri salvatoris, et ituri in cœlum, et inde prospecturi, quis ea negligat, quis non observet, et inde venturi ut de omnibus judicet?"

Cranmer :—" Nay, I disagree with the papistical church."
Oglethorpe :—" This you do, through the ignorance of logic."
Cranmer :—" Nay, this you say, through the ignorance of the doctors."
Weston :—" I will go plainly to work by Scriptures. What took he?"
Cranmer :—" Bread."
Weston :—" What gave he?"
Cranmer :—" Bread."
Weston :—" What brake he?"
Cranmer :—" Bread."
Weston :—" What did he eat?"
Cranmer :—" Bread."
Weston :—" He gave bread: therefore he gave not his body.

Argument.

" He gave not his body, therefore it is not his body verily, and in deed and in truth."
Cranmer :—" I deny the argument."
Cole :—" This argument holdeth, 'à disparatis:'[1] It is bread: ergo, it is not the body; and it is such an argument or reason as cannot be dissolved."
Cranmer :—" The like argument may be made. He is a rock: ergo, he is not Christ."
Cole :—" It is not alike."
Weston :—" He gave not his body indeed: ergo, it was not his body indeed."
Cranmer :—" He gave his death, his passion, and the sacrament of his passion. And, in very deed, setting the figure aside, formally it is not his body."
Weston :—" Why? then the Scripture is false."
Cranmer :—" Nay, the Scripture is most true."
Weston :—" This saith Chrysostome :[2] 'Needful it is, dear friends, to tell you what the miracle of the mysteries is, and wherefore it is given, and what profit there is of the thing. We are one body, and members of his flesh and of his bones. We that be in the mystery, let us follow the thing which was spoken. Wherefore, that we may become this thing, not only by love, but also that we may become one with that flesh indeed, *that* is brought to pass by this food which he gave unto us, minding to show his great good will that he hath towards us; and therefore he mixed himself with us, and united his own body with us, that we should be made all as one thing together, as a body joined and annexed to the head; for this is a token of most ardent and perfect love. And the same thing Job also, insinuating, said of his servants, of whom he was desired above measure, insomuch that they, showing their great desire toward him, said, Who shall give unto us to be filled with his flesh? Therefore also Christ did the same, who, to induce us into a greater love toward him, and to declare his desire towards us, did not only give himself to be seen of them that would, but also to be handled and eaten, and suffered us to fasten our teeth in his flesh, and to be united together, and so to fill all our desire. Like lions therefore, as breathing fire, let us go from that table, being made terrible to the devil, remembering our Head in our mind, and his charity which he showed unto us. For parents many times give their children to others to be fed, but I do not so (saith he), but feed you with mine own flesh, and set myself before you; desiring to make you all jolly people, and pretending to you great hope and expectation to look for things to come, who here give myself to you, but much more in the world to come. I am become your brother; I took flesh and blood for you. Again, my flesh and blood, by the which I am made your kinsman, I deliver unto you.' Thus much out of Chrysostome. Out of which words I make this argument.

Weston's argument.

" The same flesh whereby Christ is made our brother and kinsman, is given of Christ to us to be eaten.

" Christ is made our brother and kinsman, by his true, natural, and organical flesh:

" Ergo, His true, natural, and organical flesh, is given to us to be eaten."
Cranmer :—" I grant the consequence and the consequent."

(1) " Disparata" is a school term, meaning divers substances, being so sundered in nature; that one can never be said to be the other.

(2) " Necessarium est, dilectissimi, mysteriorum dicere miraculum quid tandem sit; et quare sit datum, et quæ rei utilitas," etc. Homil. 61, ad Pop. Antioch. [Or rather Hom. in Johan. 46, ad 45, Edit. Benedict. tom. viii. p. 272; in Jenkyns's Appendix, p. 423.—Ed.]

Mary. A.D. 1554.

Weston:—"Therefore we eat it with our mouth."

Cranmer:—"I deny it. We eat it through faith."

Weston:—"He gave us that same flesh to eat whereby he became our brother and kinsman.

A figureless argument.

"But he became our brother and kinsman by his true, natural, and organical flesh:

"Therefore he gave his true, natural, and organical flesh to be eaten."

Cranmer:—"I grant he took and gave the same true, natural, and organical flesh wherein he suffered; and yet he feedeth us spiritually, and that flesh is received spiritually."

Weston:—"He gave us the same flesh which he took of the Virgin.

"But he took not his true flesh of the Virgin spiritually, or in a figure.

"Ergo, He gave his true natural flesh, not spiritually."[1]

Answer.

Cranmer:—"Christ gave to us his own natural flesh, the same wherein he suffered, but feedeth us spiritually."

Weston:—"Chrysostome is against you, where he saith,[2] 'Let it come into thy remembrance with what honour thou art honoured, and what table thou sittest at: for with the same thing we are nourished, which the angels do behold and tremble at; neither are they able to behold it without great fear, for the brightness which cometh thereof: and we be brought and compact into one heap or mass with him, being together one body of Christ, and one flesh with him. Who shall speak the powers of the Lord, and shall declare forth all his praises? What pastor hath ever nourished his sheep with his own members? Many mothers have put forth their infants after their birth to other nurses; which he would not do, but feedeth us with his own body, and conjoineth and uniteth us to himself.' Whereupon I gather this argument:

Another false argument, where, in the third figure, the minor is a negative.

"Like as mothers nurse their children with milk, so Christ nourisheth us with his body.

"But mothers do not nourish their infants spiritually with their milk:

"Therefore Christ doth not nourish those that be his spiritually, with his blood."

Cranmer:—"He gave us the wine for his blood."

Weston:—"If he gave the wine for his blood (as you say), then he gave less than mothers do give.

"But Chrysostome affirmeth, that he gave more than mothers give:

"Therefore he gave not the wine for his blood."

Cranmer:—"You pervert mine answer. He gave wine, yet the blood is considered therein. As for example: when he giveth baptism, we consider not the water, but the Holy Ghost, and remission of sins. We receive with the mouth the sacrament; but the thing and the matter of the sacrament we receive by faith."[3]

Weston:—"When Christ said, 'Eat ye,' whether meant he by the mouth or by faith?"

Christ nourisheth us both with bread and with his body: with bread our bodies, with his body our souls.

Cranmer:—"He meant, that we should receive the body by faith, the bread by the mouth."

Weston:—"Nay, the body by the mouth."[3]

Cranmer:—"That I deny."

Weston:—"I prove it out of Chrysostome, writing upon the fiftieth Psalm:[4] 'She that is a mother, shameth sometime to play the nurse. But Christ, our nurse, doth not so play with us. Therefore, instead of meat, he feedeth us with his own flesh; and instead of drink, he feedeth us with his own blood.' Likewise, upon the 83d Homily, on Matth. xxvi., he saith: 'For it shall not be enough for him to become man, and in the meanwhile to be whipped; but he doth bring us into one mass or lump with himself (as I may so call it); and maketh us his body, not by faith alone, but also in very deed.'"

(1) Fallax à dicto secundum quid ad simpliciter.

(2) "Veniat tibi in mentem quo eis honore honoratus, quæ mensa fruaris. Ea namque re nos alimur, quam angeli," etc. Hom. 83, in xxvi. cap. Matt.

(3) A gross saying.

(4) "Erubescit fieri nutrix, quæ facta est mater. Christus autem non ita ipse nutritor est noster: ideo pro cibo carne propria nos pascit, et pro potu suum sanguinem nobis propinavit." Item, in xxvi. Matthæi, Homil. 83. "Non enim sufficit ipsi hominem fieri, flagellis interim cædi: sed nos secum in unam, ut ita dicam, massam reducit, neque id fide solùm, sed re ipsa nos corpus suum efficit." ["Sir H. Saville doubted the genuineness of this homily, and F. Ducæus and Montfaucon reject it altogether, as unworthy of Chrysostome." Jenkyns.—Ed.]

Cranmer:—"I grant, we make one nature with Christ. But that to be done with the mouth, I deny."

Weston:—"Chrysostome (2 Cor. xiii. Homil. 29) hath these words:[1] 'No little honour is given to our mouth, receiving the body of the Lord.'"

Cranmer:—"This I say, that Christ entereth into us both by our ears and by our eyes. With our mouth we receive the body of Christ, and tear it with our teeth, that is to say, the sacrament of the body of Christ. Wherefore I say and affirm, that the virtue of the sacrament is much: and therefore Chrysostome many times speaketh of sacraments no otherwise than of Christ himself; as I could prove, if I might have liberty to speak, by many places of Chrysostome, where he speaketh of the sacrament of the body of Christ."

The words of Chrysostome expounded.

With which word of the "sacrament of the body," etc. Dr. Cole being highly offended, denied it to be the sacrament of the body of Christ, save only of the mystical body, which is the church.

Dr. Cole's denial.

Cranmer:—"And why should we doubt to call it the sacrament of the body of Christ, offered upon the cross, seeing both Christ and the ancient fathers do so call it?"

Cole:—"How gather you that of Chrysostome?"

Cranmer:—"Chrysostome declareth himself thus:[2] 'O miracle, O the good-will of God towards us, which sitteth above, at the right hand of the Father, and is holden in men's hands at the sacrifice's time, and is given to feed upon, to them that are desirous of him! And that is brought to pass by no subtilty or craft, but with the open and beholding eyes of all the standers-by.' Thus you hear, Christ is seen here in earth every day; is touched, is torn with the teeth, that our tongue is red with his blood; which no man having any judgment will say or think to be spoken without trope or figure."

Chrysostome alleged by Dr. Cranmer.

Weston:—"What miracle is it, if it be not his body, and if he spake only of the sacrament, as though it were his body? But hearken what Chrysostome saith:[3] 'I show forth that thing on the earth unto thee, which is worthy the greatest honour. For like as in the palace of kings, neither the walls, nor the sumptuous bed, but the body of kings sitting under the cloth of estate, and royal seat of majesty, is of all things else the most excellent: so is, in like manner, the King's body in heaven, which is now set before us on earth. I show thee neither angels nor archangels, nor the heaven of heavens, but the very Lord and Master of all these things. Thou perceivest after what sort thou dost not only behold, but touchest; and not only touchest, but eatest, that which on the earth is the greatest and chiefest thing of all other; and when thou hast received the same, thou goest home: wherefore cleanse thy soul from all uncleanness.'

Chrysostome alleged by Weston.

"Upon this, I conclude that the body of Christ is showed us upon the earth."

Cranmer:—"What! upon the earth? No man seeth Christ upon the earth: he is seen with the eyes of our mind, with faith and spirit."

How the body of Christ is showed us upon the earth.

Weston:—"I pray you, what it is that seemeth worthy highest honour on the earth? Is it the sacrament, or else the body of Christ?"

Cranmer:—"Chrysostome speaketh of the sacrament; and the body of Christ is showed forth in the sacrament."

Weston:—"Ergo, then the sacrament is worthy greatest honour."

(1) "Non vulgarem honorem consequutum est os nostrum, accipiens corpus Dominicum."

(2) "O miraculum, O Dei in nos benevolentia, qui sursum sedet ad dextram Patris, sacrificii tamen tempore hominum manibus continetur, traditurque lambere cupientibus eum! Fit autem id nullis præstigiis, sed apertis et circumspicientibus circumstantium omnium oculis." Chrys. lib. iii. de Sacerd. cap. 4. ["The original of this passage supports Cranmer's reasoning much better than the version here given." Jenkyns, vol. iv. p. 30. The principal variation appears in the closing line, which we accordingly copy: "ποιοῦσι δὲ τοῦτο πάντες διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῆς πίστεως." In Hughes's edition of this treatise (Cantabr. 1712), βλέπουσι takes the place of ποιοῦσι; he has a long note upon the passage (p. 291), but does not notice any various readings; neither does Montfaucon, vol. i. p. 468. Paris, 1834.—Ed.]

(3) "Quod summo honore dignum est, id tibi in terra ostendo. Nam quemadmodum in regiis non parietes, non lectus aureus, sed regium corpus in throno sedens omnium præstantissimum est: Ita quoque in cœlis regium corpus, quod nunc in terra proponitur. Non angelos, non archangelos, non cœlos cœlorum, sed ipsum horum omnium Dominum tibi ostendo. Animadvertis quonam pacto, quod omnium maximum est, atque præcipuum in terra, non conspicaris tantum sed tangis, neque solum tangis, sed comedis, atque eo accepto domum redis. Absterge igitur ab omni sorde animam tuam." Hom. 34.

Mary.

A. D. 1554.

Cranmer:—"I deny the argument."

Weston:—"That thing is showed forth, and is now the earth: '*ostenditur et est*,'[1] which is worthy highest honour.

"But only the body of Christ is worthy highest honour:

"Ergo, The body of Christ is now on the earth."[2]

Cranmer:—"I answer, the body of Christ to be on the earth, but so as in the sacrament, and as the Holy Ghost is in the water of baptism."

Weston:—"Chrysostome saith 'ostendo,' 'I show forth,' which noteth a substance to be present."

Cranmer:—"That is to be understood sacramentally."[3]

Weston:—"He saith 'ostendo in terra,' 'I show forth on earth;' declaring also the place where."

Cranmer:—"That is to be understood figuratively."

Weston:—"He is showed forth, and is now on the earth, etc. as before."

Cranmer:—"Your major and conclusion are all one."

Weston:—"But the major is true: ergo, the conclusion also is true.

"That thing is on the earth, which is worthy of most high honour.

"But no figure is worthy of highest honour.

"Ergo, That which is on the earth, is no figure."

Cranmer:—"I answer, that is true sacramentally."

Here Weston crieth to him, that he should answer to one part, bidding him repeat his words. Which when Cranmer went about to do, such was the noise and crying out in the school, that his mild voice could not be heard. For when he went about to declare to the people how the prolocutor did not well English the words of Chrysostome, using for "ostenditur in terra," "he is showed forth on the earth," "est in terra," "he is on the earth," whereas Chrysostome hath not "est" nor any such word of being on the earth, but only of showing, as the grace of the Holy Ghost *in baptismo ostenditur*, i.e. is showed forth in baptism: and oftentimes he did inculcate this word "ostenditur."

Weston falsifieth the words of Chrysostome.

Then the prolocutor, stretching forth his hand, set on the rude people to cry out at him, filling all the school with hissing, clapping of hands, and noise; calling him *indoctum*, *imperitum*, *impudentem*, i. e. unlearned, unskilful, impudent: which impudent and reproachful words this reverend man most patiently and meekly did abide, as one that had been inured with the suffering of such like reproaches. And when the prolocutor, not yet satisfied with this rude and unseemly demeanour, did urge and call upon him to answer the argument; then he bade the notary repeat his words again.

Unreverend words used in the school against Cranmer.

Notary:—"That which is worthy most high honour, here I show forth to thee on earth.

"The body of Christ is worthy highest honour:

"Ergo, He showeth forth the body of Christ here on earth."

Cranmer:—"That is showed forth here on the earth, which may be seen, which may be touched, and which may be eaten: but these things be not true of the body."[4]

Cole:—"Why should not these things be true of the body of Christ?"

Cranmer:—"The major out of Chrysostome is true; meaning of the sacraments. For in the sacrament the true body of Christ, and not the figurative body, is set forth.'

(1) This word "est," is not in Chrysostome.

(2) This argument of Weston, standing only upon affirmatives in the second figure, hath no perfect form in logic.

(3) Thus Cranmer answereth to the place of Chrysostome, how Christ is showed forth on the earth, not bodily, but in a sacrament; that is sacramentally and figuratively.

(4) The body of Christ is showed forth to us, here in earth, divers ways: as in reading of the Scriptures, sometimes in hearing sermons, and also in sacraments; and yet neither the Scriptures, nor sermons, nor sacraments are to be worshipped.

Weston:—"Show me somewhat in earth worthy greatest honour."
Cranmer:—"I cannot, but in the sacrament only."
Weston:—"Ergo, The sacrament is worthy greatest honour."
Cranmer:—"So it is."
Judges:—"Let it be written."
Cranmer:—"I pray you let my answer be written likewise: I affirm, that the body of Christ is showed forth unto us. It is our faith that seeth Christ.'
Weston:—"'Ostendo tibi,' i. e. 'I show it to thee,' saith Chrysostome—not to thy faith."
Cranmer:—"He speaketh sacramentally."
Weston:—"Ergo, Chrysostome lieth. For he, speaking of showing, saith: 'Ego Chrysostomus ostendo,' i.e. 'I Chrysostome do show.' But he can show nothing sacramentally."
Chedsey:—"By force of argument we are brought to this point, that the body of Christ is proved to be on earth, not only sacramentally, but in very deed also, by this reason, that it is worthy highest honour.—The reason is indissoluble."
Cranmer:—"I never heard a more vain argument, and it is most vain; also it hath mine answer unto it."
Chedsey:—"Will you affirm, that it is absurd which Chrysostome saith, That the body of Christ is touched?
"I touch the body of Christ in the sacrament, as Thomas touched Christ.
"Thomas touched Christ, and said, 'Dominus meus, Deus meus,' 'my Lord, my God.'
"Ergo, That which he touched was the Lord, the God."

The argument not formal.

[This argument, as I received it out of the notary's book, is not formal; but rather he should conclude in the third figure thus:
Da- As Thomas touched the body of Christ, so we touch it in the sacrament.
ti- Thomas touched the body of Christ corporally:
si. Ergo, We touch the body of Christ corporally in the sacrament.]

God cannot be touched.

Cranmer:—"I deny your argument. He touched not God, but him which was God; neither is it sound doctrine to affirm that God is touched."
Chedsey:—"This is because of the union; so that God is said to be touched, when Christ, which is both God and man, is touched.
"Tertullian saith,[1] 'Let us consider as concerning the proper form of the christian man, what great prerogative this vain and foul substance of ours hath with God. Although it were sufficient to it, that no soul could ever get salvation unless it believe while it is in the flesh: so much the flesh availeth to salvation; by the which flesh it cometh, that whereas the soul so is linked unto God, it is the said flesh that causeth the soul to be linked: yet the flesh moreover is washed, that the soul may be cleansed; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is signed, that the soul may be defended; the flesh is shadowed by the imposition of hands, that the soul may be illuminated with the Spirit; the flesh doth eat the body and blood of Christ, that the soul may be fed of God.' Whereupon I gather this argument:
"The flesh eateth the body of Christ.
"Ergo, The body of Christ is eaten with the mouth."

Argument.

Photius alleged by Chedsey.

"Item Photius upon these words (1 Cor. xi.) 'Reus erit corporis et sanguinis,'[2] etc.: 'Whereas he saith, Is guilty of the body and blood; this he

(1) "Videamus de propria christiani hominis forma, quanta huic substantiæ frivolæ et sordidæ apud Deum prærogativa sit. Etsi sufficeret illi, quòd nulla omnino anima salutem posset adipisci, nisi dum est in carne crediderit: adeò caro salutis cardo est, de qua cum anima Deo alligatur, ipsa est quæ efficit ut anima alligari possit; sed et caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur; caro ungitur, ut anima consecretur; signatur, ut anima muniatur; caro manûs impositione adumbratur, ut anima spiritu illuminetur; caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut anima de Deo saginetur." Tertul. de Resurrectione Carnis, [cap. 8.—Ed.]

(2) Τὸ ἔνοχον τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦτο δηλοῖ, ὅτι καθάπερ παρέδωκε μὲν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰούδας, παρώνησαν δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι οὕτως ἀτιμαίζουσιν [αὐτὸν οἱ τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα χερσὶν] ἀκαθάρτοις δεχόμενοι, εἰς Ἰουδαῖοι κρατοῦντες αὐτὸν τότε καὶ καταράτῳ προσφέροντες στόματι. Διὰ δὲ τὸ εἰπεῖν πολλάκις τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου, δῆλοι, ὅτι [οὐκ]

Mary. A.D. 1554.

declareth, that like as Judas betrayed him, and the Jews were fierce and spiteful against him; so do they dishonour him, who receive his holy body with their impure hands, and, as the Jews did hold him then, do now receive him with impure mouths. And whereas he often maketh mention of the body and blood of the Lord, he declareth, that it is not simply man that is sacrificed, but even the Lord himself, being the maker of all things, hereby (as it were) making them afraid.'

"Ergo (as it is hereby gathered), the body of Christ is touched with the hands."

Cranmer:—"You vouch two authors against me upon sundry things. First, I must answer Tertullian, and then the other."

Chedsey:—"They tend both to one meaning."

Answer to Tertullian.

Cranmer:—"Unto Tertullian I answer (because our disputation is wandering and uncertain), that he calleth that the flesh, which is the sacrament. For although God work all things in us invisibly, beyond man's reach, yet they are so manifest, that they may be seen, and perceived of every sense. Therefore he setteth forth baptism, unction, and, last of all, the supper of the Lord unto us, which he gave to signify his operation in us. The flesh liveth by the bread, but the soul is inwardly fed by Christ."

Weston urgeth Tertullian.

Weston:—"Stick to those words of Tertullian,[1] 'The body eateth, that the soul may be fed.'"

Chedsey:—"The flesh eateth the body of Christ, that the soul may be fed therewith."

Weston:—"Here you see two kinds of food, of the soul and of the body."

Chedsey:—"He saith, that not only the soul, but the flesh is also fed."

Cranmer:—"The soul is fed with the body of Christ, the body with the sacrament."

Chedsey:—"Is the soul fed with the body of Christ, and not with the sacrament."

Inwardly we eat the body; outwardly the sacrament.

Cranmer:—"Read that which followeth, and you shall perceive, that by things external, an operation internal is understood. Inwardly we eat Christ's body, and outwardly we eat the sacrament. So one thing is done outwardly, another inwardly. Like as in baptism the external element, whereby the body is washed, is one; the internal thing, whereby the soul is cleansed, is another."

Chedsey:—"The soul is fed by that which the body eateth.

"But the soul is fed by the flesh of Christ:

"Ergo, The body eateth the flesh of Christ."

Cranmer:—"We eat not one thing outwardly and inwardly. Inwardly we eat Christ's body: outwardly we eat the sacrament."

Chedsey:—"I will repeat the argument.

"The flesh eateth Christ's body, that the soul may be fed therewith.

"The soul is not fed with the sacrament, but with Christ's body.

"Ergo, The flesh eateth the body of Christ."[2]

Cranmer:—"The sacrament is one thing, the matter of the sacrament is another. Outwardly we receive the sacrament; inwardly we eat the body of Christ."

Chedsey:—"I prove, that we receive that outwardly, wherewith the soul is fed.

"The soul is fed with the body of Christ:

"Ergo, We eat the body of Christ outwardly.

"The flesh eateth Christ his body:

"Ergo, The soul is fed therewith."

Answer.

Cranmer:—"The flesh, I say, eateth the sacrament; it eateth not Christ's body. For Tertullian speaketh of the sacrament; and the place hath not 'inde,' 'thereof,' but 'de Deo,' 'of God.'"

ἄνθρωπος ψιλὸς ὁ ὑνομενος, ἀλλ' αὔτος ὁ Κύριος ὁ ποιητὴς πάντων, οὗ θῆθεν διὰ τοῦτων ἐκφοβῶν αὐτοὺς, i. e. 'Quod ait, Reus corporis et sanguinis, istud declarat, quod sicuti Judas ipsum quidem tradidit, Judæi contumeliosè in ipsum insaniebant: sic ipsum inhonorant qui sanctissimum ipsius corpus impuris manibus suscipiunt, et tanquam Judæi ipsi tenent et execrabili ore recipiunt. Quòd crebro mentionem facit corporis et sanguinis Domini, manifestat, quòd non sit simplex homo qui sacrificatur, sed ipse Dominus omnium factor, tanquam per hæc quidem ipsos perterrefaciens." [This passage will be found "Apud Œcumen." tom. i. p. 532. Paris, 1631. Jenkyns.—Ed.]

(1) "Corpus vescitur, ut anima saginetur."

(2) The form of this argument which he repeateth, stood better before: for the form of this connexion answereth to none of the three figures of syllogisms.

Chedsey:—"What say you to Photius's saying? 'They which receive the body with impure hands, are guilty of the Lord's blood, as Judas was.'" *Mary.*

Weston:—"That which followeth in Tertullian doth take away your shift, where he saith,[1] 'They cannot be separated in reward, whom one work joineth together.' A.D. 1554.

"But manducation, is the work, or labour: ergo, etc.

"The form of this argument may be thus collected.

Dari. "One work or labour joineth body and soul together.

"Manducation is a work, or labour.

"Ergo, One manducation joineth together both body and soul.

"To the major of which argument,[2] thus it may be answered, expounding the saying of Tertullian, 'Una opera conjungit, sed non idem operandi modus.' Again, 'opera,' here, in Tertullian, may be taken for temptations and afflictions."

Cranmer:—"Your authority, I suppose, is taken out of the book, 'De Resurrectione carnis,' i. e. 'Of the resurrection of the flesh:' and the meaning thereof is this. Tertullian goeth about there to prove, that the flesh shall rise again, because it is joined together in one work with the soul. Through baptism in this world the body is washed, and the soul is washed: the body outwardly, the soul inwardly; the work is one. In this work they are joined, and he speaketh of signs." Answer to Tertullian de Resurrect.

Weston:—"He speaketh of eating in a sign: ergo, the reward is in a sign."

Cranmer:—"They are coupled in one work, namely, in the sacrament."

Weston:—"There are two works: ergo, there are two rewards.

"If the work be in a figure: ergo, the reward is in a figure."

Cranmer:—"He speaketh not of two works. Two works are but one work. And yet he saith not, 'quos una opera conjungit,' i. e. 'whom one work joineth together;' but 'opera,' i. e. 'a work:' as in baptism the soul and body are joined in understanding."

Weston:—"The flesh and soul shall have one and the selfsame reward, because they have one work."

Cranmer:—"Because they be joined together in one work."

Tresham:—"Forasmuch as the reverend doctors here have impugned and overthrown your assertion and your answers sufficiently, I will fall to another matter, not altogether impertinent to the purpose, and that in few words, against a certain sequel of your opinion. The sequel is this: that between us and Christ there is no further conjunction, while we receive the eucharist, than a conjunction of the mind, or a spiritual conjunction, whereby we are united and knit unto Christ through faith and love. As for the presence of Christ concerning the substance, that you utterly deny. Whereupon, in very deed, you leave but a spiritual union and joining together of mind: howbeit you would seem to think otherwise, by your subtle answers. But I will declare, by manifest testimonies of the fathers, that this your sequel, which you account so sure, is far wide from the truth. And I will begin with St. Hilary, who is both an ancient and learned author. For, disputing against the Arians, in his eighth book of the Trinity, he saith, that this was their opinion; that the Father and the Son are conjoined only through unity of will. Whereupon Arius himself, when Scripture was alleged against him, did (as you do now) elude the right meaning of it by his false interpretations. But the catholic church hath always believed and ever maintained, 'That Christ is one with the Father in nature, and not by consent of will only.' To the proof whereof, when the catholics vouched this testimony of John,[3] 'The Father and I are one:' the Arians answered, that 'unum sumus' was to be understood by the assent of their wills, and agreement of their minds; not by unity of their natures. Thus it happeneth now-a-days, where men do doubt of the sacrament. But Hilary, going on, and proving the natural conjunction between the Father and the Son *à fortiori*, questioneth with his adversaries after this manner: 'I demand of them now, who will needs have the unity of will only between the Father and the Son, whether Christ be now in us truly by nature, or only by the agreement of wills. If,' saith he, 'the Tresham disputeth.

(1) "Non possunt ergo separari in mercede, quos opera conjungit."

(2) As the body and soul are joined in the work of baptism, so are they joined in the communion of the Lord's supper. For as the flesh is washed with water, that the soul may be purged spiritually; so our body eateth the outward sacrament, that the soul may be fed of God.

(3) "Pater et Ego unum sumus."

Mary. A.D. 1554.

word be incarnate in very deed, and we receive at the Lord's table the word made flesh, how then is he to be thought not to dwell in us naturally, who, being born man, hath both taken the nature of our flesh upon him, that is now inseparable, and hath also mingled that nature of his own flesh unto the nature of eternity, under the sacrament of his flesh, to be communicated unto us?' Thus much hath Hilary. Whereupon I ask of you this question, How Christ dwelleth now in us?—according to faith, or according to nature?"

Conjunction between Christ and us. Answer to Hilary.

Cranmer:—"I say that Christ dwelleth verily in us carnally and naturally; for that he hath taken of the Virgin our flesh upon him, and because he hath communicated his nature unto us."

Bucer.

Tresham:—"Bucer[1] referreth these words only to the eucharist, saying, 'Christ doth exhibit all this unto us in his holy supper; and, according to the holy fathers,' saith Bucer, 'Christ liveth thereby in us, not only by faith and love, as absent, but naturally, corporally, and carnally. Wherefore he is not absent, neither are we joined to Christ only by a spiritual union (as you suppose), but also by a corporal and carnal union.'"

Cranmer:—"I know that master Bucer was a learned man. But your faith is in good case, which leaneth upon Bucer."

Tresham:—"I do not bring Bucer as a patron of our faith; but because he is a man of your sort, and yet bringeth this place of Hilary for that union which we have by the sacrament, and confesseth, that by it we are carnally united to Christ: whereas you think, we are joined by it only through faith and love."

How Christ is united to us.

Cranmer:—"I say that Christ was communicated unto us, not only by faith, but in very deed, also, when he was born of the Virgin. We have fellowship with Christ, when we are united in the unity of the church; when we are made flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones: and so we are united in the communion, in baptism, and in faith."

Tresham:—"I pray you, what fellowship have we with Christ, in that he is made man? Are not the Turks and Jews therein joined with him? For they are men as we are, and are joined with him in man's nature, in that he was born of a woman. I speak now of a more near unity. We are made one with Christ by the communion, in a perfect unity."

Cranmer:—"We are made so, I grant: but we are made so also by baptism; and the unity in baptism is perfect."

Objection of Hilary.

Tresham:—"We are not made one by baptism in a perfect unity, as Hilary there speaketh, but by the communion, by which we are carnally made one; but not likewise by baptism: wherefore you understand not Hilary. You shall hear his words, which are these: 'He had now declared afore the sacrament of his perfect union, saying; As the living Father sent me, so do I also live by the Father. And he that eateth my flesh, shall also live through me.' And a little after that he writeth thus: 'This truly is the cause of our life; that we have Christ dwelling by his flesh in us that are fleshly, which also by him shall live in such sort as he liveth by his Father.' Wherefore of these words it is manifest, that we obtain this perfect unity by means of the sacrament, and that Christ by it is carnally united unto us."

Answer to the place of Hilary.

Cranmer:—"Nay, Hilary in that same place doth teach, that it is done by baptism: and that doctrine is not to be suffered in the church, which teacheth, that we are not joined to Christ by baptism."

Weston:—"Repeat the argument."

Cranmer:—"You must first make an argument."

Tresham:—"It is made already, but it shall be made again in this form:

Argument.

Da- "As Christ liveth by his Father, so they that eat Christ's flesh, live by the same flesh.

ti- "But Christ liveth by the Father, not only by faith and love, but naturally."

si. "Ergo, We live not through the eating of Christ's flesh, by faith and love only, but naturally."

Cranmer:—"We live by Christ, not only by faith and love, but eternally indeed."

(1) Bucer contra Abrincensem. [Bucer wrote in answer to Robertus Senalis, bishop of Avranches; Defensio contra criminationem Rob. Episcop. Abrin. de Eucharistia, &c. 8vo. Argentinæ, 1534. See also Buceri Scripta Anglicana, p. 616. Basileæ, 1577. Jenkyns, p. 41, and Possevini apparatus Sacer. tom. ii. p. 345.—Ed.]

Tresham:—"Nay, naturally;[1] I prove it thus:

"As Christ liveth by the Father, so live we by his flesh eaten of us.

"But Christ liveth not by his Father only by faith and love, but naturally.

"Therefore we do not live by eating of Christ's flesh only by faith and love (as you suppose), but naturally."

Cranmer:—"The minor is not true."

Tresham:—"This is the opinion of Arius—that Christ is united to his Father by conjunction of mind, and not naturally."

Cranmer:—"I say not so yet, neither do I think so: but I will tell you what I like not in your minor. You say, 'that Christ doth not live by his Father only by faith and love:' but I say, that Christ liveth not at all by his faith."

Weston:—"Mark and consider well this word, 'by faith,' lest any occasion of cavilling be given."

Tresham:—"Let that word, 'by faith,' be omitted. Neither did I mean, that Christ liveth by his Father through faith. Yet the strength of the argument remaineth in force; for else Hilary doth not confute the Arians, except there be a greater conjunction between us and Christ, when he is eaten of us, than only a spiritual conjunction. You do only grant a union. As for a carnal or natural union of the substance of flesh, by which we are joined more than spiritually, you do not grant. But our Lord Jesus give you a better mind, and show you the light of his truth, that you may return into the way of righteousness."

Weston:—"We came hither, to dispute, and not to pray."

Tresham:—"Is it not lawful to pray for them that err?"

Weston:—"It is not lawful yet.—But proceed."

Tresham:—"Again, I reason thus: As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner do we live by the eating of his flesh."

"But Christ liveth not by his Father, only in unity of will, but naturally:

"Ergo, We do not live when we eat the flesh of Christ, only by faith and unity of will, but naturally."

Cranmer:—"This is my faith, and it agreeth with the Scripture; Christ liveth by his Father naturally, and maketh us to live by himself indeed naturally, and that not only in the sacrament of the eucharist, but also in baptism. For infants, when they are baptized, do eat the flesh of Christ."

Weston:—"Answer either to the whole argument, or to the parts thereof. For this argument is strong, and cannot be dissolved."

The same argument again repeated.

Cranmer:—"This is the argument:

"As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner do we live by his flesh, being eaten of us.

Answer.

"But Christ liveth by his Father not only in unity of will, but naturally.

"Ergo, We, eating his flesh, do not live only by faith and love, but naturally.

"But the major is false; namely, that, by the same manner we live by Christ, as he liveth by his Father."

Weston:—"Hilary saith, 'after the same manner,' upon these words, 'He that eateth my flesh shall live by me.' Ergo, Christ liveth by his Father, and, as he liveth by his Father, after the same manner we shall live by his flesh. Here you see, that Hilary saith, 'after the same manner.'"[2]

Cranmer:—"'After the same manner,' doth not signify alike in all things,

(1) The papists by this one word "naturally," confound themselves: for if the natural body of Christ were eaten, and went naturally into our bodies, then should it follow, that the nature of his body being immaculate, and now also immortal, our bodies united in nature to his pure and immortal body, naturally should never sin nor die. Wherefore it remaineth, that the natural uniting to Christ's body, cometh not by the bodily eating of the sacrament, unto our body, but to our soul, and so shall redound at length unto our bodies. If that union of the substance of flesh should be granted unto our bodies, then should our bodies never die, nor see corruption.

(2) Christ, not after his manhood, but after his divine nature, liveth naturally by his Father, which divine nature of his worketh also in his manhood an immortality: so our spirit and soul, receiving the natural body of Christ in the mysteries, by faith do receive also the nature of his body; that is, his pureness, justification, and life: the operation whereof redounding likewise unto our bodies, doth make the same also capable of the same glory and immortality. And thus it is true, that as Christ liveth naturally by his Father, so we live naturally by the body of Christ eaten in the mysteries, having respect both to the manhood of him and us. For as the flesh of Christ, in respect of bare flesh, liveth not naturally by the Father, but for that it is joined to his divinity: so our flesh liveth not naturally by Christ's body eaten in the sacrament (for then every wicked man eating the sacrament should live naturally by him), but for that our flesh is joined to the spirit and soul, which truly eateth the body of Christ by faith: and so only the bodies of the faithful do live by eating the body of Christ naturally, in participating the natural properties of the body of Christ.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

but indeed and eternally: for so do we live by Christ, and Christ liveth by his Father. For in other respects Christ liveth otherwise by his Father, than we live by Christ."

Weston:—"He liveth by his Father naturally and eternally.

"Ergo, We live by Christ naturally and eternally."

Cranmer:—"We do not live naturally, but by grace, if you take naturally for the manner of nature; as Christ hath eternal life of his Father, so have we of him."

Weston:—"I stick to this word 'naturally.'"

Cranmer:—"I mean it, touching the truth of nature. For Christ liveth otherwise by his Father, than we live by Christ."

Naturally expounded.

Weston:—"Hilary in his eighth book 'de Trinitate,' denieth it, when he saith, 'He liveth therefore by his Father; and as he liveth by his Father, after the same manner we shall live by his flesh.'"

Cranmer:—"We shall live after the same manner, as concerning the nature of the flesh of Christ: for as he hath of his Father the nature of eternity, so shall we have of him."

Weston:—"Answer unto the parts of the argument."

The argument the third time repeated.

"As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner shall we live by his flesh.

"But Christ doth not live by his Father only in unity of will, but naturally.

"Ergo, We, eating of his flesh, do not live only by faith and love, but naturally."

Cranmer:—"I grant, as I said, we live by Christ naturally: but I never heard that Christ liveth with his Father in unity of will only."

Weston:—"Because it seemeth a marvel unto you, hear what Hilary saith: 'These things are recited of us to this end, because the heretics, feigning a unity of will only between the Father and the Son, did use the example of our unity with God; as though we, being united to the Son, and by the Son to the Father, only by obedience and will of religion, had no propriety of the natural communion by the sacrament of the body and blood.'

"But answer to the argument,—Christ liveth by his Father naturally and eternally: therefore do we live by Christ naturally and eternally."

Cranmer:—"Cyril and Hilary do say, that Christ is united to us not only by will, but also by nature: he doth communicate to us his own nature, and so is Christ made one with us carnally and corporally, because he took our nature of the Virgin Mary.[1] And Hilary doth not say only that Christ is naturally in us, but that we also are naturally[2] in him, and in the Father; that is, that we are partakers of their nature, which is eternity, or everlastingness. For as the Word, receiving our nature, did join it unto himself in unity of person, and did communicate unto that our nature, the nature of his eternity, that like as he, being the everlasting Word of the Father, had everlasting life of the Father; even so he gave the same nature to his flesh. Likewise also did he communicate with us the same nature of eternity, which he and the Father have, and that we should be one with them, not only in will and love, but that we should be also partakers of the nature of everlasting life."

Weston:—"Hilary, where he saith, 'Christ communicated to us his nature,' meaneth that not by his nativity, but by the sacrament."

Cranmer:—"He hath communicated to us his flesh by his nativity."

Weston:—"We have communicated to him our flesh[3] when he was born."

Cranmer:—"Nay, he communicated to us his flesh, when he was born, and that I will show you out of Cyril upon this place, 'Et homo factus est.'"

Weston:—"Ergo, Christ being born, gave us his flesh."

Cranmer:—"In his nativity he made us partakers of his flesh."[4]

Weston:—"Write, sirs."

Cranmer:—"Yea, write."

Chedsey again disputeth.

Chedsey:—"This place of Hilary is so dark, that you were compelled to falsify it in your book, because you could not draw it to confirm your purpose:[5] 'If Christ hath taken verily the flesh of our body, and the man that was verily

(1) Ex exemplari manu Cranmeri descripto.

(2) "Naturally," is here expounded; that is, our bodies to participate the nature and properties of Christ's holy immortal body. (3) Then had Christ a sinful flesh.

(4) That is, made us partakers of the properties, life, innocency, and resurrection of his body.

(5) Hilar. 8. de Trinit.

born of the Virgin Mary is Christ, and also we receive under the true mystery the flesh of his body, by means whereof we shall be one (for the Father is in Christ, and Christ in us), how shall that be called the unity of will, when the natural property, brought to pass by the sacrament, is the sacrament, of unity. We must not speak in the sense of man, or of the world, in matters concerning God: neither must we perversely wrest any strange or wicked sense out of the wholesome meaning of the holy Scripture, through impudent and violent contention. Let us read those things that are written, and let us understand those things that we read, and then we shall perform the duty of perfect faith. For as touching that natural and true being of Christ in us, except we learn of him, we speak foolishly and ungodly that thing that we do speak. For he saith, My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed: he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him. As touching the verity of his flesh and blood, there is left no place of doubt: for now, both by the testimony of the Lord, and also by our faith, it is verily flesh, and verily blood.'—Here you have falsified Hilary, for you have set 'vero sub mysterio,' for 'verè sub mysterio,' 'we receive truly under a mystery.' Hilary thrice reporteth 'verè sub mysterio,' and you interpret it twice 'verè sub mysterio,' but, the third time, you have 'vero' for 'verè.'"[1]

Thus far was their talk in English.

Cranmer:—"Assuredly I am not guilty of any deceit herein. It may be that the copy which I followed had 'sub vero mysterio,' i. e. under a true mystery; although touching the sense it differeth little. God, I call to witness, I have always hated falsifying, and if you had leisure and lust to hear false citations, I could recite unto you six hundred."

Weston:—"Here shall be showed you two copies of Hilary,[2] the one printed at Basil, the other at Paris."

Cranmer:—"I suppose that Dr. Smith's book hath 'vero.'"

Weston:—"Here is Dr. Smith: let him answer for himself.—Master Smith, master Doctor, what say you for yourself? Speak, if you know it."

Here Dr. Smith, either for the truth in his book alleged, or else astonished with Dr. Weston's hasty calling, staid to answer: for he only put off his cap, and kept silence.

Weston:—"But your own book,[3] printed by Wolf your own printer, hath 'vero.'"

Cranmer:—"That book is taken from me, which easily might have ended this controversy. I am sure the Book of Decrees hath 'vero.'"

Cole:—"Now you admit the Book of Decrees, when it maketh for you."[4]

Cranmer:—"Touching the sense of the matter there is little difference. The change of one letter for another is but a small matter."

Weston:—"No? Yes; 'pastor,' as you know, signifieth a bishop, and 'pistor,' signifieth a baker. But 'pastor' shall be 'pistor,' a bishop shall be a baker, by this your change of one letter, if 'verè' and 'vero' do nothing change the sense."

Cranmer:—"Let it be so, that in 'pistor' and 'pastor' one letter maketh some difference: yet let 'pistor' be either a maker or baker of bread, ye see here the change of a letter, and yet no great difference to be in the sense."

Young:—"This disputation is taken in hand, that the truth might appear. I perceive that I must go another way to work than I had thought. It is a common saying, 'Against them that deny principles, we must not dispute.' Therefore, that we may agree of the principles, I demand, whether there be any other body of Christ, than his instrumental body?"

Young cometh in with his Socratical interrogations.

Cranmer:—"There is no natural body of Christ, but his organical body."

(1) Seeing master Cranmer had twice "verè," and but once "vero," they had no cause to be grieved; but that they were disposed to find a knot in a rush.

(2) There were Editions of Paris, 1510, and of Basle, 1523 and 1550, prefaced by Erasmus. The passage in debate occurs in the treatise "de Trinitate," lib. viii. fol. 13.—Ed.

(3) "The 'book' referred to must be Cranmer's Answer to Gardiner, printed by Wolf in 1551; in which the original passage from Hilary is cited with the true reading, 'vere.'"—Jenkyns. From a previous note of Mr. Jenkyns it appears that Cranmer had been led into the mistake "vero," by the pages, not of an impugner but a defender of the corporal presence; namely by Gardiner, in his Detection of the devil's Sophistry, 1546.—Ed.

(4) Here Dr. Cole beginneth to carp.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

Young :—"Again I demand, whether sense and reason ought to give place to faith?"

Cranmer :—"They ought."

Young :—"Thirdly, whether Christ be true in all his words?"

Cranmer :—"Yea, he is most true, and truth itself."

Young :—"Fourthly, whether Christ, at his supper, minded to do that which he spake, or no?"

Cranmer :[1]—"In saying he spake, but in saying he made not, but made the sacrament to his disciples."

Young's sophistical interrogatories.

Young :—"Answer according to the truth, Whether did Christ that as God and man, which he spake, when he said, 'This is my body?'"

Cranmer :—"This is a sophistical cavillation: go plainly to work. There is some deceit in these questions. You seek subtileness: leave your crafty fetches."

Young :—"I demand, whether Christ by these words wrought any thing or no?"

Cranmer :—"He did institute the sacrament."

Young :—"But answer, whether did he work any thing?"

Cranmer :—"He did work in instituting the sacrament."

Young :—"Now I have you; for before you said, it was a figurative speech.[2]

"But a figure worketh nothing:

"Ergo, It is not a figurative speech. A liar ought to have a good memory."

Cranmer :—"I understood your sophistry before. You, by working, understand converting into the body of Christ: but Christ wrought the sacrament, not in converting, but in instituting."

Young :—"Woe be to them that make Christ a deceiver. Did he work any other thing than he spake, or the selfsame thing?"

Cranmer :—"He wrought the sacrament, and by these words he signified the effect."

Festi-so. *Young* :—"A figurative speech is no working thing.

"But the speech of Christ is working:

"Ergo, It is not figurative."

Cranmer :—"It worketh by instituting, not by converting."

Young :—"The thing signified in the sacrament, is it not that sacrament?"

Answer to Young by Augustine.

Cranmer :—"It is; for the thing is ministered in a sign. He followeth the letter that taketh the thing for a sign. Augustine separateth the sacrament from the thing. 'The sacrament,' saith he, 'is one, and the thing of the sacrament another.'"

Weston :—"Stick to this argument.

"It is a figurative speech.

"Ergo, It worketh nothing."

Young :—"But the speech of Christ is a working thing:

"Ergo, It is not figurative."

Cranmer :—"Oh how many crafts are in this argument? they are mere fallacies. I said not, that the words of Christ do work, but Christ himself; and he worketh by a figurative speech."

Weston :—"If a figure work, it maketh of bread the body of Christ."

Cranmer :—"A figurative speech worketh not."

Weston :—"A figurative speech, by your own confession, worketh nothing.

"But the speech of Christ in the supper (as you grant) wrought somewhat.

"Ergo, The speech of Christ in the supper, was not figurative."

What worketh in the sacrament.

Cranmer :—"I answer, these are mere sophisms. The speech doth not work, but Christ, by the speech, doth work the sacrament. I look for Scriptures at your hands, for they are the foundation of disputations."

Young :—"Are not these words of Scripture, 'This is my body?' The word of Christ is of strength; and by the Lord's words the heavens were made. He said, 'This is my body:' ergo, he made it."

Cranmer :—"He made the sacrament; and I deny your argument."

Young :—"If he wrought nothing, nothing is left there. He said, 'This is

(1) "Dicendo dixit, non fecit dicendo; sed fecit discipulis sacramentum."
(2) This syllogism, speaking of a figure, hath no perfect form or figure.

my body.' You say, contrary to the Scriptures, it is not the body of Christ; and fall from the faith."

Cranmer:—"You interpret the Scriptures contrary to all the old writers, and feign a strange sense."

Young:—"Ambrose saith:[1] 'Thou hast read of the works of all the world, that he spake the word, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created. Cannot the word of Christ, which made of nothing that which was not, change those things that are, into that they were not? for it is no less matter to give new things, than to change natures. But what use we arguments? let us use his own examples, and let us confirm the verity of the mystery by example of his incarnation. Did the use of nature go before, when the Lord Jesus was born of Mary? If you seek the order of nature, conception is wont to be made by a woman joined to a man. It is manifest therefore, that contrary to the order of nature,[2] a virgin did conceive: and this body that we make, is of the Virgin. What seekest thou here the order of nature in the body of Christ, when, against the order of nature, the Lord Jesus was conceived of a virgin? It was the true flesh of Christ that was crucified, and which was buried: therefore it is truly the sacrament of him. The Lord Jesus himself crieth, This is my body. Before the blessing of the heavenly words, it is named another kind: but, after the consecration, the body of Christ is signified. He calleth it his blood. Before consecration it is called another thing: after consecration it is called blood. And thou sayest, Amen; that is, It is true. That the mouth speaketh, let the inward mind confess: that the word soundeth, let the heart perceive.'

"The same Ambrose, in his fourth book of Sacraments, chap. iv., saith thus:[3] 'This bread is bread before the words of the sacraments: when the consecration cometh to it, of bread it is made the flesh of Christ. Let us confirm this, therefore. How can that which is bread, by consecration be the body of Christ? by what words then is the consecration made, and by whose words? By the words of our Lord Jesus. For touching all other things that are said, praise is given to God, prayer is made for the people, for kings, and for the rest. When it cometh that the reverend sacrament must be made, then the priest useth not his own words, but the words of Christ: therefore the word of Christ maketh this sacrament. What word? That word, by which all things were made. The Lord commanded,[4] and heaven was made: the Lord commanded, and the earth was made: the Lord commanded, and the seas were made: the Lord commanded, and all creatures were made. Dost thou not see then how strong in working the word of Christ is? If therefore so great strength be in the Lord's word, that those things should begin to be, which were not before, how much the rather is it of strength to work, that these

(1) "De totius mundi operibus legisti, quia ipse dixit, et facta sunt, ipse mandavit et creata sunt. Sermo Christi qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non potest ea quæ sunt in id mutare quæ non erant? Non enim minus est novas res dare, quàm mutare naturas. Sed quid argumentis utimur? suis utamur exemplis, incarnationisque exemplo astruamus mysterii veritatem. Nunquid naturæ usus præcessit cum Dominus Jesus ex Maria nasceretur? Si ordinem quærimus, viro mixta fœmina generare consuevit; Liquet igitur quod præter naturæ ordinem virgo generavit: et hoc quod conficimus corpus ex virgine est. Quid hic quæris naturæ ordinem in Christi corpore, cum præter naturam sit ipse Dominus Jesus partus ex Virgine? Vera utique caro Christi quæ crucifixa est, quæ sepulta est: Verè ergo illius sacramentum est. Clamat Dominus Jesus; Hoc est corpus meum. Ante benedictionem verborum cœlestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem corpus significatur. Ipse dicit sanguinem suum. Ante consecrationem aliud dicitur: post consecrationem sanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis, Amen, hoc est, verum est. Quod os loquitur, mens interna fateatur: quod sermo sonat, affectus sentiat." Amb. De Iis qui initiantur, etc. cap. 9. [The treatises of Ambrose here cited are generally considered spurious, or that they are much interpolated. See an excellent note in Mr. Jenkyns's edition of Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. page 326; also, Walchii Biblioth. Patrist. (Jenæ, 1834), p. 297.—Ed.]

(2) As Christ Jesus was conceived against the order of nature: so in the instituting of this sacrament the order of nature is not to be sought.

(3) "Panis iste panis est ante verba sacramentorum: ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit caro Christi. Hoc igitur adstruamus; quomodo potest qui panis est, corpus esse Christi? Consecratione? Consecratio igitur quibus verbis est, et cujus sermonibus? Domini Jesu. Nam ad reliqua omnia quæ dicuntur, laus Deo defertur, oratione petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro cæteris; ubi venitur ut conficiatur venerabile sacramentum, jam non suis sermonibus sacerdos utitur, sed sermonibus Christi. Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum. Quis sermo? Nempe is quo facta sunt omnia. Jussit Dominus et factum est cœlum; jussit Dominus et facta est terra; jussit Dominus et facta sunt maria, etc. Vides ergo quàm operatorius sit sermo Christi. Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini, ut inciperent esse quæ non erant, quanto magis operatorius est, ut sint quæ erant, et in aliud commutentur."

(4) But the Lord Jesus here used not such words of commanding in the sacrament, as in the creation: for we read not, "Fiat hoc corpus meum,' as we read, "Fiat lux," &c.

Mary A.D. 1554.

things which were, should be changed into another thing?' Ambrose saith, that the words are of strength to work."

Weston:—"You omit those words which follow, which make the sense of Ambrose plain: read them."

Young:[1]—"'Heaven was not, the sea was not, the earth was not: but hear him that said, He spake the word, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created. Therefore, to answer thee, it was not the body of Christ before consecration: but after the consecration I say to thee, that now it is the body of Christ.'"

Cranmer:—"All these things are common. I say, that God doth chiefly work in the sacraments."

Young:—"How doth he work?"

Cranmer:—"By his power, as he doth in baptism."

Young:—"Nay, by the word he changeth the bread into his body. This is the truth: acknowledge the truth; give place to the truth."

Cranmer:—"O glorious words! You are too full of words."

Young:—"Nay, O glorious truth!—You make no change at all."

Cranmer:—"Not so, but I make a great change; as, in them that are baptized, is there not a great change, when the child of the bondslave of the devil, is made the Son of God? So it is also in the sacrament of the supper, when he receiveth us into his protection and favour."

Young:—"If he work in the sacraments, he worketh in this sacrament."

Cranmer:—"God worketh in his faithful, not in the sacraments."

Weston:—"In the supper the words are directed to the bread; in baptism to the Spirit. He said not, the water is the Spirit, but of the bread he said, 'This is my body.'"

Cranmer:—"He called the Spirit a dove, when the Spirit descended in likeness of a dove."

Weston:—"He doth not call the Spirit a dove; but he saith, that he descended as a dove. He was seen in the likeness of a dove. As in baptism the words are directed to him that is baptized, so in the supper the words are directed unto the bread."

As the dove is called the Spirit, so the bread is called the body.

Cranmer:—"Nay it is written, 'Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending.'[2] He calleth that which descended, the Holy Spirit. And Augustine calleth the dove, the Spirit. Hear what Augustine saith in John i.[3] 'What meant he by the dove, that is, by the Holy Ghost? forsooth to teach, who sent him.'"

"Hear what Ambrose saith."

Young:—"He understandeth of the Spirit descending as a dove: the Spirit is invisible. If you mind to have the truth heard, let us proceed. Hear what Ambrose saith:[4] 'You see what a working power the word of Christ hath. Therefore, if there be so great power in the Lord's word, that those things which were not, begin to be, how much more of strength is it, to work that those things that were, should be changed into another thing?' And in the fifth chapter,[5] 'Before it is consecrated, it is bread: but, when the words of Christ come to it, it is the body of Christ.' But, hear what he saith more:[6] 'Take ye, eat ye; this is my body. Before the words of Christ, the cup is full of wine and water: when the words of Christ have wrought, there is made the blood of Christ which redeemed the people.' What can be more plain?"

Answer to Ambrose.

Cranmer:—"Nay, what can be less to the purpose? The words are of strength to work in this sacrament, as they are in baptism."

Pie:—"The words of Christ, as Ambrose saith, are of strength to work. What do they work?—Ambrose saith, 'They make the blood which redeemed the people.'"

(1) "Cœlum non erat, mare non erat, terra non erat. Sed audi dicentem, ipse dixit et facta sunt, ipse mandavit et creata sunt. Ergo tibi ut respondeam, non erat corpus Christi ante consecrationem: sed post consecrationem dico tibi quòd jam corpus Christi est." Amb. de Sacram. lib. iv. cap. 4.

(2) John i.

(3) "Quid voluit per columbam, id est, per Spiritum Sanctum? docere, qui miserat eum.'"

(4) "Vides quàm operatorius sit sermo Christi. Si ergo tanta vis in sermone Domini, &c., ut supra."—De Sacram. lib. iv. cap. 4.

(5) "Antequam consecretur, panis est: ubi autem verba Christi accesserint, corpus est Christi."—Idem, lib. iv. cap. 5.

(6) "Accipite, edite, etc.; hoc est corpus meum. Ante verba Christi, calix est vini et aquæ plenus: ubi verba Christi operata fuerint, ibi sanguis efficitur, qui redemit plebem." Idem, lib. iv cap. 5.

(a) Ἀλλοίωσις rerum et symbolorum

"Ergo, The natural blood is made."

Cranmer.—"The sacrament of his blood is made. The words make the blood to them that receive it: not that the blood is in the cup, but in the receiver."

Pie:—"There is made the blood which redeemed the people."

Cranmer:—"The blood is made; that is, the sacrament of the blood, by which he redeemed the people. Fit, 'it is made;' that is to say, 'ostenditur,' 'it is showed forth there.' And Ambrose saith, We receive in a similitude: 'As thou hast received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood.'"

Weston:—"He saith, 'in a similitude,' because it is ministered under another likeness.[1] And this is the argument:

"There is made the blood which redeemed the people.

"But the natural blood redeemed the people:

"Ergo, There is the natural blood of Christ.[2]

"You answer, that words make it blood to them that receive it; not that blood is in the cup, but because it is made blood to them that receive it. That all men may see how falsely you would avoid the fathers, hear what Ambrose saith in the sixth book and first chapter.[3] 'Peradventure thou wilt say, How be they true? I, who see the similitude, do not see the truth of the blood. First of all I told thee of the word of Christ, which so worketh, that it can change and turn kinds ordained by nature. Afterward, when the disciples could not abide the words of Christ, but hearing that he gave his flesh to eat, and his blood to drink, they departed. Only Peter said, Thou hast the words of eternal life; whither should I go from thee? Lest therefore more should say this thing, as though there should be a certain horror of blood, and yet the grace of redemption should remain: therefore, in a similitude thou receivest the sacrament, but indeed thou obtainest the grace and power of his nature.'"

Cranmer:—"These words of themselves are plain enough. [And he read this place again, 'Thou receivest the sacrament for a similitude.'] But what is that he saith, Thou receivest for a similitude? I think he understandeth the sacrament to be the similitude of his blood." Answer to Ambrose.

Chedsey:—"That you may understand that truth dissenteth not from truth, to overthrow that which you say of that similitude, hear what Ambrose saith, in his fourth book of Sacraments:[4] 'If the heavenly word did work in other things, doth it not work in the heavenly sacraments? Therefore thou hast learned, that of bread is made the body of Christ, and that wine and water is put into that cup; but, by consecration of the heavenly word, it is made blood. But thou wilt say peradventure, that the likeness of blood is not seen. But it hath a similitude. For as thou hast received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood;[5] so that there is no horror of blood, and yet it worketh the price of redemption. Therefore thou hast learned, that that which thou receivest is the body of Christ.'"

Cranmer:—"He speaketh of sacraments sacramentally. He calleth the sacraments by the names of the things; for he useth the signs for the things signified: and therefore the bread is not called bread, but his body, for the excellency and dignity of the thing signified by it. So doth Ambrose interpret himself, when Answer to the place of Ambrose.

(1) Mark how Weston expoundeth to eat in a similitude.

(2) If this syllogism be in the second figure (as by standing of the terms appeareth), then is it false, because it concludeth affirmatively.

(3) "Forte dicas, quomodo vera? qui similitudinem video, non video sanguinis veritatem. Primum omnium dixi tibi de sermone Christi, qui operatur, ut possit mutare et convertere genera instituta naturæ. Deinde ubi non tulerunt sermonem discipuli ejus, sed audientes, quòd carnem suam dedit manducari, et sanguinem suum dedit bibendum, recedebant; solus tamen Petrus dixit, Verba vitæ æternæ habes, et ego à te quò recedam? Ne igitur plures hoc dicerent, veluti quidam esset horror cruoris, sed maneret gratia redemptionis, ideo in similitudinem quidem accipis sacramentum, sed verè naturæ gratiam virtutemque consequeris."—Amb. lib. vi. cap. 1. de Sacramentis.

(4) "Si operatus est sermo cœlestis in aliis rebus, non operatur in sacramentis cœlestibus? Ergo didicisti quod è pane corpus fiat Christi, et quod vinum et aqua in calicem mittitur, sed fit sanguis consecratione verbi cœlestis. Sed forte dices, speciem sanguinis non videri. Sed habet similitudinem. Sicut enim mortis similitudinem sumpsisti, ita etiam similitudinem preciosi sanguinis bibis, ut nullus horror cruoris sit, et pretium tamen operetur redemptionis. Didicisti ergo, quia quod accipis corpus est Christi."—Amb. de Sacrament. lib. iv. [Erasmus questioned the genuineness of this commentary; and later writers have generally considered it spurious. See Ed. Bened. tom. ii. App. p. 21. Jenkyns, p. 59.—Ed.]

(5) Note, that Ambrose saith, we drink a similitude of Christ's blood.

Mary. he saith,[1] 'For a type or figure whereof we receive the mystical cup of his blood, for the safeguard of our bodies and souls.'"

A. D. 1554.

Chedsey:—"A type? He calleth not the blood of Christ a type or sign: but the blood of bulls and goats in that respect was a type or sign."

Cranmer:—"This is new learning; you shall never read this among the fathers."

Chedsey:—"But Ambrose saith so."

Cranmer:—"He calleth the bread and the cup a type or sign of the blood of Christ, and of his benefit."

Weston:—"Ambrose understandeth it for a type of his benefit; that is, of redemption: not of the blood of Christ, but of his passion. The cup is the type or sign of his death, seeing it is his blood."

Cranmer:—"He saith most plainly, that the cup is a type of Christ's blood."

Argument.

Da- *Chedsey:*—"As Christ is truly and really incarnate, so is he truly and really in the sacrament.

ri- "But Christ is really and truly incarnate:

i. "Ergo, The body of Christ is truly and really in the sacrament."

Cranmer:—"I deny the major."

Chedsey:—"I prove the major out of Justin, in his second Apology, *Ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.*"

Answer to the place of Justin.

Cranmer:—"This place hath been falsified by Marcus Constantius.[2] Justin meant nothing else but that the bread which nourishes us is called the body of Christ."

Chedsey:—"To the argument. As Christ is truly and naturally incarnate, etc. ut supra."

Cranmer:—"I deny your major."

Chedsey:—"The words of Justin are thus to be interpreted word for word:[3] As by the word of God, Jesus Christ our Saviour, being made flesh, had both flesh and blood for our salvation: so we are taught, that the meat consecrated[4] by the word of prayer, instituted of him, whereby our blood and flesh are nourished by communion,[5] is the flesh and blood of the same Jesus which was made flesh," etc.

Answer.

Cranmer:—"You have translated it well; but I deny your major. This is the sense of Justin: that the bread is called the body of Christ; and yet of that sanctified meat our bodies are nourished."

Chedsey:—"Nay, he saith, that of that sanctified meat both our bodies and souls are nourished."

Cranmer:—"He saith not so; but he saith that it nourisheth our flesh and blood: and how can that nourish the soul, that nourisheth the flesh and blood."[6]

Cole:—"It feedeth the body by the soul."

Cranmer:—"Speak uprightly. Can that which is received by the soul and spirit be called the meat of the body?"

Irenæus.

Weston:—"Hear then what Irenæus saith:[7] 'This, the same cup which is a creature, he confirmed to be his body, by which he increaseth our bodies. When both the cup mixed, and the bread broken, hath joined to it the word of

(1) In cujus typum nos calicem mysticum sanguinis ad tuitionem corporis et animæ nostræ percepimus.—Ambros. in 1 Cor. xi.

(2) "'Marcus Constantius' was the fictitious name under which Gardiner published his 'Confutatio Cavillationum,' etc. The following is his translation: 'Cibum illum, ex quo sanguis et carnes nostræ per mutationem nutriuntur, postquam per verbum precationis fuerit ab eodem benedictus, edocti sumus esse carnem et sanguinem illius Jesu, qui pro nobis fuit incarnatus.' Peter Martyr's complaint against it is, that the clause 'Ex quo, etc., nutritur,' is transposed, to avoid the inference which may be drawn from the original expression of Justin, 'that the bread and wine, *after* consecration as well as *before*, nourish our bodies by the ordinary process of digestion.'"—"Gardyner Confutat." object. 151. p. 151; Pet. Martyr, "De Eucharist." p. 311. Jenkyns, p. 60.—Ed.

(3) "Quemadmodum per verbum Dei caro factus Jesus Christus, Salvator noster, carnem habuit et sanguinem pro salute nostra: sic et cibum illum consecratum per sermonem precationis ab ipso institutæ, quo sanguis carnesque nostræ per communionem nutriuntur, ejusdem Jesu, qui caro factus est, carnem et sanguinem esse accepimus."

(4) Of thanksgiving. (5) Mutation. (6) *Αἷμα καὶ σάρκες*, i. e. blood and flesh.

(7) "Eum calicem, qui est creatura, suum corpus confirmavit, ex quo nostra auget corpora. Quando et mixtus calix, et fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi, ex quibus augetur, et consistit carnis nostræ substantia."

God, it is made the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, of which the substance of our flesh is increased and consisteth.'

"The substance of our flesh is increased by the body and blood of Christ:

"Ergo, Our body is nourished by the body and blood of Christ."

Cranmer:—"I deny your argument. He calleth it the flesh and blood, for the sacrament of the body and blood; as Tertullian also saith:[1] 'Our flesh is nourished with symbolical or sacramental bread; but our soul is nourished with the body of Christ.'" Irenæus answered by Tertullian.

Weston:—"Look what he saith more:[2] 'How do they say, that the flesh cannot receive the gift of God that is eternal life, which is nourished with the blood and body of Christ? That is in the fifth book, two leaves from the beginning.'"

Cranmer:—"The body is nourished both with the sacrament, and with the body of Christ: with the sacrament to a temporal life; with the body of Christ to eternal life."

Chedsey:—"I cannot but be sorry when I see such a manifest lie in your writings. For whereas you translate[3] Justin on this fashion; that the bread, water, and wine, are not so to be taken in this sacrament, as common meats and drinks are wont to be taken of us, but are meats chosen out peculiarly for this; namely, for the giving of thanks, and therefore be called of the Greeks 'eucharistia,' that is, thanksgiving—they are called moreover the blood and body of Christ (so have you translated it)—the words of Justin are thus: 'We are taught that the meat consecrated by the word of prayer, by the which our flesh and blood is nourished by communion, is the body and blood of the same Jesus who was made flesh.'"

Cranmer:—"I did not translate it word for word, but only I gave the meaning: and I go nothing from his meaning." Cranmer purgeth himself.

Harpsfield:—"You remember, touching Justin, to whom this apology was written; namely, to a heathen man. The heathen thought that the Christians came to the church to worship bread: Justin answereth, that we come not to common bread, but as to, etc., as is said afore. Weigh the place well; it is right worthy to be noted: 'Our flesh is nourished according to mutation.'"

Cranmer:—"We ought not to consider the bare bread, but whosoever cometh to the sacrament eateth the true body of Christ."[4]

Weston:—"You have corrupted Emissene;[5] for instead of 'cibis satiandus,' that is, 'to be filled with meat,' you have set 'cibis satiandus spiritualibus,' that is, 'to be filled with spiritual meats.'"

Cranmer:—"I have not corrupted it; for it is so in the decrees."

Weston:—"You have corrupted another place of Emissene; for you have omitted these words, 'Mirare cum reverendum altare cibis spiritualibus satiandus ascendis: sacrum Dei tui corpus et sanguinem fide respice, honorem mirare, merito contingе,' etc. 'Marvel thou when thou comest up to the reverend altar to be filled with spiritual meats: look in faith to the holy body and blood of thy God; marvel at his honour; worthily touch him.'"

Cranmer:—"This book hath not that."[6]

Weston:—"Also you have falsified this place by evil translating 'Honora corpus Dei tui,' i. e. 'Honour the body of thy God.' You have translated it, 'Honora eum qui est Deus tuus,' i. e. 'Honour him which is thy God.' Whereas Emissene hath not 'honour him,' but 'honour the body of thy God.'" Cranmer charged with false translating.

Cranmer:—"I have so translated him, and yet no less truly, than not without a weighty cause; else it should not have been without danger, if I had translated it thus: 'Honour the body of thy God;' because of certain that (according to the error of the Anthropomorphites) dreamed that God had a body." Purgeth himself.

(1) "Nutritur corpus pane symbolico, anima corpore Christi."

(2) "Quomodo carnem negant capacem esse donationis Dei quæ est vita æterna, quæ sanguine et corpore Christi nutritur? Lib. v., post duo folia à principio." Irenæus, lib. v.

(3) Note that the archbishop here did not translate the words of Justin, but only gather the effect of his meaning.

(4) In eating the sacrament, no bread is considered; but only the true body of Christ. Consecrat. dist. 2. "Quia."

(5) See Cranmer's translation of Emissene, vol. ii. p. 323; also the original, among the authorities in the Appendix: from a comparison of which it will appear that the charge of corruption was unfounded. See Jenkyns.—Ed.

(6) The original fully justifies Cranmer's assertion; it is strange that Weston, in the very act of charging another with false quotation, should himself be so audacious as to substitute "merito contingе" for "mente contingе." See Jenkyns.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

Weston:—"Nay, you most of all have brought the people into that error, who so long have taught that he sitteth at the right hand of God the Father; and counted me for a heretic, because I preached that God had no right hand. Then I will oppose you in the very articles of your faith.

"Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father.

"But God the Father hath no right hand:

"Ergo, Where is Christ now?"

Cranmer:—"I am not so ignorant a novice in the articles of my faith, but that I understand that to sit at the right hand of God, doth signify to be equal in the glory of the Father."

Argument.

Weston:—"Now then take this argument.

"Wheresoever God's authority is, there is Christ's body.

"But God's authority is in every place:

"Ergo, What letteth the body of Christ to be in every place.—Moreover you have also corrupted Duns."

Cranmer charged with mistranslating Duns.

Cranmer:—"That is a great offence, I promise you."

Weston:—"For you have omitted 'secundum apparentiam,'[1] i. e. 'as it appeareth:' whereas his words are these, 'Et si quæras quare voluit ecclesia eligere istum intellectum ita difficilem hujus articuli, cum verba Scripturæ possint salvari secundum intellectum facilem et veriorem, secundum apparentiam, de hoc articulo,' etc.: that is, 'If you demand why the church did choose this so hard an understanding of this article, whereas the words of Scripture may be salved after an easy and true understanding (as appeareth) of this article,'" etc.

Cranmer:—"It is not so."

Challenged for setting forth the Catechism, etc.

Weston:—"Also you have set forth a catechism[2] in the name of the synod of London, and yet there be fifty, who, witnessing that they were of the number of the convocation, never heard one word of this catechism."

Purgeth himself.

Cranmer:—"I was ignorant of the setting to of that title; and as soon as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it. Therefore, when I complained thereof to the council, it was answered me by them, that the book was so entitled, because it was set forth in the time of the convocation."

Weston:—"Moreover, you have in Duns translated 'in Romana ecclesia,' 'pro ecclesia catholica:' 'in the church of Rome,' 'for the catholic church.'"

Cranmer:—"Yea; but he meant the Romish church."

Charged with mistranslating Aquinas.

Weston:—"Moreover you have depraved St. Thomas, namely, where he hath these words:[3] 'Inasmuch as it is a sacrifice, it hath the power of satisfaction: but in satisfaction the affection of the offerer is more to be weighed, than the quantity of the oblation. Wherefore the Lord said, in Luke's gospel, of the widow which offered two mites, that she cast in more than they all. Therefore, although this oblation of the quantity of itself will suffice to satisfy for all pain, yet it is made satisfactory to them for whom it is offered, or to the offerers, according to the quantity of their devotion, and not for all the pain.' You have thus turned it:[4] 'That the sacrifice of the priest hath power of satisfaction,' etc. And therefore in this place you have chopped in this word, 'sacerdotis,' 'of the priest;' whereas, in the translation of all the New Testament, you have not set it but where Christ was put to death. And again, where St. Thomas hath 'pro omni pœna' 'for all pain,' your book omitteth many things there. Thus you see, brethren, the truth steadfast and invincible. You see, also, the craft and deceit of heretics. The truth may be pressed, but it cannot be oppressed: therefore cry altogether, 'Vincit veritas,' i. e. 'The truth overcometh.'"

Weston triumpheth before the victory.

This disordered disputation sometimes in Latin, sometimes in English, continued almost till two of the clock. Which being

(1) This is not true; but the accuracy of his translation is rather doubtful. See Jenkyns, note, page 64.—Ed.

(2) See a note of Jenkyns upon this subject.—Ed.

(3) "In quantum vero est sacrificium, habet vim satisfactivam: sed in satisfactione attenditur magis affectio offerentis, quàm quantitas oblationis. Unde Dominus dicit apud Lucam de vidua quæ obtulit duo æra, quod plus omnibus misit. Quamvis ergo hæc oblatio ex sui quantitate sufficiet ad satisfaciendum pro omni pœna: tamen fit satisfactoria illis pro quibus offertur, vel etiam offerentibus, secundum quantitatem suæ devotionis, et non pro tota pœna."

(4) "Quod sacrificium sacerdotis habet vim satisfacitvam," etc.

finished, and the arguments written and delivered to the hands of master Say, the prisoner was had away by the mayor, and the doctors dined together at the University college.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

DISPUTATION AT OXFORD BETWEEN DR. SMITH, WITH HIS OTHER COLLEAGUES AND DOCTORS, AND BISHOP RIDLEY.

The next day following, which was the 12th of April, was brought forth Dr. Ridley to dispute; against whom was set Dr. Smith to be principal opponent. Touching which Dr. Smith, forsomuch as mention here happeneth of his name, first the reader is to be advertised what is to be attributed to his judgment in religion, who so oftentimes before had turned and returned to and fro, grounded (as it seemeth) upon no firm conscience of doctrine, as both by his articles by him recanted may appear, and also by his own letter sent a little before in king Edward's days to the archbishop of Canterbury from Scotland. Which letter I thought here to exhibit as a certain preface before his own arguments, or rather as a testimony against himself, whereby the reader may understand how devoutly he magnified them and their doctrine a little before, against whom he now disputeth so busily. Read I beseech thee his epistle and judge.

Smith set to dispute against Ridley.

The true Copy of a certain Epistle of Dr. Richard Smith to Dr. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, declaring his Affection to the setting-forth of God's sincere Word.

Most honourable, I commend me unto your lordship, doing the same to understand, that I wrote letters to your grace in January last and the 10th day of February, declaring the causes of my sudden and unadvised departing from your grace over the sea; and desiring your good lordship, of your charity toward them that repent of their ill acts, to forgive me yourself all the wrong I did towards your grace, and to obtain in writing the king's majesty's pardon for me in all points concerning his laws: upon the receipt whereof I would return again home, and, within half a year (at the uttermost) afterward, write "De Sacerdotum Connubiis," etc. a Latin book that should be a just satisfaction for any thing that I have written against the same. Reliquaque omnia dogmata vestra tum demum libentur amplexurum, ubi Deus mentem meam [ita persuadeat] ut ea citra conscientiæ læsionem agnoscam, doceamque. I wrote not this that I want any good living here, but because mine absence out of the realm, is dishonour to the king's highness and realm, and because I must needs (if I tarry here a quarter of a year longer) write an answer to your grace's book of the sacrament, and also a book of common places against all the doctrine set forth by the king's majesty, which I cannot do with a good conscience. Wherefore I beseech your grace help me home, as soon as you may conveniently, for God's sake; and ye shall never, I trust in God, repent that fact.

Dr. Smith purposing to write for the marriage of priests.

Ex urbe divi Andreæ. 14. Feb.

Rich. Smitheus.

And thus much touching the forenamed Dr. Richard Smith, being set here (as is said) to dispute against bishop Ridley, who was brought now, the next day after the archbishop, to answer in the divinity school. Against whom also, besides Dr. Smith, disputed Dr. Weston, Dr. Tresham, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Glyn, Dr. Seton, and Dr. Cole, master Ward, master Harpsfield, Dr. Watson, master Pie, master Harding, master Curton, master Fecknam: to all them he answered very learnedly. He made a preface to these questions, but they would not let him go forth in it, but caused him to make an end of the same, and said it was blasphemy. And some said, he drave off

Disputers against Ridley.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

the time in ambiguous things, nothing to the purpose; and so they would not suffer him to say his mind. Dr. Smith could get nothing at his hand; insomuch that others did take his arguments and prosecuted them. He showed himself to be learned, and a great clerk. They could bring nothing, but he knew it as well as they.

The Disputation beginneth.

Weston the prolocutor:—"Good christian people and brethren, we have begun this day our school, by God's good speed I trust; and are entering into a controversy, whereof no question ought to be moved, concerning the verity of the body of our Lord Jesu Christ in the eucharist. Christ is true, who said the words. The words are true which he spake, yea, truth itself that cannot fail. Let us therefore pray unto God to send down unto us his holy Spirit, which is the true interpreter of his word; which may purge away errors, and give light, that verity may appear. Let us also ask leave and liberty of the church, to permit the truth received to be called this day in question, without any prejudice to the same. Your parts thereof shall be to implore the assistance of Almighty God, to pray for the prosperity of the queen's majesty, and to give us quiet and attentive ears. Now go to your question."

The questions.

Dr. Smith:—"This day, right learned master doctor, three questions are propounded, whereof no controversy among Christians ought to be moved, to wit;

"First, Whether the natural body of Christ our Saviour, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and offered for man's redemption upon the cross, is verily and really in the sacrament by virtue of God's word spoken by the priests, etc.

"Secondly, Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, be any other substance, etc.

"Thirdly, Whether in the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory, etc.

"Touching the which questions, although you have publicly and apertly professed your judgment and opinion on Saturday last; yet being not satisfied with that your answer, I will essay again to demand your sentence in the first question—whether the true body of Christ, after the words pronounced, be really in the eucharist, or else only the figure. In which matter I stand here now to hear your answer."

(The Preface or Protestation of Dr. Ridley before his Disputation.)

"I received of you the other day, right worshipful master prolocutor, and ye my reverend masters, commissioners from the queen's majesty and her honourable council, three propositions; whereunto ye commanded me to prepare against this day, what I thought good to answer concerning the same.

"Now, whilst I weighed with myself how great a charge of the Lord's flock was of late committed unto me, for the which I am certain I must once render an account to my Lord God (and that how soon, he knoweth), and that moreover, by the commandment of the apostle Peter, I ought to be ready alway to give a reason of the hope that is in me with meekness and reverence, unto every one that shall demand the same: besides this, considering my duty to the church of Christ, and to your worships, being commissioners by public authority; I determined with myself to obey your commandment, and so openly to declare unto you my mind touching the aforesaid propositions. And albeit plainly to confess unto you the truth in these things which ye now demand of me, I have thought otherwise in times past than now I do, yet (God I call to record unto my soul, I lie not) I have not altered my judgment, as now it is, either by constraint of any man or laws, either for the dread of any dangers of this world, either for any hope of commodity; but only for the love of the truth revealed unto me by the grace of God (as I am undoubtedly persuaded) in his holy word, and in the reading of the ancient fathers.

What moved Ridley to alter his judgment from the church of Rome.

"These things I do rather recite at this present, because it may happen to some of you hereafter, as in times past it hath done to me: I mean, if ye think otherwise of the matters propounded in these propositions than I now do, God may open them unto you in time to come.

"But howsoever it shall be, I will in few words do that, which I think ye all look I should do; that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my judgment herein. Howbeit of this I would ye were not ignorant, that I will not indeed wittingly and willingly speak in any point against God's word, or dissent in any one jot from the same, or from the rules of faith, or christian religion: which rules that same most sacred word of God prescribeth to the church of Christ, whereunto I now and for ever submit myself, and all my doings. And because the matter I have now taken in hand is weighty, and ye all well know how unready I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lack of time, as also lack of books: therefore here I protest, that I will publicly this day require of you, that it may be lawful for me, concerning all mine answers, explications, and confirmations, to add or diminish whatsoever shall seem hereafter more convenient and meet for the purpose, through more sound judgment, better deliberation, and more exact trial of every particular thing. Having now, by the way of preface and protestation, spoken these few words, I will come to the answer of the propositions propounded unto me, and so to the most brief explication and confirmation of mine answers."

Ridley submitteth himself to the church of Christ.

Weston:—"Reverend master doctor, concerning the lack of books, there is no cause why you should complain. What books soever you will name, you shall have them;[1] and as concerning the judgment of your answers to be had of yourself with further deliberation, it shall, I say, be lawful for you, until Sunday next, to add unto them what you shall think good yourself. My mind is, that we should use short arguments, lest we should make an infinite process of the thing."

Ridley:—"There is another thing besides, which I would gladly obtain at your hands. I perceive that you have writers and notaries here present. By all likelihood our disputations shall be published: I beseech you for God's sake let me have liberty to speak my mind freely, and without interruption; not because I have determined to protract the time with a solemn preface, but lest it may appear that some be not satisfied. God wot I am no orator, nor have I learned rhetoric to set colours on the matter."

Weston:—"Among this whole company, it shall be permitted you to take two for your part."

Ridley:—"I will choose two, if there are any here with whom I were acquainted."

Weston:—"Here are two that master Cranmer had yesterday. Take them if it please you."

Ridley:—"I am content with them; I trust they are honest men."[2]

The First Proposition.

In the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word spoken of the priest, the natural body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, and his natural blood are really present under the forms of bread and wine.

(The Answer of Dr. Ridley.)

Ridley:—"In matters appertaining to God we may not speak according to the sense of man, nor of the world: therefore this proposition or conclusion is framed after another manner of phrase or kind of speech than the Scripture useth. Again, it is very obscure and dark, by means of sundry words of doubtful signification. And being taken in the sense which the schoolmen teach, and at this time the church of Rome doth defend, it is false and erroneous, and plain contrary to the doctrine which is according to godliness."

The proposition put forth in dark terms.

(The Explication.)

Ridley:—"How far the diversity and newness of the phrase, in all this first proposition, is from the phrase of the holy Scripture, and that in every part almost, it is so plain and evident to any that is but meanly exercised in holy writ, that I need not now (especially in this company of learned men), to spend any time therein, except the same shall be required of me hereafter.

First doubt.

"First, there is a double sense in these words 'by virtue of God's word' for

(1) This promise was not kept.

(2) These two notaries were master Jewel, sometime bishop of Salisbury, and master Gilbert Mounson.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

it is doubtful what word of God this is; whether it be that which is read in the evangelists, or in Paul, or any other. And if it be that which is in the evangelists, or in St. Paul, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be known to be God's word, and of such virtue that it should be able to work so great a matter.

Second doubt.

"Again there is a doubt of these words 'of the priest,' whether no man may be called a priest, but he which hath authority to make a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and how it may be proved that this authority was committed of God to any man, but to Christ alone.

Third doubt.

"It is likewise doubted, after what order the sacrificing priest shall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or else after the order of Melchizedek. For as far as I know, the holy Scripture doth allow no more."

Weston:—"Let this be sufficient."

Ridley:—"If we lack time at this present, there is time enough hereafter."

Weston:—"These are but evasions or starting holes: you consume the time in vain."

Ridley:—"I cannot start far from you: I am captive and bound."

Weston:—"Fall to it, my masters."

Smith:—"That which you have spoken, may suffice at this present."

Ridley:—"Let me alone, I pray you; for I have not much to say behind."

Weston:—"Go forward."

Fourth doubt.

Ridley:—"Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word 'really,' whether it be taken as the logicians term it, 'transcendenter;' that is, most generally: and so it may signify any manner of thing which belongeth to the body of Christ, by any means: after which sort we also grant Christ's body to be really in the sacrament of the Lord's supper (as in disputation, if occasion be given shall be declared), or whether it be taken to signify the very same thing, having body, life, and soul, which was assumed and taken of the word of God, into the unity of person. In which sense, since the body of Christ is really in heaven, because of the true manner of his body, it may not be said to be here in the earth.

Fifth doubt.

"There is yet a further doubtfulness in these words, 'under the forms of bread and wine,' whether the forms be there taken to signify the only accidental and outward shows of bread and wine; or therewithal the substantial natures thereof, which are to be seen by their qualities, and perceived by exterior senses. Now the error and falseness of the proposition after the sense of the Roman church and schoolmen, may hereby appear, in that they affirm the bread to be transubstantiated and changed into the flesh assumed of the word of God, and that (as they say) by virtue of the word, which they have devised by a certain number of words, and cannot be found in any of the evangelists, or in Paul; and so they gather that Christ's body is really contained in the sacrament of the altar. Which position is grounded upon the foundation of the transubstantiation; which foundation is monstrous, against reason, and destroyeth the analogy or proportion of the sacraments: and therefore this proposition also, which is builded upon this rotten foundation, is false, erroneous, and to be counted as a detestable heresy of the sacramentaries."

The proposition erroneous after the sense of the Romish church.

Transubstantiation not founded in Scripture.

Weston:—"We lose time."

Ridley:—"You shall have time enough."

Weston:—"Fall to reasoning. You shall have some other day for this matter."

Ridley:—"I have no more to say concerning my explication. If you will give me leave, and let me alone, I will but speak a word or two for my confirmation."

Weston:—"Go to; say on."

(The Confirmation of the aforesaid Answer.)

Argument

Fes- *Ridley*:—"There ought no doctrine to be established in the church of God, which dissenteth from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and draweth with it many absurdities that cannot be avoided.

ti- "But this doctrine of the first proposition is such:

no. "Ergo, It ought not to be established and maintained in the church of God.

"The major or first part of my argument is plain, and the minor or second part is proved thus:

"This doctrine maintaineth a real, corporal, and carnal presence of Christ's flesh, assumed and taken of the word, to be in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that not by virtue and grace only, but also by the whole essence and substance of the body and flesh of Christ.

The real presence disagreeth from Scripture.

"But such a presence disagreeth from God's word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many absurdities:

"Ergo, The second part is true.

"The first part of this argument is manifest, and the second may yet further be confirmed thus:"—

Weston again interrupteth Ridley.

Weston:—"Thus you consume time, which might be better bestowed on other matters. Master opponent, I pray you to your arguments."

Smith:—"I will here reason with you upon transubstantiation, which you say is contrary to the rule and analogy of faith; the contrary whereof I prove by the Scriptures and the doctors. But before I enter argumentation with you, I demand first, whether in John vi., there be any mention made of the sacrament, or of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament?"

Ridley:—"It is against reason, that I should be impeached to prosecute that which I have to speak in this assembly; being not so long, but that it may be comprehended in few words."

Weston:—"Let him read on."

Seven inconveniences come of the real presence.

Ridley:—"First of all, this presence is contrary to many places of the holy Scripture.

"Secondly, it varieth from the articles of the faith.

"Thirdly, it destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lord's supper.

"Fourthly, it maketh precious things common to profane and ungodly persons; for it casteth that which is holy unto dogs, and pearls unto swine.

"Fifthly, it forceth men to maintain many monstrous miracles without necessity and authority of God's word.

"Sixthly, it giveth occasion to the heretics who erred concerning the two natures in Christ, to defend their heresies thereby.

"Seventhly, it falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers; it falsifieth also the catholic faith of the church, which the apostles taught, the martyrs confirmed, and the faithful (as one of the fathers saith) do retain and keep until this day. Wherefore the second part of mine argument is true."

(The Probation of the antecedent or former part of this Argument by the parts thereof.)

The seven inconveniences declared by parts.

"This carnal presence is contrary to the word of God, as appeareth, thus:— 'I tell you the truth. It is profitable for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter shall not come unto you.'[1] 'Whom the heavens must receive until the time of restoring of all things which God hath spoken.'[2] 'The children of the bridegroom cannot mourn so long as the bridegroom is with them: but now is the time of mourning.'[3] 'But I will see you again, and your hearts shall rejoice.'[4] 'I will come again and take you to myself.'[5] 'If they shall say unto you, Behold here is Christ, or there is Christ, believe them not: for wheresoever the dead carcase is, thither the eagles will resort.'[6]

1. The real presence against the Scripture.

2. Against the articles of the faith.

"It varieth from the articles of the faith: 'He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, from whence (and not from any other place saith St. Augustine), he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead.'

3. It destroyeth the institution of the Lord's supper.

"It destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lord's supper, which was commanded only to be used and continued until the Lord himself should come. If, therefore, he be now really present in the body of his flesh, then must the supper cease: for a remembrance is not of a thing present, but of a thing past and absent. And there is a difference between remembrance and presence, and, as one of the fathers saith, 'A figure is in vain where the thing figured is present.'

4. It profaneth, etc.

"It maketh precious things common to profane and ungodly persons, and constraineth men to confess many absurdities. For it affirmeth, that whoremongers

(1) John xvi. (2) Acts iii. (3) Matt. ix.
(4) John xvi. (5) John xiv. (6) Matt. xxiv.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

and murderers, yea, and (as some of them hold opinion) the wicked and faithless mice, rats, and dogs also, may receive the very real and corporal body of the Lord, wherein the fulness of the Spirit of light and grace dwelleth: contrary to the manifest words of Christ in six places and sentences of John vi.

"It confirmeth also and maintaineth that beastly kind of cruelty of the 'Anthropophagi,' that is, the devourers of man's flesh: for it is a more cruel thing to devour a quick man, than to slay him."[1]

Pie:—"He requireth time to speak blasphemies. Leave your blasphemies."

Ridley:—"I had little thought to have had such reproachful words at your hands."

Weston:—"All is quiet. Go to your arguments, master doctor."

Ridley:—"I have not many things more to say.'

Weston:—"You utter blasphemies with a most impudent face: leave off, I say, and get you to the argument."

5. It maintaineth monstrous miracles without necessity.

Ridley:—"It forceth men to maintain many monstrous miracles, without any necessity and authority of God's word. For at the coming of this presence of the body and flesh of Christ, they thrust away the substance of bread, and affirm that the accidents remain without any subject; and, instead thereof, they place Christ's body without his qualities and the true manner of a body. And if the sacrament be reserved so long until it mould, and worms breed there, some say that the substance of bread miraculously returneth again, and some deny it.[2] Others affirm, the real body of Christ goeth down into the stomach of the receivers, and doth there abide so long only as they shall continue to be good. But another sort hold, that the body of Christ is carried into heaven, so soon as the forms of bread be bruised with the teeth. O works of miracles! Truly, and most truly, I see that fulfilled in these men, whereof St. Paul prophesied, 'Because they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe lies, and be all damned which have not believed the truth.'[3] This gross presence hath brought forth that fond fantasy of concomitance, whereby is broken at this day and abrogated the commandment of the Lord for distributing of the Lord's cup to the laity.[4]

6. It giveth occasion to heretics.

"It giveth occasion to heretics to maintain and defend their errors; as to Marcion, who said that Christ had but a phantastical body; and to Eutiches, who wickedly confounded the two natures in Christ.

7. It falsifieth the sayings of the old doctors.

"Finally, it falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers and the catholic faith of the church, which Vigilius, a martyr and grave writer, saith, was taught of the apostles, confirmed with the blood of martyrs, and was continually maintained by the faithful, until his time. By the sayings of the fathers, I mean of Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Emissene, Athanasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Jerome, Chrysostome, Augustine, Vigilius, Fulgentius, Bertram, and other most ancient fathers. All those places, as I am sure I have read making for my purpose, so am I well assured that I could show the same, if I might have the use of mine own books; which I will take on me to do, even upon the peril of my life, and loss of all that I may lose in this world.

The faith and confession of Ridley in affirming the true presence in the sacrament.

"But now, my brethren, think not, because I disallow that presence which the first proposition maintaineth (as a presence which I take to be forged, phantastical, and, beside the authority of God's word, perniciously brought into the church by the Romanists), that I therefore go about to take away the true presence of Christ's body in his supper rightly and duly ministered, which is grounded upon the word of God, and made more plain by the commentaries of the faithful fathers. They that think so of me, the Lord knoweth how far they are deceived. And to make the same evident unto you, I will in few words declare, what true presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the Lord's supper I hold and affirm, with the word of God and the ancient fathers.

St. Paul.

"I say and confess with the evangelist Luke, and with the apostle Paul, that the bread on the which thanks are given, is the body of Christ in the remembrance of him and his death, to be set forth perpetually of the faithful until his coming.

(1) The "Anthropophagi," are a kind of brutish people that feed on man's flesh.
(2) All the rest that followeth was not read, because the prolocutor made post-haste to the arguments.
(3) Thess. ii.
(4) By this device of concomitance, the papists imagine as much to be received under one kind as both.

"I say and confess, the bread which we break to be the communion and partaking of Christ's body, with the ancient and the faithful fathers.

"I say and believe that there is not only a signification of Christ's body set forth by the sacrament, but also that therewith is given to the godly and faithful the grace of Christ's body, that is, the food of life and immortality. And this I hold with Cyprian. Cyprian.

"I say also with St. Augustine, that we eat life and we drink life; with Emissene, that we feel the Lord to be present in grace; with Athanasius, that we receive celestial food, which cometh from above; the property of natural communion, with Hilary; the nature of flesh, and benediction which giveth life, in bread and wine, with Cyril; and with the same Cyril, the virtue of the very flesh of Christ, life and grace of his body, the property of the only begotten, that is to say, life; as he himself in plain words expoundeth it. Augustine. Emissene. Athanasius. Hilary. Cyril.

"I confess also with Basil, that we receive the mystical advent and coming of Christ, grace and the virtue of his very nature; the sacrament of his very flesh, with Ambrose; the body by grace, with Epiphanius; spiritual flesh, but not that which was crucified, with Jerome; grace flowing into a sacrifice, and the grace of the Spirit, with Chrysostome; grace and invisible verity, grace and society of the members of Christ's body, with Augustine. Basil. Ambrose. Epiphanius. Jerome. Chrysostome, etc.

"Finally, with Bertram (who was the last of all these) I confess that Christ's body is in the sacrament in this respect; namely (as he writeth), because there is in it the Spirit of Christ, that is, the power of the word of God, which not only feedeth the soul, but also cleanseth it. Out of these I suppose it may clearly appear unto all men, how far we are from that opinion, whereof some go about falsely to slander us to the world, saying, we teach that the godly and faithful should receive nothing else at the Lord's table, but a figure of the body of Christ." Bertram.

The Second Proposition.

After the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, neither any other substance, than the substance of God and man:

(The Answer of Dr. Ridley.)

Ridley:—"The second conclusion is manifestly false, directly against the word of God, the nature of the sacrament, and the most evident testimonies of the godly fathers; and it is the rotten foundation of the other two conclusions propounded by you, both of the first, and also of the third. I will not therefore now tarry upon any further explication of this answer, being contented with that which is already added afore, to the answer of the first proposition." Transubstantiation denied.

(The First Argument for the confirmation of this Answer.)

"It is very plain by the word of God, that Christ did give bread unto his disciples, and called it his body.

"But the substance of bread is another manner of substance than is the substance of Christ's body, God and man:

"Therefore, the conclusion is false.

"The second part of mine argument is plain, and the first is proved thus:

(The Second Argument.)

Datisi.

"That which Christ did take, on the which he gave thanks, and the which he brake, he gave to his disciples, and called it his body.

"But he took bread, gave thanks on bread, and brake bread:

"Ergo, The first part is true. And it is confirmed with the authorities of the fathers, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Jerome, Augustine, Theodoret, Cyril, Rabanus, and Bede: whose places I will take upon me to show most manifest in this behalf, if I may be suffered to have my books, as my request is.

"Bread is the body of Christ:

"Ergo, It is bread."

A tertio adjacente ad secundum adjacens cum verbi substantivi pura copula.[1]

(1) The rule of logic is this: "A propositione de tertio adjacente, ad eam quæ est de secundo cum verbo recto significante existentiam, valet consequentia affirmativè," etc.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

(The Third Argument.)

Ba- "As the bread of the Lord's table is Christ's natural body, so is it his mystical body.

ro- "But it is not Christ's mystical body by transubstantiation:

co. "Ergo; It is not his natural body by transubstantiation.

The major proved.

"The second part of my argument is plain, and the first is proved thus: As Christ, who is the verity, spake of the bread, 'This is my body which shall be betrayed for you,' speaking there of his natural body: even so Paul, moved with the same Spirit of truth, said, 'We, though we be many, yet are we all one bread and one body, which be partakers of one bread.'"[1]

(The Fourth Argument.)

The argument holdeth.

"We may no more believe bread to be transubstantiate into the body of Christ, than the wine into his blood.

"But the wine is not transubstantiate into his blood:

"Ergo, Neither is that bread, therefore, transubstantiate into his body.[2]

"The first part of this argument is manifest; and the second part is proved out of the authority of God's word, in Matthew and Mark, 'I will not drink of the fruit of the vine,' etc.[3] Now the fruit of the vine was wine, which Christ drank and gave to his disciples to drink. With this sentence agreeth plainly the place of Chrysostome on Matt. xx.: as Cyprian doth also, affirming that there is no blood, if wine be not in the cup."

Chrysostome. Cyprian.

(The Fifth Argument.)

Ba- "The words of Christ spoken upon the cup and upon the bread, have like effect and working.

ro- "But the words spoken upon the cup, have not virtue to transubstantiate:

co. "Ergo, It followeth, that the words spoken upon the bread, have no such virtue.[4]

"The second part of the argument is proved; because they would then transubstantiate the cup, or that which is in the cup, into the new testament. But neither of these things can be done, and very absurd it is to confess the same."

(The Sixth Argument.)

Da- "The circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy and proportion of the sacraments, and the testimony of the faithful fathers, ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the holy Scripture touching the sacrament.

ti- "But the words of the Lord's supper, the circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy of the sacraments, and the sayings of the fathers, do most effectually and plainly prove a figurative speech in the words of the Lord's supper:

si. "Ergo, A figurative sense and meaning is specially to be received in these words, 'This is my body.'

The circumstances and words of Scripture.

"The circumstances of the Scripture: 'Do this in remembrance of me.' 'As oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall show forth the Lord's death.' 'Let a man prove himself, and so eat of this bread, and drink of this cup.' 'They came together to break bread; and they continued in breaking of bread.' 'The bread which we break, etc.' 'For we being many, are all one bread and one body, etc.'

The analogy of the sacraments.

"The analogy of the sacraments is necessary: for if the sacraments had not some similitude or likeness of the things whereof they be sacraments, they could in no wise be sacraments. And this similitude in the sacrament of the Lord's supper is taken three manner of ways:

Analogy in three ways.

"The first consisteth in nourishing; as ye shall read in Rabanus, Cyprian, Augustine, Irenæus, and, most plainly, in Isidore out of Bertram.

"The second in the uniting and joining of many into one, as Cyprian teacheth.

"The third is a similitude of unlike things, where, like as the bread is turned into one body; so we, by the right use of this sacrament, are turned through faith into the body of Christ.

(1) 1 Cor. x. (2) "A destructione antecedentis, ad destructionem consequentis."
(3) Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv.
(4) This argument holdeth after the same rule as did the other before.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

"The sayings of the fathers declare it to be a figurative speech, as it appereth in Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostome,[1] Augustine, Ambrose, Basil, Gregory, Nazianzen, Hilary, and, most plainly of all, in Bertram. Moreover, the sayings and places of all the fathers, whose names I have before recited against the assertion of the first proposition, do quite overthrow transubstantiation: but of all other most evidently and plainly, Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostome (to Cæsarius the monk), Augustine (against Adamantus), Gelasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Chrysostome again one (Matthew xx.), Rabanus, Damascene, and Bertram.

The sayings for the figurative speech.

"Here, right worshipful master prolocutor and ye the rest of the commissioners, it may please you to understand, that I do not lean to these things only, which I have written in my former answers and confirmations, but that I have also, for the proof of that I have spoken, whatsoever Bertram, a man learned, of sound and upright judgment, and ever counted a catholic for these seven hundred years until this our age, hath written. His treatise, whosoever shall read and weigh, considering the time of the writer, his learning, godliness of life, the allegations of the ancient fathers, and his manifold and most grounded arguments, I cannot (doubtless) but much marvel, if he have any fear of God at all, how he can, with good conscience, speak against him in this matter of the sacrament. This Bertram was the first that pulled me by the ear, and that first brought me from the common error of the Romish church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiastical fathers in this matter. And this I protest before the face of God, who knoweth I lie not in the things I now speak."

Commendation of Bertram.

Ridley first brought to the knowledge of the sacrament by Bertram.

The Third Proposition.

In the mass is the lively sacrifice of the church, propitiable and available for the sins as well of quick as of the dead

(The Answer of Dr. Ridley.)

Ridley:—"I answer to this third proposition as I did to the first: and moreover I say, that being taken in such sense as the words seem to import, it is not only erroneous, but withal so much to the derogation and defacing of the death and passion of Christ, that I judge it may and ought most worthily to be counted wicked and blasphemous against the most precious blood of our Saviour Christ."

(The Explication.)

"Concerning the Romish mass which is used at this day, or the lively sacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the sins of the quick and the dead, the holy Scripture hath not so much as one syllable.

"There is ambiguity also in the name of mass: what it signifieth, and whether at this day there be any such indeed, as the ancient fathers used; seeing that now there be neither catechists nor 'pœnitentes' to be sent away.[2]

Doubts in the third proposition.

"Again, touching these words, 'the lively sacrifice of the church,' there is a doubt whether they are to be understood figuratively and sacramentally, for the sacrament of the lively sacrifice (after which sort we deny it not to be in the Lord's supper), or properly and without any figure: after the which manner there was but one only sacrifice, and that once offered, namely, upon the altar of the cross.

"Moreover, in these words 'as well as,' it may be doubted whether they be spoken in mockage; as men are wont to say in sport, of a foolish and ignorant person, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge—being apt indeed in neither of them both.

"There is also a doubt in the word 'propitiable,' whether it signify here, that which taketh away sin, or that which be made available for the taking away of sin; that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the active or in the passive signification.

(1) In Opere imperfecto.
(2) In the primitive church the newly instructed in the faith and unworthy, were put away from the communion.

Mary

A. D. 1554.

The falseness of the third proposition reproved. But one sacrifice in the Scripture.

"Now the falseness of the proposition, after the meaning of the schoolmen and the Romish church, and impiety in that sense which the words seem to import, is this: that they, leaning to the foundation of their fond transubstantiation, would make the quick and lively body of Christ's flesh (united and knit to the Divinity) to lie hid under the accidents, and outward shows of bread and wine; which is very false, as I have said afore: and they, building upon this foundation, do hold that the same body is offered unto God by the priest in his daily massings, to put away the sins of the quick and the dead; whereas, by the apostle to the Hebrews it is evident, that there is but one oblation, and one true and lively sacrifice of the church offered upon the altar of the cross, which was, is, and shall be for ever, the propitiation for the sins of the whole world: and where there is remission of the same, there is (saith the apostle) no more offering for sin."

(Arguments confirming his Answer.)

Celarent.
"No sacrifice ought to be done, but where the priest is meet to offer the same.[1]
"All other priests be unmeet to offer sacrifice propitiatory for sin, save only Christ:
"Ergo, No other priests ought to sacrifice for sin, but Christ alone.

"The second part of my argument is thus proved.

Ferison.
"No honour in God's church ought to be taken where a man is not called, as Aaron.
"It is a great honour in God's church to sacrifice for sin:
"Ergo, No man ought to sacrifice for sin, but only they which are called.
"But only Christ is called to that honour:
"Ergo, No other priest but Christ ought to sacrifice for sin. That no man is called to this degree of honour but Christ alone, it is evident; for there are but two only orders of priesthood allowed in the word of God: namely, the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchizedek.[2] But now the order of Aaron is come to an end, by reason that it was unprofitable and weak; and of the order of Melchizedek there is but one priest alone, even Christ the Lord, who hath a priesthood that cannot pass to any other."

(Another Argument.)

Baroco.
"That thing is in vain, and to no effect, where no necessity is, wherefore it is done.
"To offer up any more sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead there is no necessity, for Christ our Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all:
"Ergo, To do the same in the mass it is in vain."

(Another Argument.)

Ferio.
"After that eternal redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the same.[3]
"But Christ coming a high bishop, etc., found and obtained for us eternal redemption:
"Ergo, There needeth now no more daily oblation for the sins of the quick and the dead."[4]

(Another Argument.)

Camestres.
"All remission of sins cometh only by shedding of blood.
"In the mass there is no shedding of blood:
"Ergo, In the mass there is no remission of sins: and so it followeth also that there is no propitiatory sacrifice."

(Another Argument.)

"In the mass the passion of Christ is not in verity, but in a mystery representing the same: yea, even there where the Lord's supper is duly ministered.
"But where Christ suffereth not, there is he not offered in verity: for the

(1) Heb. v. (2) Heb. vii. (3) Heb. ix.
(4) Ab una causa veritatis ad præpositionem habentem illam causam valet consequentia.

apostle saith, 'Not that he might offer up himself often times (for then must he have suffered often times since the beginning of the world).[1] Now where Christ is not offered there is no propitiatory sacrifice:

Mary. A. D. 1554.

"Ergo, In the mass there is no propitiatory sacrifice: 'For Christ appeared once, in the latter end of the world, to put sin to flight by the offering up of himself. And as it is appointed to all men that they shall once die, and then cometh the judgment: even so Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many. And unto them that look for him, shall he appear again without sin unto salvation."

(Another Argument.)

Da- "Where there is any sacrifice that can make the comers thereunto perfect, there ought men to cease from offering any more expiatory and propitiatory sacrifices.

ri- "But in the new testament there is one only sacrifice now already long since offered, which is able to make the comers thereto perfect for ever:

i. "Ergo, In the new testament they ought to cease from offering any more propitiatory sacrifices."

(Sentences of the Scripture, alleged by Ridley, tending to the same end and purpose; out of which also may be gathered other manifest Arguments for more confirmation thereof.)

"'By the which will (saith the apostle) we are sanctified, by the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.'[2] And in the same place, 'But this man, after that he had offered one sacrifice for sin, sitteth for ever at the right hand of God,' etc. 'For with one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified;' and, 'By himself hath he purged our sins.'"

"I beseech you to mark these words 'by himself,' the which, well weighed, will without doubt cease all controversy. The apostle plainly denieth any other sacrifice to remain for him, that treadeth under his feet the blood of the testament, by the which he was made holy. Christ will not be crucified again, he will not his death to be had in derision."

"'He hath reconciled us in the body of his flesh.'"[3]

"Mark, I beseech you; he saith not, in the mystery of his body, but in the body of his flesh."

"'If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins; not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world.'[4]

"I know that all these places of the Scripture are avoided by two manner of subtle shifts: the one is by the distinction of the bloody and unbloody sacrifice, as though our unbloody sacrifice of the church were any other than the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, than a commemoration, a showing-forth, and a sacramental representation of that one only bloody sacrifice, offered up once for all. The other is, by depraving and wresting the sayings of the ancient fathers unto such a strange kind of sense as the fathers themselves indeed never meant. For what the meaning of the fathers was, it is evident by that which St. Augustine writeth in his epistle to Boniface, and in the eighty-third chapter of his ninth book against Faustus the Manichee, besides many other places; likewise by Eusebius, Emissene, Cyprian, Chrysostome, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others, who do wholly concord and agree together in this unity in the Lord; that the redemption, once made in verity for the salvation of man, continueth in full effect for ever, and worketh without ceasing unto the end of the world; that the sacrifice once offered cannot be consumed; that the Lord's death and passion is as effectual, the virtue of that blood once shed, as fresh at this day for the washing away of sins, as it was even the same day that it flowed out of the blessed side of our Saviour: and finally, that the whole substance of our sacrifice, which is frequented of the church in the Lord's supper, consisteth in prayers, praise, and giving of thanks, and in remembering and showing forth of that sacrifice once offered upon the altar of the cross; that the same might continually be had in reverence by mystery, which once only, and no more, was offered for the price of our redemption.

The popish distinction between bloody and unbloody sacrifice.

The papists maintain their sacrifice propitiatory, by the old doctors falsely wrested.

The whole substance of the sacrifice, wherein it consisteth.

(1) Heb. ix. (2) Heb. x. (3) Col. i (4) 1 John ii.

Mary.

A. D. 1554.

Ridley appealeth from the unjust sentence of his adversaries, to some other superior, competent judge.

Ridley, for lack of equal indifference, appealeth to almighty God.

"These are the things, right worshipful master prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners, which I could presently prepare to the answering of your three aforesaid propositions, being destitute of all help in this shortness of time, sudden warning, and want of books: wherefore I appeal to my first protestation, most humbly desiring the help of the same (as much as may be) to be granted unto me. And because ye have lately given most unjust and cruel sentence against me, I do here appeal (so far forth as I may) to a more indifferent and just censure and judgment of some other superior, competent, and lawful judge, and that according to the approved state of the church of England. Howbeit, I confess, that I am ignorant what that is, at this present, through the trouble and alteration of the state of the realm. But if this appeal may not be granted to me upon earth, then do I fly (even as to my only refuge and alone haven of health) to the sentence of the eternal judge, that is, of the almighty God; to whose most merciful justice towards us, and most just mercifulness, I do wholly commit myself and all my cause, nothing at all despairing of the defence of mine Advocate and alone Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom, with the everlasting Father, and the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier of us all, be now and for ever all honour and glory, Amen."

Albeit this learned bishop was not suffered to read all that is above prefixed before the disputations, yet because he had it then ready, and offered it up to the prolocutor after the disputations and sentence pronounced; I thought here the place not unmeet to annex the same together with the rest. Now let us hear the arguments and answers between Dr. Smith and him.

(Dr. Smith beginneth to oppose.)

Smith:—"You have occasioned me to go otherwise to work with you, than I had thought to have done. Me seemed you did, in your supposition, abuse the testimonies of Scripture concerning the ascension of Christ, to take away his presence in the sacrament; as though this were a strong argument to enforce your matter withal.

Argument.

"Christ did ascend into heaven: ergo, he is not in the sacrament.

"Now therefore I will go about to disprove this reason of yours.

"Christ's ascension is no let to his real presence in the sacrament: ergo, you are deceived, whereas you do ground yourself upon those places."

Answer.

Ridley:—"You import as though I had made a strong argument by Christ's going up into heaven. But howsoever mine argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only stay upon his ascension, but upon his ascension and his abiding there also."[1]

Smith:—"Christ's going up to heaven, and his abiding there, hinder not his real presence in the sacrament: ergo, you are deceived."

Ridley:—"Of Christ's real presence, there may be a double understanding. If you take the real presence of Christ according to the real and corporal substance which he took of the Virgin, that presence being in heaven, cannot be on the earth also. But, if you mean a real presence, 'secundum rem aliquam quæ ad corpus Christi pertinet;' i. e. according to something that appertaineth to Christ's body, certes the ascension and abiding in heaven are no let at all to that presence. Wherefore Christ's body, after that sort, is here present to us in the Lord's supper; by grace I say, as Epiphanius speaketh it."

Weston:—"I will cut off from henceforth all equivocation and doubt: for whensoever we speak of Christ's body, we mean that which he took of the Virgin."

Ridley:—"Christ's ascension and abiding in heaven cannot stand with his presence."

(1) The verity of Ridley's answer touching the real being of Christ in earth to be restrained by his ascending and abiding in heaven, standeth upon the necessity which we call "necessitas consequentiæ," by this demonstration.

Da- Every natural body must necessarily be continued in his peculiar and certain place.

ri- Christ's body is a natural body:

i. Ergo, Christ's body not to be in one certain place at once contained, it is impossible, according to the rule, "Omnes propositiones de impossibili et de necesse æquipollent dicto dissimiliter se habenti, et modo similiter."

Smith :—"Christ appeared corporally and really on the earth, for all his ascension and continual abode in heaven unto the day of doom: ergo, his ascension and abiding in heaven, is no let to his real presence in the sacrament."

Ridley :—"Master doctor, this argument is nothing worth. I do not so straitly tie Christ up in heaven, that he may not come into the earth at his pleasure: for when he will, he may come down from heaven, and be on the earth, as it liketh himself. Howbeit I do affirm, that it is not possible for him to be both in heaven and earth at one time."

Smith :—"Mark, I pray you, my masters, that be here diligently, what he answereth: First he saith, that the sitting of Christ at the right hand of his Father, is a let to the real presence of his body in the sacrament; and then, afterward, he flieth from it again."

Ridley :—"I would not have you think that I do imagine or dream upon any such manner of sitting, as these men here sit in the school."

Smith :—"Ergo, It is lawful for Christ, then, to be here present on the earth, when he will himself."

Ridley :—"Yea, when he will, it is lawful indeed."

Smith :—"Ergo, He, ascending into heaven, doth not restrain his real presence in the sacrament."

Ridley :—"I do not gainsay, but that it is lawful for him to appear on the earth when he will: but prove you that he will."[1]

Smith :—"Then your answer dependeth upon the will of Christ, I perceive: therefore I will join again with you in that short argument:

"Christ, albeit he doth alway abide in heaven after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth:

"Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and continual sitting at the right hand of his Father, he may be really and corporally in the sacrament."

Ridley :—"If the notaries should so record your argument as you have framed it, you, peradventure, would be ashamed of it hereafter."

Smith :—"Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally upon the earth:

"Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and abiding with his Father, he may be corporally in the sacrament."

Ridley :—"I grant the antecedent; but I deny the consequence."

Smith :—"Do you grant the antecedent?"

Ridley :—"Yea, I grant the antecedent. I am content to let you have so much: because I know that there be certain ancient fathers of that opinion. I am well content to let you use that proposition as true; and I will frame the argument for you.

"He was seen on earth after his ascension: ergo," etc.

Smith :—"Nay, nay, I will frame it myself.

"Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth, albeit he do abide in heaven continually:

"Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and continual abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally on the earth."

Ridley:—"Let us first agree about the continual sitting at the right hand of the Father."

Smith :—"Doth he so sit at the right hand of his Father, that he doth never forsake the same?"

Ridley :—"Nay, I do not bind Christ in heaven so straitly. I see you go about to beguile me with your equivocations. Such equivocations are to be distinguished. If you mean by his sitting in heaven, to reign with his Father, he may be both in heaven and also in earth. But if ye understand his sitting to be after a corporal manner of sitting, so is he always permanent in heaven. For Christ to be corporally here on earth, when corporally he is resident in heaven, is clean contrary to the holy Scriptures, as Austin saith:[2] 'The body of Christ is in heaven; but his truth is dispersed in every place.' Now if continually he abide in heaven after the manner of his corporal presence, then his

Christ cannot be both corporally here, and corporally also in heaven at one time.

(1) Christ's abode in heaven is no let for him to appear on earth when he will: but whether he will, that must be proved. Again, it is one thing to appear on earth, another still in the sacrament, and to be present the same time with his body in heaven, when he is bodily present in earth.

(2) "Corpus Christi est in cœlo, sed veritas ejus ubique diffusa est."

Mary. A. D. 1554.

perpetual abiding there, stoppeth or letteth that the same corporal presence of him cannot be in the sacrament."

Smith:—"In Acts iii. we read, that Christ shall sit perpetually at the right hand of God, unto the consummation of the world."

Weston:—"I perceive you are come here to this issue, whether the body of Christ may be together both in earth and in heaven. I will tell you that Christ, in very deed, is both in earth and in heaven together, and at one time, both one and the same natural Christ, after the verity and substance of his very body: ergo," etc.:—

Ridley:—"I deny the antecedent."

Weston:—"I prove it by two witnesses: First by Chrysostome:[1] 'Do we not offer every day? we do so indeed; but doing it for the remembrance of his death. And this offering is one, and not many. And how is it one, and not many, which was once offered in the holy place? This sacrifice is a pattern of that: the selfsame we always offer; not now as offering one lamb to-day, and another to-morrow, but always one and the same lamb. Wherefore here is but one sacrifice; for else by this means, seeing there be many sacrifices in many places, be there many Christs. Not so, but one Christ in all places, both perfect here and perfect there, one only body.' Now thus I argue:

Argument.

"We offer one thing at all times.

"There is one Christ in all places, both here complete, and there complete.

"Ergo, By Chrysostome, there is one body both in heaven and earth."

Answer.

Ridley:—"I remember the place well. These things make nothing against me."

Weston:—"One Christ is in all places; here full and there full."

Ridley:—"One Christ is in all places; but not one body in all places."

Weston:—"One body, saith Chrysostome."

Answer to Chrysostome.

Ridley:—"But not after the manner of bodily substance he is in all places, nor by circumscription of place. For 'hic' and 'illic,' 'here' and 'there,' in Chrysostome do assign no place; as Augustine saith,[2] 'The Lord is above, but the truth of the Lord is in all places.'"

Weston:—"You cannot so escape. He saith not the verity of Christ is one; but one Christ is in all places, both here and there."

Ridley:—"One sacrifice is in all places, because of the unity of him whom the sacrifice doth signify: not that the sacrifices be all one and the same."

Weston:—"Ergo, By your saying it is not Christ, but the sacrifice of Christ. But Chrysostome saith, 'One body and one Christ is there;' and not one sacrifice."

Sacrifice, why it is called one.

Ridley:—"I say, that both Christ and the sacrifice of Christ are there: Christ by his spirit, grace, and verity; the sacrifice by signification. Thus I grant[3] with Chrysostome, that there is one host or sacrifice, and not many. And this our host is called one, by reason of the unity of that one, which one only all our hosts do represent. That only host was never other but that which was once offered on the altar of the cross, of which host all our hosts are but sacramental examples.

How one Christ is offered in many places at once.

"And whereas you allege out of Chrysostome, that Christ is offered in many places at once (both here full Christ, and there full Christ), I grant it to be true; that is, that Christ is offered in many places at once, in a mystery and sacramentally, and that he is full Christ in all those places; but not after the corporal substance of our flesh which he took, but after the benediction which giveth life; and he is given to the godly receivers in bread and wine, as Cyril speaketh. Concerning the oblation of Christ, whereof Chrysostome here speaketh, he himself doth clearly show what he meaneth thereby, in saying by the way of correction, 'We always do the selfsame, howbeit by the recordation or remembrance of his sacrifice.'"

(1) "Nonnè per singulos dies offerimus? Offerimus quidem, sed recordationem facientes mortis ejus. Et una est hæc hostia, non multæ. Et quomodo una, et non multæ, quæ semel oblata est in sancto sanctorum? Hoc autem sacrificium exemplar est illius; id ipsum semper offerimus, nec nunc quidem alium agnum, crastina alium, sed semper eundem ipsum. Proinde unum est hoc sacrificium; alioqui hac ratione, quoniam in multis locis offertur, multi Christi sunt? Nequaquam, sed unus ubique est Christus; et hic plenus existens, et illic plenus, unum corpus." Chrys. Hom. 17, ad Hebræos.

(2) "Sursum est Dominus, sed ubique est veritas Domini."

(3) Out of Ridley's own writing.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

Weston:—"The second witness is Bernard, in a sermon that he made of the supper of the Lord, who saith:[1] 'How cometh this to us, most gentle Jesus, that we, silly worms, creeping on the face of the earth; that we, I say, which are but dust and ashes, may deserve to have thee present in our hands, and before our eyes, who, both together, full and whole, dost sit at the right hand of the Father; and who also, in the moment of one hour, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, art present, one and the selfsame, in many and divers places?'" Bernard.

Ridley:—"These words of Bernard make for you nothing at all. But I know that Bernard was in such a time, that in this matter he may worthily be suspected. He hath many good and fruitful sayings; as also in the same aforesaid place by you alleged: but yet he followed in an age, when the doctrine of the holy supper was sore perverted. Notwithstanding yet I will so expound him, rather than reject him, that he shall make nothing for you at all. He saith, that we have Christ in a mystery, in a sacrament, under a veil or cover; but hereafter, shall have him without veil or cover. In the mean time here now he saith, that the verity of Christ is everywhere: the verity of Christ is both here and there, and in all places." The time of Bernard. Bernard rather expounded than rejected.

Weston:—"What do you call verity? He saith not the verity of Christ, but the verity of the body of Christ."

Ridley:—"The verity of the body of Christ is the true faith of the body of Christ: after that verity he is with them which truly believe upon him." The verity of the body of Christ.

Weston:—"Christ is one and the same in divers places. I urge these words 'in diversis locis,' 'in divers places;' and yet I am not satisfied."

Smith:—"Christ was seen really and corporally on the earth after his ascension, and continually sitting at the right hand of the Father: ergo, the ascension and perpetual sitting in heaven hinder nothing, but that he may be really and corporally in the sacrament."

Ridley:—"If by perpetual sitting you mean the residence of his body in heaven, your reason containeth manifest contradiction."

Smith:—"These two have no contradiction in them at all, both to sit continually at his Father's right hand, and also to be seen here really in earth after his ascension. First, you will give me, that Christ sitteth in heaven at the right hand of his Father: for so it is written,[2] 'Heaven must needs receive him, unto the time of the restoring of all,' etc. Secondly, he was also seen of Paul here corporally on earth. Wherefore these two do import, as ye see, no contradiction."

Ridley:—"What letteth but that Christ, if it please him, and when it pleaseth him, may be in heaven and in earth, and appear to whom he will? and yet, notwithstanding, you have not yet proved that he will so do. And though Christ continually shall be resident in heaven unto the judgment, yet there may be some intermission, that notwithstanding. But this controversy, as I said, is amongst all the ancient doctors and writers. And that Christ hath been here seen, that they grant all: but whether then he being in earth or in heaven, that is doubtful." To be here and not here, importeth contradiction in respect of sundry times.

Smith:—"I will prove that he would appear in earth. He so would, and also did appear here in earth after his ascension: ergo," etc.

Ridley:—"He appeared, I grant; but how he appeared, whether then being in heaven or in earth, that is uncertain. So he appeared to Stephen, being then corporally sitting in heaven. For, speaking after the true manner of man's body, when he is in heaven, he is not the same time in earth; and when he is in earth, he is not the same time corporally in heaven."

Smith:—"Christ hath been both in heaven and in earth all at one time: ergo, you are deceived in denying that."

Ridley:—"I do not utterly deny Christ here to have been seen in earth. Of uncertain things I speak uncertainly."

Smith:—"He was seen of Paul, as being born before his time, after his ascending up to heaven.[3]

"But his vision was a corporal vision:

(1) "Unde hoc nobis, piissime Jesu, ut nos vermiculi, reptantes super faciem terræ, nos, inquam, qui pulvis et cinis sumus, te præsentem habere mereamur præ manibus, præ oculis, qui totus et integer sedes ad dextram Patris, qui etiam unius horæ momento, ab ortu solis usque ad occasum ab aquilone usque ad austrum præsto es, unus in multis, idem in diversis locis?"

(2) Acts v. (3) 1 Cor. xv.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

"Ergo, He was seen corporally upon the earth after his ascending into heaven."[1]

Ridley:—"He was seen really and corporally indeed: but whether being in heaven or earth, is a doubt: and of doubtful things we must judge doubtfully. Howbeit you must prove, that he was in heaven at the same time when he was corporally on earth."

Smith:—"I would know of you, whether this vision may enforce the resurrection of Christ."

Whether Paul saw Christ in heaven or in earth; all is one to prove his resurrection. Petitio principii.

Ridley:—"I account this a sound and firm argument to prove the resurrection. But whether they saw him in heaven or in earth, I am in doubt: and to say the truth, it maketh no great matter. Both ways the argument is of like strength: for whether he were seen in heaven, or whether he were seen on earth, either of both maketh sufficiently for the matter. Certain it is, he rose again: for he could not have been seen, unless he had risen again."

Smith:—"Paul saw him as he was here conversant on earth, and not out of heaven, as you affirm."

Ridley:—"You run to the beginning again: that you take for granted, which you should have proved."

Smith:—"You make delays for the nonce."

Ridley:—"Say not so, I pray you. Those that hear us be learned: they can tell both what you oppose, and what I answer well enough, I warrant you."

Argument.

Tresham:—"He was seen after such sort, as that he might be heard: ergo, he was corporally on the earth; or else how could he be heard?"

Answer.

Ridley:—"He that found the means for Stephen to behold him in heaven, even he could bring to pass well enough, that Paul might hear him out of heaven."

Argument.

Dati-si. *Smith*:—"As others saw him, so Paul saw him.
"Other did see him visibly and corporally on earth:
"Ergo, Paul saw him visibly and corporally on earth."

Answer.

Ridley:—"I grant he was seen visibly and corporally: but yet have you not proved that he was seen in earth."

Smith:—"He was seen of him as of others.
"But he was seen of others being on earth, and appeared visibly to them on earth:
"Ergo, He was seen of Paul on earth."

Ridley:—"Your controversy is about 'existens in terra,' that is, being on earth: If 'existere,' 'to be,' be referred as unto the place, I deny that Christ after that sort was on earth. But if it be referred as to the verity of the body, then I grant it. Moreover I say, that Christ was seen of men in earth after his ascension, it is certain: for he was seen of Stephen; he was seen also of Paul. But whether he descended unto the earth, or whether he, being in heaven, did reveal or manifest himself to Paul, when Paul was rapt into the third heaven, I know that some contend about it: and the Scripture, as far as I have read or heard, doth not determine it. Wherefore we cannot but judge uncertainly of those things which be uncertain."

Smith:—"We have Egesippus and Linus against you, which testify, that Christ appeared corporally on the earth to Peter after his ascension,[2] Peter, overcome with the requests and mournings of the people, which desired him to get him out of the city because of Nero's lying in wait for him, began without company to convey himself away from thence: and when he was come to the gate, he seeth Christ come to meet him, and worshipping him, he said, 'Master, whither walk you?' Christ answered, 'I am come again to be crucified.' Linus, writing of the passion of Peter, hath the selfsame story. St. Ambrose hath the same likewise, and also Abdias, scholar to the apostles, which saw Christ before his ascending into heaven. With what face, therefore, dare you affirm it to be a thing uncertain, which these men do manifestly witness to have been done?"

Linus. Ambrosius. Abdias.

Ridley:—"I said before, that the doctors in that matter did vary."

Smith:—"Do you think this story is not certain, being approved by so ancient and probable authority?"

Ridley:—"I do so think, because I take and esteem not their words for the words of Scripture. And though I did grant you that story to be certain, yet it maketh not against me."

Smith:—"Such things as be certain, and approved of them, you do reject as things uncertain."

(1) This argument holdeth rather "materia" than "ratione forma." (2) Lib. iii. cap. 3.

Ridley:—"The story of Linus is not of so great authority; although I am not ignorant that Eusebius so writeth also, in the Story of the Church.[1] And yet I account not these men's reports so sure as the canonical Scriptures. Albeit if, at any time, he had to any man appeared here on the earth after his ascension, that doth not disprove my saying. For I go not about to tie Christ up in fetters (as some do untruly report of us); but that he may be seen upon the earth according to his divine pleasure, whensoever it liketh him. But we affirm, that it is contrary to the nature of his manhood, and the true manner of his body, that he should be together and at one instant both in heaven and earth, according to his corporal substance. And the perpetual sitting at the right hand of the Father, may, I grant, be taken for the stability of Christ's kingdom, and his continual or everlasting equality with his Father in the glory of heaven."

The credit of Linus's story.

Smith:—"Now, whereas you boast that your faith is the very faith of the ancient church, I will show here that it is not so, but that it doth directly strive against the faith of the old fathers: I will bring in Chrysostome for this point.[2] 'Eliseus received the mantle, as a right great inheritance: for it was indeed a right excellent inheritance, and more precious than any gold beside. And the same was a double Elias: he was both Elias above, and Elias beneath. I know well you think that just man to be happy, and you would gladly be, every one of you, as he is. What will you then say, if I shall declare unto you a certain other thing, which all we that are endued with these holy mysteries do receive much more than that? Elias indeed left his mantle to his scholar: but the Son of God ascending did leave here his flesh unto us. Elias left it, putting off the same: but Christ both left it to us, and ascended also to heaven, having it with him."

Chrysostome.

Ridley:—"I grant that Christ did both; that is, both took up his flesh with him ascending up, and also did leave the same behind him with us, but after a divers manner and respect. For he took his flesh with him, after the true and corporal substance of his body and flesh: again, he left the same in mystery to the faithful in the supper, to be received after a spiritual communication, and by grace. Neither is the same received in the supper only, but also at other times, by hearing the gospel, and by faith. For, the 'bread,' which we break, is the communication of the body of Christ: and generally, 'Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you.'"[3]

Smith:—"Chrysostome saith:[4] 'O miracle, O good will of God! He that sitteth above, at the sacrifice time, is contained in the hands of men.' Or else as others have translated it, thus: 'O miracle, O the gentleness of God! he that sitteth above with the Father, is handled with the hands of all men at the very same moment of time, and doth himself deliver himself to them that are desirous to take him and embrace him.'"

Ridley:—"He that sitteth there, is there present in mystery, and by grace; and is holden of the godly, such as communicate him, not only sacramentally with the hand of the body, but much more wholesomely with the hand of the heart, and by inward drinking is received: but by the sacramental signification he is holden of all men."

Seton:—"Where is then the miracle, if he be only present through his grace and mystery only?"

Ridley:—"Yes, there is a miracle, good sir: Christ is not idle in his sacraments. Is not the miracle great, trow you, when bread, which is wont to sustain the body, becometh food to the soul? He that understandeth not that miracle, he understandeth not the force of that mystery. God grant we may every one of us understand his truth, and obey the same."

The miracle in the sacrament, wherein.

(1) This addition is taken out of the copy of Ridley's own writing.

(2) "Tanquam maximam hæreditatem, Elisæus melotem suscepit. Etenim verè maxima fuit hæreditas, omni auro pretiosior: et erat duplex Helias ille: et erat sursum Helias, et deorsum Helias. Novi quòd justum illum beatum putatis, et velletis quisque esse ut ille. Quid igitur, si vobis demonstravero quid aliud, quod illo multo majus omnes sacris mysteriis imbuti recipimus? Helias quidem melotem discipulo reliquit: Filius autem Dei ascendens suam nobis carnem dimisit. Sed Helias quidem exutus: Christus autem et nobis reliquit, et ipsam habens ascendit." Hom. 2, ad populum Antiochenum. [fol. 9, p. 40, tom. ii. Paris, 1834.—Ed.]

(3) Here, at this answer, great cartfulls of taunting, spiteful, and reproachful words were cast upon this good bishop.

(4) "O miraculum, O Dei benevolentiam! Qui sursum sedet tempore sacrificii, hominum manibus continetur." Or, as others have translated it, "O miraculum, O Dei benignitatem! Qui cum patre sursum, sedet, in illo ipso temporis articulo, omnium manibus pertractatur, ac se ipse tradit volentibus ipsum accipere et complecti!" Chrysost. de Dignitate Sacerdotii, lib. iii. [cap. iv.—Ed.]

Mary. A.D. 1554.

Smith:—"Chrysostome calleth it a miracle, that Christ sitteth at the right hand of God in heaven, and at the same time is held in the hands of men.—Not that he is handled with the hands of men—only in a mystery, and is with them through grace. Therefore while you deny that, you are altogether deceived, and stray far from the truth."

Harpsfield:—"The former place of Chrysostome is not to be let slip. Let me, before I begin, ask this one question of you. Is it not a great matter that Elias left his cloak or mantle, and the gift of prophecy to his scholar?"

Ridley:—"Yes, surely; it is a great matter."

Harpsfield:—"Did not Elias then leave great grace?"

Ridley:—"He did so."

Harpsfield:—"But Christ left a far greater grace than Elias: for he could not both leave his cloak and take it with him; Christ doth both in his flesh."

How Christ took up his body, and left it with us. The phrase of Chrysostome considered.

Ridley:—"I am well content to grant, that Christ left much greater things to us than Elias to Eliseus, albeit he be said to have left his double spirit with him: for that the strength and grace of the body of Christ, which Christ, ascending up here, left with us, is the only salvation and life of all them who shall be saved: which life Christ hath here left unto us, to be received by faith through the hearing of the word, and the right administration of the sacraments. This virtue and grace Chrysostome, after the phrase and manner of John the evangelist, calleth Christ's flesh."

Harpsfield:—"But Christ performed a greater matter. He carried up, and left behind. You understand not the comparison. The comparison is in this, That Elias left his mantle, and carried it not with him: Christ left his flesh behind him, and carried it with him also."[1]

Ridley:—"True it is, and I myself did affirm no less before. Now where you seem to speak many things, indeed you bring no new things at all. Let there be a comparison between grace and grace; then Christ gave the far greater grace, when he did insert or graft us into his flesh."

Harpsfield:—"If you will give me leave, I will ask you this question: If Chrysostome would have meant so, that Christ left his body in the eucharist, what plainer words think you, or more evident could he have used than these?"

Ridley:—"These things be not of so great force as they bear a great show outwardly. He might also have used grosser words if he had listed to have uttered his mind so grossly: for he was an eloquent man. Now he speaketh after the manner of other doctors, which of mystical matters speak mystically, and of sacraments sacramentally."

Harpsfield:—"The comparison lieth in this: That which was impossible to Elias, is possible with Christ."

Ridley:—"I grant it was possible to Christ, which was to the other impossible. Elias left his cloak: Christ both left his flesh and took it with him."

Harpsfield:—"Elias left behind him, and could not take with him: Christ both left behind him, and also took with him: except you will say the comparison here made to be nothing.'

Harpsfield answered.

Ridley:—"He took up his flesh with him to heaven, and left here the communion of his flesh in earth."

Weston:—"You understand in the first place his flesh for very true flesh; and in the second place for grace, and communion of his flesh; and why do you not understand it in the second place also, for his true flesh? I will make it evident how blockish and gross your answer is."[2]

Ridley:—"These be taunts and reproaches, not beseeming, as I think, the modesty of this school."

Weston:—"Elias left his cloak to his disciple: but the Son of God, going up to heaven, left his flesh. But Elias certainly left his cloak behind, and Christ likewise his flesh; and yet, ascending, he carried the same with him too. By which words we make this reason:

"Christ left his flesh to his disciples, and yet, for all that, he took the same up with him:

"Ergo, He is present here with us."

(1) Comparison between Elias's mantle and Christ's flesh: Elias took his mantle, and left neither mantle nor sacrament of his mantle behind him. Christ took his flesh, and left a sacrament of his flesh, which was more than Elias did: and yet the said Elias afterward cast down his mantle.

(2) "Quam sit stupida et crassa responsio tua."

Here Dr. Weston, crying to the people, said unto them, "Master doctor answereth it after this fashion: 'He carried his flesh into heaven, and he left here the communion of his flesh behind.' Assuredly the answer is too unlearned."

Weston speaketh in English.

Ridley:—"I am glad you speak in English. Surely, I wish that all the whole world might understand your reasons and my answers:[1] He left his flesh. This you understand of his flesh, and I understand the same of grace. He carried his flesh into heaven, and left behind the communion of his flesh unto us."

Weston:—"Ye judges,[2] what think you of this answer?"

Judges:—"It is ridiculous, and a very fond answer."

Ridley:—"Well, I take your words patiently, for Christ's cause."

Weston here citeth a place:[3] "We are sprinkled with the blood of Christ."

How we are sprinkled with Christ's blood.

Ridley:—"Master doctor, it is the same blood, but yet spiritually received. And indeed all the prophets were sprinkled with the same blood, but yet spiritually, I say, and by grace. And whatsoever they be that are not sprinkled with this blood, they cannot be partakers of the everlasting salvation."

Weston:—"Here I bring Bernard unto you again: 'Even from the west unto the east, from the north unto the south, there is one and the selfsame Christ in many and divers places.'"[4]

Answer to Bernard.

Ridley:—"The answer is soon made, that one Christ is here and in divers places: for God, according to his majesty, and according to his providence, as St. Austin saith, is everywhere with the godly, according to his indivisible and unspeakable grace. Or else, if ye would understand Bernard according to the corporal presence, how monstrous, or huge and giant-like a body would you then make Christ's body to be, which should reach even from north to south, from west to east."

Weston:—"Nay, nay, you make a monstrous answer, and unlearned."

Ridley falsely charged to set forth the catechism.

Ward:—"Before I come in with those reasons which I had purposed to bring against you, I am minded to come again to master doctor's argument, by which you, being brought into the briers, seemed to doubt of Christ's presence on the earth. To the proof of which matter I will bring nothing else, than that which was agreed upon in the catechism of the synod of London, set out not long ago by you."[5]

Ridley:—"Sir, I give you to wit, before you go any further, that I did set out no catechism."

Weston, in king Edward's days, subscribed.

Weston:—"Yes, you made me subscribe to it, when you were a bishop in your ruff."

Ridley:—"I compelled no man to subscribe."

Ward:—"Yes, by the rood, you are the very author of that heresy."

Ridley:—"I put forth no catechism."

Cole:—"Did you never consent to the setting-out of those things which you allowed?"

Ridley:—"I grant that I saw the book; but I deny that I wrote it. I perused it after it was made, and I noted many things for it: so I consented to the book. I was not the author of it."[6]

Judges:—"The catechism is so set forth, as though the whole Convocation-house had agreed to it. Cranmer said yesterday, that you made it."[7]

Ridley:—"I think surely, that he would not say so."

Ward:—"The catechism hath this clause: 'Si visibiliter et in terra.' 'If visibly and on the earth.'"

Ridley:—"I answer, that those articles were set out, I both witting and consenting to them. Mine own hand will testify the same, and master Cranmer put his hand to them likewise, and gave them to others afterward. Now, as for the place which you allege out of it, that may easily be expounded, and without any inconvenience."

Ward:—"Christ is the power and the virtue of his Father: ergo, he was not

(1) "Reliquit nobis carnem suam."
(2) But were these judges in king Edward's time?
(3) "Spargimur sanguine Christi."
(4) This he repeated in English to the people also.
(5) Here they returned again to Latin.
(6) Of this catechism read before.
(7) The judges give an untrue verdict: for Dr. Cranmer, meaning by the council, spake no word of Ridley.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

of so little strength, that he could not bring to pass whatsoever he would himself."[1]

Ridley:—"I grant."

Ward:—"Christ was the wisdom of the Father: ergo, that he spake, he spake wisely, and so as every man might understand; neither was it his mind to speak one thing instead of another."

Ridley:—"All this I grant."

Argument of the wisdom and truth of Christ.

Ward:—"Christ was likewise the very truth: ergo, he made and performed indeed that which he intended to make. And likewise it is, that he doth neither deceive, nor could be deceived, nor yet would go about to deceive others."

Weston:—"Hilary on Psal. cxviii. hath these words:[2] 'All God's words or sayings are true, and neither idly placed, nor unprofitably, but fiery, and wonderful fiery, without all doubtfulness of superfluous vanity; that there may be nothing thought to be there, which is not absolute and proper.'"

Ward:—"He is the truth of the Father: ergo, he can neither deceive, nor yet be deceived; especially, I mean, when he spake at his latter end, and made his testament."

Answer to Ward's argument.

Ridley:—"Christ is the very truth of the Father; and I perceive well to what scope you drive your reason. This is but a far-fetched compass of words. If that these words of Christ, 'This is my body,' which you mean, be rightly understood, they are most true."

Ward:—"He took, he brake, he gave, etc. What took he?"

Ridley:—"Bread: his body."

Ward:—"What brake he?"

Ridley:—"Bread."

Ward:—"What gave he?"

Ridley:—"Bread."

Ward:—"Gave he bread made of wheat, and material bread?"

Ridley:—"I know not whether he gave bread of wheat; but he gave true and material bread."

Ward:—"I will prove the contrary by Scriptures.

"He delivered to them that which he bade them take.

"But he bade not them take material bread, but his own body:

"Ergo, He gave not material bread, but his own body."[3]

Answer.

Ridley:—"I deny the minor. For he bade them take his body sacramentally in material bread: and after that sort it was both bread which he bade them take, because the substance was bread, and that it was also his body; because it was the sacrament of his body, for the sanctifying and the coming of the Holy Ghost, which is always assistant to those mysteries which were instituted of Christ, and lawfully administered."[4]

Harpsfield:—"What is he that so saith, 'By the coming unto of the Holy Spirit?'"

Ridley:—"I have Theophylact for mine author for this manner of speaking. And here I bring him, that ye may understand that phrase not to be mine, upon Matthew xxvi. Furthermore the said Theophylact, writing upon these words, 'This is my body,' showeth, that the body of the Lord is bread, which is sanctified on the altar.'"

Oglethorpe:—"That place of Theophylact maketh openly against you: for he saith in that place, that Christ said not, 'This is the figure of my body, but my body.' 'For,' saith he, 'by an unspeakable operation it is transformed, although it seem to us to be bread.'"

The words of Theophylact (who said not this is a figure of my body) answered.

Ridley:—"It is not a figure; that is to say, 'Non tantum est figura;' i.e. It is not only a figure of his body."

Weston:—"Where have you that word 'tantum,' 'only?'"

Ridley:—"It is not in that place, but he hath it in another; and Augustine doth so speak many times, and other doctors more."

Here Weston, repeating the words of Theophylact in English, said, "He saith, it is no figure, and you say, it *is* a figure." And the same Theophylact

(1) A possibili ad esse, non valet consequentia.

(2) "Vera omnia sunt, et neque otiosè, neque inutiliter constituta Dei verba, sed extra omnem ambiguitatem superfluæ inanitatis, ignita, et ignita vehementer, ne quid illic esse, quod non perfectum ac proprium sit, existimetur."

(3) This argument is not formal in the second figure

(4) Theophylact. in Matt. xxvi.

saith moreover, that the conversing or turning of the bread is made into the Lord's flesh.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

That which Christ gave, we do give.[1]
But that which he gave was not a figure of his body, but his body.
Ergo, we give no figure but his body.

Ridley:[2]—"I grant," quoth he, "the bread to be converted and turned into the flesh of Christ; but not by transubstantiation, but by a sacramental conversion or turning. 'It is transformed,' saith Theophylact, in the same place, 'by a mystical benediction, and by the accession or coming of the Holy Ghost unto the flesh of Christ.' He saith not, by expulsion or driving away the substance of bread, and by substituting or putting in its place the corporal substance of Christ's flesh. And whereas he saith, 'It is not a figure of the body,' we should understand that saying, as he himself doth elsewhere add 'only,' that is, it is no naked or bare figure *only*. For Christ is present in his mysteries; neither at any time, as Cyprian saith, doth the Divine Majesty absent himself from the divine mysteries."

Conversion, after what sort in the sacrament.

Weston:—"You put in 'only,' and that is one lie. And I tell you further: Peter Martyr was fain to deny the author, because the place was so plain against him. But mark his words, how he saith, 'It is no figure, but his flesh.'

Ridley:—"To take his words, and not his meaning, is to do injury to the author."

Harding:[3]—"No other doctor maketh more against you. For the word in Greek is μεταστοιχειοῦται; which is in Latin 'trans-elementatur,' that is, turned from one element into another. And showing the cause why it is in form of bread, he saith,[4] 'Because we are infirm, and abhor to eat the raw flesh, especially the flesh of man: therefore it appeareth bread, but it is flesh.'"

Ridley:—"That word hath not that strength which you seem to give it. You strain it overmuch, and yet it maketh not so much for your purpose. For the same author hath in another place, ἡμεῖς μεταστοιχείουμεθα, that is, 'We are trans-elemented, or transformed and changed, into the body of Christ:' and so by that word, in such meaning as you speak of, I could prove as well that we are transformed indeed into the very body of Christ."

The word μεταστοιχειοῦσθαι. Theophylact expounded.

Ward:—"Learned master doctor, thus you expound the place, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' i. e. 'This is my body,' that is, a figure of my body."

Ridley:—"Although I know there be that so expound it, yet that exposition is not full to express the whole."

Ward:—"My sheep hear my voice, and follow me.
"But all the sheep of Christ hear his voice, 'This is my body,' without a figure:
"Ergo, The voice of Christ here hath no figure."

Argument in the third figure.

Ridley:—"The sheep of Christ follow the voice of Christ, unless they be seduced and deceived through ignorance."

Ward:—"But the fathers took this place for no figurative speech."

Ridley:—"Yet they do all number this place among figurative and tropical speeches."

Ward:—"Justin Martyr, in his second Apology,[5] hath thus: οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν· ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς, ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι."

Justin Martyr.

"'Neque vero hæc pro pane potuve communi sumimus; imo quemadmodum verbo Dei Jesus Christus, Servator noster incarnatus, habuit pro salute nostra carnem et sanguinem: ita per orationem illius verbi consecratum hoc alimen-

(1) This argument is without perfect mood and form, having the minor negative in the second figure.

(2) As concerning the authority of Theophylact, what he thought and might have spoken of that author, Dr. Ridley did not then speak, nor could conveniently (as he himself afterward declared, reporting and writing with his own hand the disputations in the prison), because of the uproars and clamours, which were so great, and he of so many called upon, that he could not answer as he would, and what he thought, touching the authority of Theophylact, but answered simply to that which is brought out of that author on this sort.

(3) This Harding sat at the table among the notaries.

(4) "Quoniam infirmi sumus, et horremus crudas carnes commedere, maximè hominis carnem: ideo panis quidem apparet, sed caro est." Theoph. in vi. cap. Johan.

(5) In modern Editions, Apolog. i. fol. 66, p. 85. Venetiis, 1747.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

tum, quo sanguis et carnes nostræ per immutationem enutriuntur, ejusdem incarnati carnem et sanguinem esse sumus edocti.'

"This place Cranmer hath corrupted. Thus it is Englished; 'For we do not take this for common bread and drink, but like as Jesus Christ our Saviour, incarnate by the word of God, had flesh and blood for our salvation; even so we be taught the food wherewith our flesh and blood is nourished by alteration, when it is consecrated by the prayer of his word, to be the flesh and blood of the same Jesus incarnate.'

Cranmer charged with mistranslating a place of Justin.

"Dr. Cranmer hath thus translated it: 'Bread, water, and wine, are not to be taken as other common meats and drinks be, but they be ordained purposely to give thanks to God, and therefore be called Eucharistia, and be called the body and blood of Christ: and that it is lawful for none to eat and drink of them, but such as profess Christ, and live according to the same; and yet the same meat and drink is changed into our flesh and blood, and nourisheth our bodies.'"[1]

Ridley:—"O good master doctor, go sincerely to work: I know that place, and I know how it is used."

Ward here repeated the place again out of Justin, 'We are taught,' etc. as above.

Ridley:—"O what upright dealing is this! I have the selfsame place of Justin here copied out. You know yourself, who are skilful in Greek, how the words here be removed out of the right place; and that without any just cause."[2]

Ward:—"I stand still upon mine argument. What say you?"

Ridley:—"If you will, that I should answer to Justin, then you must hear. I have but one tongue, I cannot answer at once to you all."

Weston:—"Christ gave us his very and true flesh to be eaten:

"But he never gave it to be eaten but in his last supper, and in the sacrament of the altar:

"Ergo, there is the very true flesh of Christ."[3]

Ridley:—"If you speak of the very true flesh of Christ, after the substance of his flesh taken in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and not by grace and spiritually, I then do deny the first part of your reason. But if you understand it of the true flesh, after grace and spiritual communication, I then grant the first part, and deny the second. For he giveth unto us truly his flesh, to be eaten of all that believe in him: for he is the very and true meat of the soul, wherewith we are fed unto everlasting life, according to his saying, 'My flesh is meat indeed,' etc."

Ward:[4]—"'I have desired with my hearty desire to eat this paschal with you.' What paschal, I pray you, desired he to eat? If you stand in doubt, you have Tertullian against Marcion:[5] He, therefore, protesting a great desire to eat his paschal, (his own paschal I say, for it was not meet that he should desire any other than his own), taking bread and distributing it to his disciples, made it his body, saying, 'This is my body.' What say you? Did he understand by this paschal the Judaical lamb, or by that which afterward he gave in his supper?"

Ridley:—"I suppose that the first he understood of the Judaical passover, and afterward of the eucharist."

Argument.

Ward:—"Nay then Tertullian is against you, who saith:

Baro- 'He desired to eat his passover.

co- 'But the Judaical passover was not his, but strange from Christ:

'Ergo, He meant not of the Judaical passover.'"

Answer.

Ridley:—"The Judaical passover was not strange from Christ, but his own: insomuch as he is the Lord of all; and as well the Lord of the Judaical passover, as of his own supper."

(1) Read Cranmer's answer to this before.
(2) Sumptum ex exemplari Domini Ridlei descripto.
(3) In this argument if the minor be a negative, the form is false: if it be affirmative, æquipollenter, the major is to be denied.
(4) "Desiderio desideravi hoc pascha manducare vobiscum."
(5) "Professus itaque se concupiscentia concupiscere edere pascha suum (indignum enim ut alienum concupisceret Deus) acceptum panem et distributum discipulis suum corpus illum fecit; Hoc est corpus meum, dicendo, etc." Tertul. contra Marcion, lib. iv. [cap. 40.—Ed.]

Ward:—"What answer you then to Tertullian, who saith, 'He desired to eat his own passover,' and not the Jewish passover, which stood upon words without flesh?"

Ridley:—"Tertullian may here dally in sense analogical.[1] I know that Cyprian hath these words:[2] 'He began then to institute the holy eucharist, but both were Christ's.'"

Ward:—"Augustine on Psalm xcvi., writing upon these words, 'Adorate scabellum pedum ejus;' i. e. 'Worship his footstool,' etc.[3]: 'I ask,' saith he, 'what is the footstool of his feet; and the Scripture telleth me, The earth is the footstool of my feet. And so, in searching thereof, I turn myself to Christ, because I seek him here in the earth, and find how, without impiety, the footstool of his feet may be worshipped. For he took earth of earth, in that he is flesh of earth, and because of the flesh of Mary he took flesh, and because that in the same flesh here he walked; and also he gave the same flesh to us, to be eaten unto salvation. But no man eateth that flesh except he have worshipped before. And so it is found, how such a footstool of the feet of the Lord is to be worshipped, so that not only we sin not in worshipping, but also do sin in not worshipping the same.'

Da- "He gave to us his flesh to be eaten, the which he took of the earth, in which also here he walked, etc.

ti- "But he never gave his flesh to be eaten, but when he gave it at his supper, saying, 'This is my body:'

si- "Ergo, in the eucharist he gave us his flesh."[4]

Ridley:—"You do allege the place of Augustine upon Psalm xcviii., where he saith, that Christ gave his flesh to be eaten which he took of the earth, and in which here he walked; inferring hereupon that Christ never gave the same his flesh to be eaten, but only in the eucharist: I deny your minor; for he gave it both in the eucharist to be eaten, and also otherwise, as well in the word, as also upon the cross."

How Christ gave his flesh to be eaten, and when.

Smith:—"What if Augustine say, that Christ did not only give himself to us in a figure, but gave his own very flesh indeed and really?"

Ridley:—"I never said that Christ gave only a figure of his body; for indeed he gave himself in a real communication, that is, he gave his flesh after a communication of his flesh."

(Here Weston read the place of Augustine in English, and afterward said, "Ye say Christ gave not his body, but a figure of his body."

Ridley:—"I say not so: I say, he gave his own body verily; but he gave it by a real, effectual, and spiritual communication."

After this, Dr. Glyn began to reason, who (notwithstanding master Ridley had always taken him for his old friend) made a very contumelious preface against him. This preface master Ridley, therefore, did the more take to heart, because it proceeded from him. Howbeit he thought, that Dr. Glyn's mind was to serve the turn; for afterward he came to the house wherein master Ridley was kept, and, as far as master Ridley could call to remembrance, before Dr. Young and Dr. Oglethorpe he desired him to pardon his words. The which master Ridley did even from the very heart; and wished earnestly, that God would give not only to him, but unto all others, the true and evident knowledge of God's evangelical sincerity, that, all offences

Dr. Glyn, Bishop Ridley's old friend, desireth him of pardon. Ridley forgiveth Dr. Glyn.

(1) Analogical sense is that which hath a high and mystical understanding, that lieth abstruse and profound under the external letter."

(2) "Tunc instituit quidem eucharistiam, sed utrumque erat Christi."

(3) "Quæro, inquit, quid sit scabellum pedum ejus? Et dicit mihi Scriptura, Terra scabellum pedum meorum. Fluctuans converto me ad Christum, quia ipsum quæro hic, et invenio quomodo sine impietate adoretur scabellum pedum ejus. Suscepit enim de terra terram, quia caro de Terra est, et de carne Mariæ carnem accepit, et quia in ipsa carne hic ambulavit, et ipsam carnem nobis manducandam ad salutem dedit: nemo autem illam carnem manducat nisi prius adoraverit. Inventum est quo modo tale scabellum pedum Domini adoretur, ut non solum non peccemus adorando, sed peccemus non adorando ipsum," etc. August. in Psal. xcviii [Col. x. 65. tom. iv. Edict. Benedict.—Ed.

(4) If the minor of this argument (as is said before) be equipollent to affirmative, then it cometh next to the mood *Datisi*.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

put apart, they, being perfectly and fully reconciled, might agree and meet together in the house of the heavenly Father.

Glyn:—"I see that you elude or shift away all Scriptures and fathers: I will go to work with you after another sort:—Christ hath here his church known in earth, of which you were once a child, although now you speak contumeliously of the sacraments."

Ridley:—"This is a grievous contumely, that you call me a shifter-away of the Scripture, and of the doctors. As touching the sacraments, I never yet spake contumeliously of them. I grant that Christ hath here his church in earth; but that church did ever receive and acknowledge the eucharist to be a sacrament of the body of Christ, yet not the body of Christ really, but the body of Christ by grace."

Glyn:—"Then I ask this question: whether the catholic church hath ever or at any time been idolatrous?"

Ridley:—"The church is the pillar and stay of the truth, that never yet hath been idolatrous in respect of the whole; but, peradventure, in respect of some part thereof, which sometimes may be seduced by evil pastors, and through ignorance"

Glyn:—"That church ever hath worshipped the flesh of Christ in the eucharist.

"But the church hath never been idolatrous:

"Ergo, It hath alway judged the flesh of Christ to be in the eucharist."[1]

Ridley:—"And I also worship Christ in the sacrament, but not because he is included in the sacrament: like as I worship Christ also in the Scriptures, not because he is really included in them. Notwithstanding I say, that the body of Christ is present in the sacrament; but yet sacramentally and spiritually, (according to his grace) giving life, and in that respect really, that is, according to his benediction, giving life. Furthermore, I acknowledge gladly the true body of Christ to be in the Lord's supper, in such sort as the church of Christ (which is the spouse of Christ, and is taught of the Holy Ghost, and guided by God's word) doth acknowledge the same. But the true church of Christ doth acknowledge a presence of Christ's body in the Lord's supper to be communicated to the godly by grace, and spiritually, as I have often showed, and by a sacramental signification; but not by the corporal presence of the body of his flesh."

Glyn:—"Augustine against Faustus [saith,][2] 'Some there were which thought us, instead of bread and of the cup, to worship Ceres and Bacchus.' Upon this place I gather, that there was an adoration of the sacrament among the fathers; and Erasmus,[3] in an epistle to the brethren of Low Germany, saith, that the worshipping of the sacrament was before Augustine and Cyprian."

Ridley:—"We do handle the signs reverently: but we worship the sacrament as a sacrament, not as a thing signified by the sacrament."

Glyn:—"What is the symbol or sacrament?"

Ridley:—"Bread."

This word 'worship' distinguished.

Glyn:—"Ergo, We worship bread."

Ridley:—"There is a deceit in this word 'adoramus.' We worship the symbols, when reverently we handle them. We worship Christ wheresoever we perceive his benefits: but we understand his benefits to be greatest in the sacrament."

Glyn:—"So I may fall down before the bench here, and worship Christ; and if any man ask me what I do, I may answer, I worship Christ."

Ridley:—"We adore and worship Christ in the eucharist. And if you mean the external sacrament; I say, that also is to be worshipped as a sacrament."

Glyn:—"So was the faith of the primitive church."

Ridley:—"Would to God we would all follow the faith of that church."

Glyn:—"Think you that Christ hath now his church?"

Ridley:—"I do so."

Glyn:—"But all the church adoreth Christ verily and really in the sacrament."

(1) "This argument, having the minor a negative, neither is formable in the third figure, nor doth it conclude rightly, but should conclude thus: ergo, to worship the flesh of Christ in the eucharist is no idolatry."—Sumptum ab autographo Ridlei manu descripto.

(2) "Nonnulli propter panem et calicem, Cererem et Bacchum nos colere existimabant," etc. August. contra Faust. lib. xx. cap. 13. (3) Tom. ix. Operum, p. 1310. Basil. 1540.—Ed.

Ridley:—"You know yourself, that the eastern church would not acknowledge transubstantiation; as appeareth in the council of Florence."[1]

Cole:—"That is false: for in the same they did acknowledge transubstantiation; although they would not entreat of that matter, for that they had not in their commission so to do."

Ridley:—"Nay, they would determine nothing of that matter, when the article was propounded unto them."

Cole:—"It was not because they did not acknowledge the same, but because they had no commission so to do."

Curtop:—"Reverend sir, I will prove and declare, that the body of Christ is truly and really in the eucharist: and whereas the holy fathers, both of the west and east church, have written both many things and no less manifest of the same matter, yet will I bring forth only Chrysostome. The place is this:[2]

"That which is in the cup, is the same that flowed from the side of Christ.

"But true and pure blood did flow from the side of Christ:

"Ergo, His true and pure blood is in the cup."[3]

Ridley:—"It is his true blood which is in the chalice, I grant, and the same which sprang from the side of Christ. But how? It is blood indeed, but not after the same manner, after which manner it sprang from his side. For here is the blood, but by way of a sacrament.—Again I say, like as the bread of the sacrament and of thanksgiving is called the body of Christ given for us: so the cup of the Lord is called the blood which sprang from the side of Christ: but that sacramental bread is called the body, because it is the sacrament of his body. Even so likewise the cup is called the blood also, which flowed out of Christ's side, because it is the sacrament of that blood which flowed out of his side, instituted of the Lord himself for our singular commodity; namely, for our spiritual nourishment: like as baptism is ordained in water to spiritual regeneration."

Curtop:—"The sacrament of the blood is not the blood."

Ridley:—"The sacrament of the blood is the blood; and that is attributed to the sacrament, which is spoken of the thing of the sacrament."

(Here Weston repeateth Curtop's argument in English.)

Weston:[4]—"That which is in the chalice, is the same which flowed out of Christ's side.

"But there came out very blood:

"Ergo, There is very blood in the chalice."

Ridley:—"The blood of Christ is in the chalice indeed, but not in the real presence but by grace, and in a sacrament."

Weston:—"That is very well. Then we have blood in the chalice."

Ridley:—"It is true; but by grace, and in a sacrament."

(Here the people hissed at him.)

Ridley:—"O my masters! I take this for no judgment: I will stand to God's judgment."

Watson:—"Good sir, I have determined to have respect of the time, and to abstain from all those things which may hinder the entrance of our disceptation: and therefore first I ask this question: When Christ said in John vi.,[5] 'He that eateth my flesh,' etc., doth he signify in those words the eating of his true and natural flesh, or else of the bread and symbol?"

Ridley:—"I understand that place of the very flesh of Christ to be eaten, but spiritually: and further I say, that the sacrament also pertaineth unto the spiritual manducation: for without the spirit to eat the sacrament, is to eat it unprofitably; for whoso eateth not spiritually, he eateth his own condemnation."

Spiritual eating of the flesh of Christ.

Watson:—"I ask then, whether the eucharist be a sacrament?"

Ridley:—"The eucharist, taken for a sign or symbol, is a sacrament."

(1) This council of Florence was but of late years, in the time of the council of Basil. [It commenced its sittings at Florence in 1439, and continued them to 1442.—Ed.]

(2) Chrys. in cap. 10. Cor. 1. Hom. 24.

(3) The major should be thus: Whatsoever did flow from the side of Christ is in the cup, etc.: or else the argument being in the second figure is affirmative, and false.

(4) This argument concludeth not directly, and, being in the second figure affirmative, it is not formal.

(5) "Qui manducat carnem meam."

Mary. A. D. 1554.

Watson :—" Is it instituted of God?"

Ridley :—" It is instituted of God."

Watson :—" Where?"

Ridley :—" In the supper."

Watson :—" With what words is it made a sacrament?"

Ridley :—" By the words and deeds which Christ said and did, and commanded us to say and do the same."

Watson :—" It is a thing commonly received of all, that the sacraments of the new law give grace to them that worthily receive."

Ridley :—" True it is, that grace is given by the sacrament; but as by an instrument. The inward virtue and Christ give the grace through the sacrament."

Watson :—" What is a sacrament?"

Sacrament defined.

Ridley :—" I remember there be many definitions of a sacrament in Augustine: but I will take that which seemeth most fit to this present purpose. A sacrament is a visible sign of invisible grace."

Watson :—" Ergo, Grace is given to the receivers."

Ridley :—" The society or conjunction with Christ through the Holy Ghost is grace; and by the sacrament we are made the members of the mystical body of Christ, for that by the sacrament the part of the body is grafted in the head."

Watson :—" But there is difference between the mystical body, and natural body."

Ridley :—" There is, I grant you, a difference; but the head of them both is one."

Argument

Watson :—" The eucharist is a sacrament of the new testament:

" Ergo, It hath a promise of grace.

" But no promise of grace is made to bread and wine:

" Ergo, Bread and wine be not the sacraments of the new testament."[1]

Ridley :—" I grant that grace pertaineth to the eucharist, according to this saying, 'The bread which we break, is it not the communication or partaking of the body of Christ?' And like as he that eateth and he that drinketh unworthily the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, eateth and drinketh his own damnation: even so he that eateth and drinketh worthily, eateth life, and drinketh life.[2] I grant also that there is no promise made to bread and wine. But inasmuch as they are sanctified, and made the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, they have a promise of grace annexed unto them; namely, of spiritual partaking of the body of Christ to be communicated and given, not to the bread and wine, but to them which worthily do receive the sacrament."

Watson :—" If the substance of bread and wine do remain, then the society betwixt Christ and us is promised to them that take bread and wine.

" But that society is not promised to bread and wine, but to the receivers of the flesh and blood. 'Qui manducat,'[3] etc.

" Ergo, The substance of bread and wine remaineth not."

Ridley :—" The promise undoubtedly is made to the flesh and blood, but the same is to be received in the sacrament through faith."

Watson :—" Every sacrament hath a promise of grace annexed unto it: but bread and wine have not a promise of grace annexed unto them:

" Ergo, The bread and wine are not sacraments."

Sacraments have a promise of grace annexed, not absolutely, but instrumentally.

Ridley :—" True it is, every sacrament hath grace annexed unto it instrumentally. But there is divers understanding of this word 'habet,' 'hath:' for the sacrament hath not grace included in it; but to those that receive it well, it is turned to grace. After that manner the water in baptism hath grace promised, and by that grace the Holy Spirit is given: not that grace is included in water, but that grace cometh by water."

Watson :—" This promise is made to the flesh and blood of Christ; and not to the bread and wine:

" Ergo, The sacrament is not bread and wine, but the body and blood of Christ."

(1) The syllogism is thus to be formed. The sacrament of the new testament hath a promise of grace annexed: bread and wine have no promise of grace annexed: ergo, bread and wine is no sacrament of the new testament.

(2) No promise made to bread and wine as they be common bread and common wine: but as they be sanctified and made sacraments of the Lord's body and blood, they are not now called bread and wine, but have a promise annexed to them, or rather (to say the truth) annexed to the receivers of them.

(3) John vi.

Ridley :—"There is no promise made to him that taketh common bread and common wine; but to him that receiveth the sanctified bread, and bread of the communion, there is a large promise of grace made: neither is the promise given to the symbols, but to the thing of the sacrament. But the thing of the sacrament is the flesh and blood."

Watson :—"Every sacrament of the new testament giveth grace, promised of God to those that worthily receive it."

Ridley :—"This sacrament hath a promise of grace, made to those that receive it worthily, because grace is given by it, as by an instrument; not that Christ hath transfused grace into the bread and wine."

Sacraments only instruments of grace

Watson :—"But this promise which is made, is not but to those that worthily receive the flesh and blood; not the bread and wine."

Ridley :—"That proposition of yours hath a divers understanding. There is no promise made to them that receive common bread, as it were; but to those that worthily receive the sanctified bread, there is a promise of grace made, like as Origen doth testify."

Watson :—"Where is that promise made?"

Ridley :—"The bread which we break, is it not a communication of the body of Christ?[1] And we being many are one bread, one body of Christ."

Watson :—"What doth he mean by bread in that place?"

Ridley :—"The bread of the Lord's table, the communion of the body of Christ."

Watson :—"Hearken what Chrysostome saith upon that place:[2] 'The bread which we break, is it not the communication of Christ's body?' Wherefore did he not say participation? Because he would signify some greater matter, and that he would declare a great convenience and conjunction betwixt the same. For we do not communicate by participation only and receiving, but also by co-uniting; for likewise as that body is co-united to Christ, so also we, by the same bread, are conjoined and united to him."

Answer to Chrysostome.

Ridley :—"Let Chrysostome have his manner of speaking, and his sentence. If it be true, I reject it not. But let it not be prejudicial to me, to name it true bread."

Chrysostome: one bread, one mystical body.

Watson :—"'All,' saith Chrysostome,[3] 'which sit together at one board, do communicate together of one true body. What do I call,' saith he, 'this communicating? We are all the selfsame body. What doth bread signify? The body of Christ. What be they that receive it? The body of Christ: for many are but one body.' Chrysostome doth interpret this place against you: 'All we be one bread and one mystical body, which do participate together one bread of Christ.'"

Ridley :—"All we be one mystical body, which do communicate of one Christ in bread, after the efficacy of regeneration, or quickening."

Watson :—"Of what manner of bread speaketh he?"

Ridley :—"Of the bread of the Lord's table."

Watson :—"Is not that bread one?"

Ridley :—"It is one of the church being one; because one bread is set forth upon the table: and so of one bread all together do participate, which communicate at the table of the Lord."

Watson :—"See how absurdly you speak. Do you say, all which be from the beginning to the end of the world?"

Ridley :—"All, I say, which at one table together have communicated in the mysteries might well so do. Albeit the heavenly and celestial bread is likewise one also, whereof the sacramental bread is a mystery: the which being one, all we together do participate."

A cavil.

Watson :—"A perverse answer. Which all? Mean you all christian men?"

Ridley :—"I do distribute this word 'all;' for all were wont together to communicate of the one bread divided into parts: all, I say, which were in one congregation, and which all did communicate together at one table."

(1) 1 Cor. xii.

(2) "Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis Christi est? Quare non dixit participatio? Quia amplius quid significare voluit, et multam inter hæc convenientiam offendere. Non enim participatione tantum et acceptione, sed unitate communicamus. Quemadmodum enim corpus illud unitum est Christo, ita et nos per hunc panem unione conjungimur." Chrys. in 1 Cor. cap. x.

(3) In 1 Cor. cap. x.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

Watson :—"What? Do you exclude then from the body of Christ all them which did not communicate, being present?"

Fecknam :—"But Cyprian saith,[1] 'Bread which no multitude doth consume:' which cannot be understood but only of the body of Christ."

Ridley :—"Also Cyprian in this place did speak of the true body of Christ, and not of material bread."

Fecknam :—"Nay, rather he did there entreat of the sacrament in that tractation 'De Cœna Domini,' writing upon the supper of the Lord."

Ridley :—"Truth it is, and I grant he entreateth there of the sacrament: but, also, he doth admix something therewithal of the spiritual manducation."

Smith :—"When the Lord saith, 'This is my body,' he useth no tropical speech: "Ergo, You are deceived."

Ridley :—"I deny your antecedent."

Smith :—"I bring here Augustine expounding these words,[2] 'He was carried in his own hands:'[3] 'How may this be understood to be done in man? For no man is carried in his own hands, but in the hands of other. How this may be understood of David after the letter, we do not find; of Christ we find it. For Christ was borne in his own hands, when he saith, 'This is my body:' for he carried that same body in his own hands, etc. Augustine here did not see how this place, after the letter, could be understood of David; because no man can carry himself in his own hands. 'Therefore,' saith he, 'this place is to be understood of Christ after the letter.' For Christ carried himself in his own hands in his supper, when he gave the sacrament to his disciples, saying, 'This is my body.'"

Augustine answered.

Ridley :—"I deny your argument, and I explicate the same. Austin could not find, after his own understanding, how this could be understood of David after the letter. Austin goeth here from others in this exposition, but I go not from him. But let this exposition of Austin be granted to you; although I know this place of Scripture be otherwise read of other men, after the verity of the Hebrew text, and it is also otherwise to be expounded. Yet, to grant to you this exposition of Austin, I say yet, notwithstanding, it maketh nothing against my assertion: for Christ did bear himself in his own hands, when he gave the sacrament of his body to be eaten of his disciples."

Smith :—"Ergo, It is true of Christ after the letter, that he was borne in his own hands."

Ridley :—"He was borne literally, and after that letter which was spoken of David: but not after the letter of these words, 'Hoc est corpus meum.'"

"I grant that St. Austin saith, that it is not found literally of David, that he carried himself in his own hands, and that it is found of Christ. But this word 'ad literam,' 'literally,' you do not well refer to that which was borne, but rather it ought to be referred to him that did bear it. St. Augustine's meaning in this; that it is not read anywhere in the Bible, that this carnal David, the Son of Jesse, did bear himself in his hands; but of that spiritual David, that overthrew Goliath the devil (that is, of Christ our Saviour, the son of the Virgin), it may well be found literally, that he bare himself in his own hands after a certain manner, namely, in carrying the sacrament of himself. And note, that St. Austin hath these words, 'quodam modo,' 'after a certain manner;' which manifestly declare, how the doctor's meaning is to be taken."[4]

The place of Augustine, how Christ was carried in his own hands "ad literam," i.e. literally.

Smith :—"When then was he borne in his own hands: and after what letter?"

Ridley :—"He was borne in the supper sacramentally, when he said, 'This is my body.'"[5]

Smith :—"Every man may bear in his own hands a figure of his body. But Augustine denieth that David could carry himself in his hands:

"Ergo, He speaketh of no figure of his body."

(1) "Panis quem nulla multitudo consumit." Cyprian de Cœna Dom.

(2) "Ferebatur in manibus suis." 1 Regum.

(3) "Hoc quomodo possit fieri in homine, quis intelligat? Manibus enim suis nemo portatur, sed alienis. Quomodo intelligatur de David secundum literam, non invenimus; de Christo autem invenimus. Ferebatur enim Christus in manibus suis cum diceret, Hoc est corpus meum. Ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus suis," etc. August. in Psal. xxxiii. con. 1. [Enar. 2. tom. ii. col. 214. Edit. Benedict. Ed.]

(4) "Ferebatur quodam modo in manibus suis." August. i.e. Christ was borne in his own hands sacramentally.

(5) A figure he may bear, but not a sacrament.

Ridley:—"If Austin could have found in all the Scripture, that David had carried the sacrament of his body, then he would never have used that exposition of Christ."

Smith:—"But he did bear himself in his own hands:

"Ergo, He did not bear a figure only."

Ridley:—"He did bear himself, but in a sacrament: and Austin afterward addeth, 'quodam modo,' that is, 'sacramentally.'"

Smith:—"You understand not what Austin meant when he said, 'quodam modo;' for he meant, that he did bear his very true body in that supper, not in figure and form of a body, but in form and figure of bread. Quodam modo.

"Ergo, You are holden fast, neither are you able to escape out of this labyrinth."

Dr. Weston repeated this place again in English: which done, then Dr. Tresham began thus to speak, moved (as it seemed to master Ridley) with great zeal; and desired that he might be in the stead of John Baptist, in converting the hearts of the fathers, and in reducing the said bishop Ridley again to the mother church. Now at the first, not knowing the person, he thought he had been some good old man, which had the zeal of God, although not according to knowledge, and began to answer him with mansuetude and reverence: but afterward he smelled a fox under a sheep's clothing.

Tresham:—"God Almighty grant that it may be fulfilled in me, that was spoken by the prophet Malachi of John Baptist, 'Which may turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, that you at length may be converted.' The wise man saith, 'Son, honour thy father, and reverence thy mother:' but you, dishonour your Father in heaven, and pollute your mother the holy church here on earth, while ye set nought by her." Tresham prayeth for converting Ridley.

Ridley.—"These bye words do pollute your school."

Tresham:—"If there were an Arian which had that subtle wit that you have, he might soon shift off the authority of the Scriptures and fathers."

Weston:—"Either dispute, or else hold your peace, I pray you."

Tresham:—"I bring a place here out of the council of Lateran,[1] the which council, representing the universal church, wherein were congregated three hundred bishops, and seventy metropolitans, besides a great multitude of others, decreed that bread and wine, by the power of God's word, was transubstantiate into the body and blood of the Lord. Therefore whosoever saith contrary, cannot be a child of the church, but a heretic." The decree of the Lateran council alleged for transubstantiation.

Ridley:—"Good sir, I have heard what you have cited out of the council of Lateran, and remember that there was a great multitude of bishops and metropolitans, as you said: but yet you have not numbered how many abbots, priors, and friars were in that council, who were to the number of eight hundred."[2]

One of the Scribes:—"What! will you deny then the authority of that council, for the multitude of those priors?" Carping.

Ridley:—"No sir, not so much for that cause, as for that, especially, because the doctrine of that council agreed not with the word of God, as it may well appear by the acts of that council, which was holden under Innocent the Third,[3] a man (if we believe the histories) most pernicious to the church and commonwealth of Christ."

Tresham:—"What! do you not receive the council of Lateran?" Whereupon he, with certain others, cried, "Scribite, scribite," Write, write. Council of Lateran.

Ridley:—"No sir, I receive not that council; 'scribite, et rescribite,' write, and write again."

Tresham:—"Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ: ergo, the true and natural body of Christ is on the altar."

Ridley:—"Evil men do eat the very true and natural body of Christ sacramentally, and no further; as St. Augustine saith. But good men do eat the very true body, both sacramentally, and spiritually by grace."

(1) Of this council read before. (2) Ibid. (3) Of this Innocent the Third read before.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

Tresham:—" I prove the contrary, by St. Augustine: 'Sicut enim Judas, cui buccellulam Dominus tradidit, non malum accipiendo, sed malè accipiendo peccavit,' etc.[1] 'Like as Judas, to whom the Lord gave the morsel, did offend, not in taking a thing that was evil, but in receiving it after an evil manner,' etc. And a little after,[2] 'Because some do not eat unto salvation, it followeth not, therefore, that it is not his body.'"

Ridley:—" It is the body to them, that is, the sacrament of the body: and Judas took the sacrament of the Lord to his condemnation. Austin hath distinguished these things well in another place,[3] where he saith,[4] 'The bread of the Lord, the bread the Lord. Evil men eat the bread of the Lord, but not the bread the Lord. But good men eat both the bread of the Lord, and bread the Lord.'"

Weston:—" Paul saith, 'the body,' and you say, the sacrament of the body."[5]

Ridley:—" Paul meaneth so indeed."

Watson:—" You understand it evil concerning the sign: for the fathers say, that evil men do eat him which descended from heaven."

The old doctors, etc.

Ridley:—" They eat him indeed, but sacramentally. The fathers use many times the sacrament for the matter of the sacrament, and all that same place maketh against you:" and so here he cited the place.

Theophylact alleged.

Weston:—" I bring Theophylact, which saith, that Judas did taste the body of the Lord.[6] 'The Lord did show the cruelty of Judas, who, when he was rebuked, did not understand, and tasted the Lord's flesh,'" etc.

Answer.

Ridley:—" This phrase to divines is well known, and used of the doctors: He tasted the flesh of the Lord, 'insensibiliter,' 'insensibly;' that is, the sacrament of the Lord's flesh."

Chrysostome alleged.

Weston:—" Chrysostome saith, that the same punishment remaineth to them which receive the body of the Lord unworthily, as to them which crucified him."

Chrysostome expounded.

Ridley:—" That is, because they defile the Lord's body: for evil men do eat the body of Christ sacramentally, but good men eat both the sacrament, and the matter of the sacrament."

The council of Nice alleged.

Watson:—" You reject the council of Lateran, because (you say) it agreeth not with God's word. What say you then to the council of Nice? The words of the council be these:[7] 'Let us not look a-low by the ground, upon the bread and the drink set before us, but, lifting up our mind, let us faithfully believe, there upon that holy table to lie the Lamb of God taking away the sins of the world, being sacrificed of the priests.'"

Ridley:—" That council was collected out of ancient fathers; and is to me a great authority; for it saith,[8] 'that bread is set upon the altar, and having our minds lifted up, we must consider him which is in heaven.' The words of the council make for me."

The place expounded.

Watson:—" 'Exaltata mente,' 'with a mind exalted:' that is, not as brute beasts at the rack or manger, having an eye only upon the thing that is set before them,[9] 'The Lamb of God lieth on the table,' saith the council."[10]

Ridley:—" The Lamb of God is in heaven, according to the verity of the body: and here he is with us in a mystery, according to his power; not corporally."

Watson:—" But the Lamb of God lieth on the table."

Ridley:—" It is a figurative speech; for in our mind we understand him which is in heaven."

Watson:—" But he lieth there, the Greek word is κεῖται."

Ridley:—" He lieth there; that is, he is there present: not corporally, but he lieth there by his operation."

(1) Aug. lib. v. cont. Donatistas. cap. 8.
(2) "Quia aliquis non ad salutem manducat, non ideo non est corpus."
(3) In Joh. Evang. Tract. 59, fol. 1, tom. iii. p. 2, col. 663.—Ed.
(4) "Panem Domini, et panem Dominum. Mali manducant panem Domini, non panem Dominum: boni autem manducant et panem Domini, et panem Dominum."
(5) This, Weston spake in English.
(6) "Ostendit Dominus crudelitatem Judæ, qui cum argueretur, non intellexit, et gustavit carnem Domini," etc.
(7) "Ne humiliter spectemus propositum panem et potum, sed exaltata mente fideliter credamus jacere in illa sacra mensa Agnum Dei tollentem peccata mundi à sacerdotibus sacrificatum." In Gelasii Hist. Conc. Nicæni Prim. lib. ii. cap. 30. Apud Labbé, tom. ii. col. 232.—Ed.
(8) "Positum esse panem in altari, et exaltata mente considerandum eum qui in cœlis est."
(9) "Agnus Dei jacet in mensa."
(10) If the Lamb of God lie really upon the table, then why doth the council bid us lift up our minds; which rather should bid us let down our minds to the altar?

Watson:—"He lieth; but his operation lieth not."

Ridley:—"You think very grossly of the sitting or lying of the celestial Lamb on the table of the Lord: for we may not imagine any such sitting or lying upon the table, as the reason of man would judge: but all things are here to be understood spiritually. For that heavenly Lamb is (as I confess) on the table; but by a spiritual presence, by grace, and not after any corporal substance of his flesh taken of the Virgin Mary. And indeed the same canon[1] doth very plainly teach, that the bread which is set on the table is material bread; and therefore it (the canon I mean) commandeth that we should not creep on the ground in our cogitation, to those things which are set before us; as who should say, what other things are they (as much as pertaineth to their true substance) than bread and wine? 'But rather,' saith the canon, 'lifting up our minds into heaven, let us consider with faith the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world, sitting or lying upon the table.' 'For a lifted-up faith,' saith he, 'seeth him which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, after the true manner of a body set by grace on the Lord's table, and taking away the sins of the world. For I think you mean not so; as though the Lamb did lie there prostrate with his members spread upon the table.'"

Another place alleged.

Smith:—"I bring another place out of the council of Nice:[2] 'None of the apostles said, this is a figure of the body of Christ: none of the reverend elders said, the unbloody sacrifice of the altar to be a figure.'

"Ergo, You are deceived."

Ridley:—"This canon is not in the council of Nice; for I have read over this council many times."

The council of Florence alleged.

Then came in another, whom master Ridley knew not, and said: "The universal church both of the Greeks and Latins, of the east and of the west, have agreed in the council of Florence uniformly in the doctrine of the sacrament; that in the sacrament of the altar there is the true and real body."[3]

Ridley:—"I deny the Greek and the east church to have agreed either in the council at Florence, or at any time else, with the Romish church in the doctrine of transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. For there was nothing in the council of Florence,[4] wherein the Greeks would agree with the Romanists; albeit hitherto I confess it was left free for every church to use, as they were wont, leavened, or unleavened bread."

Here cried out Dr. Cole, and said, they agreed together concerning transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. Master Ridley said that could not be.

One of the scribes.

Here started up another unknown to master Ridley, but thought to be one of the scribes, who affirmed with him, that indeed there was nothing decreed concerning transubstantiation: but the council left that, as a matter not meet nor worthy to disturb the peace and concord of the church; to whom master Ridley answered again, saying, that he said the truth.

Pie:—"What say you to that council, where it is said, that the priest doth offer an unbloody sacrifice of the body of Christ?"

Ridley:—"I say, it is well said, if it be rightly understood."

Pie:—"But he offereth an unbloody sacrifice."

Ridley:—"It is called unbloody, and is offered after a certain manner,

(1) De Consecrat. dist. 9.

(2) "Nullus apostolorum dixit, hæc est figura corporis Christi: nullus venerabilium presbyterorum dixit incruentum altaris sacrificium figuram," etc.

(3) Out of Dr. Ridley's copy.

(4) This assertion is perfectly true, although cardinal Bessarion had managed to produce a temporary union; for his conduct in which business he was severely blamed, the Greek church being uninformed of his proceedings, and having never authorized him to attempt a union. See Historia concertationis Græc. Latinorumque de Transubstant., auct. J. R. Kieslingio; Lipsiæ, 1754, pp. 188—194; Fleury, Hist. Eccles. livre 108, fol. 135, and Labbé, tom. xiii.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

and in a mystery, and as a representation of that bloody sacrifice; and he doth not lie, who saith Christ to be offered."

Weston playeth Goliath with David.

Weston:—"I, with one argument, will throw down to the ground your opinion, out of Chysostome,[1] and I will teach, not only a figure, and a sign or grace only, but the very same body, which was here conversant on the earth, to be in the eucharist.

"We worship the selfsame body in the eucharist which the wise men did worship in the manger.

"But that was his natural and real body, not spiritual:

"Ergo, The real body of Christ is in the eucharist.[2]

"Again, the same Chrysostome saith, 'We have not here the Lord in the manger, but on the altar. Here a woman holdeth him not in her hands, but a priest.'"

Ridley:—"We worship, I confess, the same true Lord and Saviour of the world, which the wise men worshipped in the manger; howbeit we do it in a mystery; and in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that in spiritual liberty, as saith St. Augustine,[3] not in carnal servitude; that is, we do not worship servilely the signs for the things: for that should be, as he also saith, a part of a servile infirmity. But we behold with the eyes of faith him present after grace, and spiritually set upon the table; and we worship him which sitteth above, and is worshipped of the angels. For Christ is always assistant to his mysteries, as the said Augustine saith. And the Divine Majesty, as saith Cyprian, doth never absent itself from the divine mysteries; but this assistance and presence of Christ, as in baptism it is wholly spiritual, and by grace, and not by any corporal substance of the flesh: even so it is here in the Lord's supper, being rightly and according to the word of God duly ministered."

Weston:—"That which the woman did hold in her womb, the same thing holdeth the priest."

Ridley:—"I grant the priest holdeth the same thing, but after another manner. She did hold the natural body; the priest holdeth the mystery of the body."

(Weston repeated again his argument out of Chrysostome in English.)

Ridley:—"I say that the author meant it spiritually."

Weston bloweth up the triumph.

(Weston here, dissolving the disputations, had these words:[4] "Here you see the stubborn, the glorious, the crafty, the unconstant mind of this man. Here you see, this day, that the strength of the truth is without foil. Therefore I beseech you all most earnestly to blow the note (and he began, and they followed) 'Verity hath the victory,' 'Verity hath the victory.'"

THE DISPUTATION HAD AT OXFORD THE 18TH DAY OF APRIL, 1554, BETWEEN MASTER HUGH LATIMER, ANSWERER, AND MASTER SMITH, AND OTHER OPPOSERS.[5]

After these disputations of bishop Ridley ended, next was brought out master Hugh Latimer to dispute, upon Wednesday, which was the 18th day of April; which disputation began at eight of the clock, in such form as before: but it was most in English. For master Latimer, the answerer, alleged that he was out of use with the Latin, and unfit for that place.

Smith of Oriel college opponent to Latimer.

There replied unto him master Smith of Oriel college; Dr. Cartwright, master Harpsfield, and divers others, had snatches at him, and gave him bitter taunts. He escaped not hissings and scornful laughings, no more than they that went before him. He was very faint,

(1) Hom. 24, in 1 ad Cor.
(2) This argument, after the disposition and terms, as it standeth, is not formal.
(3) Lib. iii. de Doctrinâ Christianâ.
(4) "Videtis præfractum hominis animum, gloriosum, vafrum, inconstantem: videtis hodie veritatis vires inconcussas. Itaque clamate, Vicit veritas."
(5) See the Harleian MSS. No. 422, art. 92.

and desired that he might not long tarry. He durst not drink for fear of vomiting. The disputation ended before eleven of the clock. Master Latimer was not suffered to read what he had (as he said) painfully written: but it was exhibited up, and the prolocutor read part thereof, and so proceeded unto the disputation.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

(The Preface of Weston unto the Disputation following.)

Weston:—"Men and brethren! we are come together this day (by the help of God), to vanquish the strength of the arguments, and dispersed opinions of adversaries, against the truth of the real presence of the Lord's body in the sacrament. And therefore, you father, if you have any thing to answer, I do admonish you that you answer in short and few words."

Latimer:—"I pray you, good master prolocutor, do not exact that of me, which is not in me, I have not these twenty years much used the Latin tongue."

Weston:—"Take your ease, father."

Latimer:—"I thank you, sir, I am well; let me here protest my faith, for I am not able to dispute; and afterwards do your pleasure with me."

The Protestation of Master Hugh Latimer, given up in Writing to Dr. Weston.

The conclusions whereunto I must answer are these:

The first is, that in the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest, there is really present the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, under the kinds of the appearance of bread and wine: in like manner his blood.

The second is, that after consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.

The third is, that in the mass there is the lively sacrifice of the church, which is propitiable, as well for the sins of the quick, as of the dead.

The real presence of Christ, how it is.

Concerning the first conclusion, me thinketh it is set forth with certain new-found terms that be obscure, and do not sound according to the speech of the Scripture. Howbeit, howsoever I understand it, this I do answer plainly, though not without peril—I answer, I say, that to the right celebration of the Lord's supper there is no other presence of Christ required, than a spiritual presence: and this presence is sufficient for a christian man, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we persevere. And this same presence may be called most fitly a real presence; that is, a presence not feigned, but a true and a faithful presence: which thing I here rehearse, lest some sycophant or scorner should suppose me, with the Anabaptists, to make nothing else of the sacrament, but a naked and a bare sign. As for that which is feigned of many, concerning their corporal presence, I, for my part, take it but for a papistical invention; therefore think it utterly to be rejected.

Answer to the second conclusion.

Concerning the second conclusion, I dare be bold to say, that it hath no stay or ground in God's word, but is a thing invented and found out by man; and therefore to be taken as fond and false: and I had almost said, as the mother and nurse of the other errors. It were good for my lords and masters of the transubstantiation, to take heed lest they conspire with the Nestorians, for I do not see how they can avoid it.

Answer to the third.

The third conclusion (as I do understand it) seemeth subtilely to sow sedition against the offering which Christ himself offered for us in his own proper person, according to that pithy place of Paul, where he saith,[1] "That Christ, his own self, hath made purgation of our sins." And afterward, "That he might," saith he, "be a merciful and faithful bishop, concerning those things which are to be done with God, for the taking-away of our sins." So that the expiation or taking-away of our sins, may be thought rather to depend on this, that Christ was an offering bishop, than that he was offered, were it not that he

(1) Heb. i.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

was offered of himself: and therefore it is needless that he should be offered of any other. I will speak nothing of the wonderful presumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifest vocation, specially in that it tendeth to the overthrowing and making fruitless (if not wholly, yet partly) of the cross of Christ; for truly it is no base or mean thing to offer Christ. And therefore worthily a man may say to my lords and masters the offerers, "By what authority do ye this, and who gave you this authority?"—Where? when?—"A man cannot," saith the Baptist, "take anything except it be given him from above:" much less then may any man presume to usurp any honour, before he be thereto called. Again, "If any man sin," saith St. John, "we have," saith he,—(not a master or offerer at home, which can sacrifice for us at mass; but "we have," saith he,) "an advocate, Jesus Christ,"[1] which once offered himself long ago; of which offering the efficacy and effect is perdurable for ever, so that it is needless to have such offerers.

Taking away of sins dependeth on the person of the offerer.

What meaneth Paul, when he saith, "They that serve at the altar are partakers of the altar?" and so addeth, "So the Lord hath ordained, that they that preach the gospel, shall live of the gospel."—Whereas he should have said, "The Lord hath ordained, that they that sacrifice at mass, should live of their sacrificing;" that there might be a living assigned to our sacrificers now, as was before Christ's coming, to the Jewish priests. For now they have nothing to allege for their living, as they that be preachers have. So that it appeareth, that the sacrificing priesthood is changed by God's ordinance into a preaching priesthood; and the sacrificing priesthood should cease utterly, saving inasmuch as all christian men are sacrificing priests.

The sacrificing priesthood changed into a preaching priesthood.

The final cause why the Lord's supper was chiefly ordained.

The supper of the Lord was instituted to provoke us to thanksgiving for the offering which the Lord himself did offer for us, much rather than that our offerers should do there as they do. "*Feed*," saith Peter, "as much as ye may, the flock of Christ:" nay, rather, let us *sacrifice* as much as we may, for the flock of Christ. If so be the matter be as now men make it, I can never wonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this office of sacrificing, which, at this day, is in such a price and estimation, that to feed is almost nothing with many. If thou cease from feeding the flock, how shalt thou be taken? Truly, catholic enough. But if thou cease from sacrificing and massing, how will that be taken? At the least, I warrant thee, thou shalt be called a heretic. And whence, I pray you, come these papistical judgments? except, perchance, they think a man feedeth the flock, in sacrificing for them: and then what needeth there any learned pastors? For no man is so foolish, but soon may he learn to sacrifice and mass it.

Sacrificing taketh away preaching.

Preposterous judgment of papists.

Latimer found more audience with kings and princes, than with rustic divines.

Thus, lo! I have taken the more pains to write, because I refused to dispute, in consideration of my debility thereunto: that all men may know, how that I have so done not without great pains, having not any man to help me, as I have never before been debarred to have. Oh, sir! you may chance to live till you come to this age and weakness that I am of. I have spoken in my time before two kings more than once, two or three hours together, without interruption; but now, that I may speak the truth (by your leave), I could not be suffered to declare my mind before you, no, not by the space of a quarter of an hour, without snatches, revilings, checks, rebukes, taunts, such as I have not felt the like, in such an audience, all my life long.

The four marrow-bones of the mass expounded.

Surely it cannot be but a heinous offence that I have given. But what was it? Forsooth I had spoken of the four marrow-bones of the mass; the which kind of speaking I never read to be a sin against the Holy Ghost. I could not be allowed to show what I meant by my metaphor; but sir, now, by your favour, I will tell your mastership what I mean:—

The first, is "the Popish consecration," which hath been called a god's body-making. The second, is "Transubstantiation." The third, is "the Missal oblation." The fourth, "Adoration."

These chief and principal portions, parts, and points, belonging or incident to the mass, and most esteemed and had in price in the same, I call "the marrow-bones of the mass;" which indeed you, by force, might, and violence, intrude in sound of words in some of the Scripture, with racking and cramping, injuring and wronging the same: but else, indeed, plain *out* of the Scripture, as I am throughly persuaded; although in disputation I now could nothing do to persuade

(1) 1 John ii.

Mary.

A. D. 1554.

the same to others, being both unapt to study, and also to make a show of my former study, in such readiness as should be requisite to the same.

I have heard much talk of master doctor Weston to and fro in my time: but I never knew your person to my knowledge, till I came before you, as the queen's majesty's commissioner. I pray God send you so right judgment, as I perceive you have a great wit, the great learning, with many other qualities. God give you grace ever well to use them, and ever to have in remembrance, that he that dwelleth on high, looketh on the low things on the earth; and that there is no counsel against the Lord; and also that this world hath been, and yet is a tottering world. And yet again, that though we must obey the princes, yet that hath this limitation; namely, in the Lord. For whoso doth obey them against the Lord, they be most pernicious to them, and the greatest adversaries that they have; for they so procure God's vengeance upon them, if God be only the ruler of things.

The pride of Weston privily touched. Obedience to princes hath its limitation.

There be some so corrupt in mind, the truth being taken from them, that they think gain to be godliness; great learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing, and raging about questions and strife of words. I call them men of no learning, because they know not Christ, how much else soever they know. And on this sort we are wont to call great learned clerks, being ignorant of Christ, unlearned men; for it is nothing but plain ignorance, to know anything without Christ: whereas whoso knoweth Christ, the same hath knowledge enough, although in other knowledge he be to seek. The apostle St. Paul confesseth of himself to the Corinthians, that he did know nothing but Jesus Christ crucified. Many men babble many things of Christ which yet know not Christ; but, pretending Christ, do craftily colour and darken his glory. "Depart from such men," saith the apostle St. Paul to Timothy.

Knowledge without Christ is mere ignorance. Many there be, who, under pretence of Christ, darken the glory of Christ.

It is not out of the way to remember what St. Augustine saith. The place where, I now well remember not, except it be against the epistles of Petilian:[1] "Whosoever," saith he, "teacheth anything necessarily to be believed, which is not contained in the Old and New Testament, the same is accursed." Oh! beware of this curse if you be wise. I am much deceived if Basil have not such like words: "Whatsoever," saith he, "is beside the Holy Scripture, if the same be taught as necessarily to be believed, that is sin." Oh therefore take heed of this sin!

There be some that speak many false things more probable, and more like to the truth, than the truth itself. Therefore Paul giveth a watchword: "Let no man," saith he, "deceive you with probability and persuasions of words."—"But what mean you," saith one, "by this talk so far from the matter?" Well, I hope, good masters, you will suffer an old man a little to play the child, and to speak one thing twice. O Lord God!—you have changed the most holy communion into a private action; and you deny to the laity the Lord's cup, contrary to Christ's commandment. And you do blemish the annunciation of the Lord's death till he come; for you have changed the common prayer, called the divine service, with the administration of the sacraments, from the vulgar and known language, into a strange tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord revealed in his word. God open the door of your heart, to see the things you should see herein! I would as fain obey my sovereign as any in this realm: but, in these things, I can never do it with an upright conscience. God be merciful unto us. Amen!

The absurdities of the papists opened in abasing the Lord's supper.

Weston:—"Then refuse you to dispute? Will you here then subscribe?"

Latimer:—"No, good master; I pray be good to an old man. You may, if it please God, be once old,[2] as I am: you may come to this age, and to this debility."

Weston:—"Ye said, upon Saturday last, that ye could not find the mass, nor the marrow-bones thereof in your book: but *we* will find a mass in that book."

Latimer:—"No, good master doctor, ye cannot."

Weston:—"What find you then there?"

Latimer:—"Forsooth, a communion I find there."

Weston:—"Which communion?—the first or the last?"[3]

(1) Petilian was a Donatist bishop of Cirtha in Africa in the beginning of the fifth age.—Ed.
(2) But God saw it good that Weston never came to this age.
(3) By this first and second communion, he meaneth the two books of public order set forth in king Edward's days, the one in the beginning, the other in the latter end of his reign.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

Latimer:—"I find no great diversity in them; they are one supper of the Lord: but I like the last very well."

Weston:—"Then the first was naught, belike."

Latimer:—"I do not well remember wherein they differ."

Weston cavilleth against the name of the Lord's supper.

Weston:—"Then cake-bread and loaf-bread are all one with you. Ye call it the supper of the Lord, but you are deceived in that: for they had done the supper before, and therefore the Scripture saith, 'postquam cœnatum est;' i. e. 'after they had supped.' For ye know that St. Paul findeth fault with the Corinthians, for that some of them were drunken at this supper; and ye know no man can be drunken at our communion."

Latimer:—"The first was called 'cœna Judaica,' i. e. 'The Jewish supper,' when they did eat the paschal lamb together: the other was called 'cœna Dominica,' i. e. 'The Lord's supper.'"

Weston:—"That is false; for Chrysostome denieth that.[1] And St. Ambrose, on 1 Cor. x. saith, that[2] 'the mystery of the sacrament, given as they were at supper, is not the supper of the Lord.' And Gregory Nazianzen saith the same:[3] 'Again he kept the holy feast of passover with his disciples in the dining chamber, after the supper, and one day before his passion. But we keep it both in the churches and houses of prayer, both before the supper, and also after the resurrection.' And that first supper was called ἀγάπη:[4] can you tell what that is?"

Latimer:—"I understand no Greek: yet I think it meaneth charity."

Weston:—"Will you have all things done that Christ did then? Why then, must the priest be hanged on the morrow.—And where find you, I pray you, that a woman should receive the sacrament?"

Weston opposed in his grammar. Δοκιμαζέτω δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτόν.

Latimer:—"Will you give me leave to turn my book: I find it in 1 Cor. xi. I trow these be his words: 'probet autem seipsum homo,' etc.—I pray you, good master, what gender is 'homo?'"

Weston:—"Marry, the common gender."

Cole:—"It is in the Greek, ὁ ἄνθρωπος."

Harpsfield:—"It is 'ἄνηρ,' that is, 'vir.'"

Latimer:—"It is in my book of Erasmus's translation, 'probet seipsum homo.'"

Fecknam:—"It is 'probet seipsum' indeed, and therefore it importeth the masculine gender."

Latimer:—"What then? I trow when the woman touched Christ, he said, 'Quis tetigit me?' 'Scio quòd aliquis me tetigit;' i. e. 'Who touched me?' 'I know that some man touched me.'"

Weston:—"I will be at host with you anon.—When Christ was at his supper, none were with him but his apostles only: ergo, he meant no woman, if you will have his institution kept."

The apostles represented the whole church.

Latimer:—"In the twelve apostles was represented the whole church, in which you will grant both men and women to be."

Weston:—"So through the whole heretically translated Bible ye never make mention of priest, till ye come to the putting of Christ to death. Where find you then that a priest or minister (a minstrel, I may call him well enough)[5] should do it of necessity?"

The name of minister more fit than the name of priest.

Latimer:—"A minister is a more fit name for that office; for the name of a priest importeth a sacrifice."

Weston:—"Well, remember that ye cannot find that a woman may receive by Scripture. Master opponent fall to it."

Smith:—"Because I perceive that this charge is laid upon my neck to dispute with you: to the end that the same may go forward after a right manner and order, I will propose three questions, so as they are put forth unto me. And first I ask this question of you, although the same indeed ought not to be called in question: but such is the condition of the church, that it is always vexed of the wicked sort. I ask, I say, whether Christ's body be really in the sacrament?"

(1) Chrysost. in 1 Cor. cap. 10.
(2) "Mysterium eucharistiæ inter cœnandum datum, non est cœna Dominica."
(3) "Rursus pasche sacra cum discipulis in cœnaculo ac post cœnam, dieque unica ante passionem celebrat. Nos verò ea in orationis domibus, et ante cœnam et post resurrectionem peragimus."
(4) Ἀγάπη: so were the feasts called, wont to be given to the poor
(5) Weston scorned the name of minister.

Latimer:—"I trust I have obtained of master prolocutor, that no man shall exact that thing of me, which is not in me. And I am sorry that this worshipful audience should be deceived of their expectation for my sake. I have given up my mind in writing to master prolocutor."

Smith:—"Whatsoever ye have given up, it shall be registered among the acts."

Latimer:—"Disputation requireth a good memory; 'ast abolita est mihi memoria:' my memory is gone clean, and marvellously weakened, and never the better, I wis, for the prison."

Weston:—"How long have ye been in prison?"

Latimer:—"These three quarters of this year."

Weston:—"And I was in prison six years."

Latimer:—"The more pity, sir."

Weston:—"How long have you been of this opinion?"

Latimer:—"It is not long, sir, that I have been of this opinion."

Weston:—"The time hath been, when you said mass full devoutly."

Latimer:—"Yea, I cry God mercy heartily for it."[1]

Weston:—"Where learned you this new fangleness?"

Latimer confirmed by Cranmer's book.

Latimer:—"I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not been of this mind past seven years: and my lord of Canterbury's book[2] hath especially confirmed my judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not fear to answer any man in this matter."

Tresham:—"There are in that book six hundred errors."

Weston:—"You were once a Lutheran."

The zeal of Latimer in popery.

Latimer:—"No, I was a papist: for I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation. The Zurichers once did write a book against Luther,[3] and I oft desired God, that he might live so long to make them answer."

Weston:—"Luther in his book 'De privata Missa,'[4] said, that the devil reasoned with him, and persuaded him that the mass was not good. Whereof it may appear, that Luther said mass, and the devil dissuaded him from it."

Latimer:—"I do not take in hand here to defend Luther's sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himself well enough, I trow. I told you before, that I am not meet for disputations. I pray you read mine answer, wherein I have declared my faith."

Weston:—"Do you believe this, as you have written?"

Latimer:—"Yea, sir."

Weston:—"Then have you no faith."

Latimer:—"Then would I be sorry, sir."

Tresham:[5]—"It is written, 'Except ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you.'[6] Which when the Capernaites, and many of Christ's disciples heard, they said, 'This is a hard saying,' etc. Now that the truth may the better appear, here I ask of you, whether Christ, speaking these words, did mean of his flesh to be eaten with the mouth, or of the spiritual eating of the same?"

(1) Then they hissed and clapt their hands at him.

(2) "Cranmer's Book. A Defence of the trve and catholike Doctrine of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of our Saiiour Christ." 4to. Lond. 1550.—Ed.

(3) Several treatises upon this question will be found in "Operum Huld. Zuinglii pars secunda." Tiguri, 1581; pp. 313 to 376.—Ed.

(4) Fol. 14. "Contigit me," etc. In that book the devil doth not dissuade him so much from saying mass, as he laboureth to bring him to desperation for mass.—Such temptations many times happen to good men. [This story is current among the papists at this time. (See Baddeley's Sure Way, p. 55, etc.) The best refutation of it will be found in the following extract: "The tale against that godly man Dr. Luther, is scornful and slanderous, blased abroad by Pighius, Hosius, Staphylus the runagate, and such others, only of wilful malice and hatred of the truth, and therefore not worthy to be answered. Dr. Luther showeth what terrible temptations the devil layeth to trap men withal, taking occasion sometimes of well-doing, sometimes of evil; sometimes of truth, sometimes of falsehood. And for example, he showeth that the devil on a time assaulted him, not in visible form, but by dreadful suggestions in his conscience, as it were; thus calling him to remembrance: These many years thou hast said mass; thou hast showed up bread and wine to be worshipped as God, and yet now thou knowest it was a creature and not God. Thereof followed idolatry, and thou wert the cause thereof.—All these things he saw to be true by the testimony and light of his own conscience, and therefore confessed he had offended, and yielded himself unto God. The devil's purpose was to lead him to despair; but God mercifully delivered him. And this is Dr. Luther's whole and only meaning in that place, that no man of himself is able to withstand such assaults and temptations of the enemy, but only by the power and mercy of God.' Jewel's Reply to Harding, article 1, divis. 2.—Ed.]

(5) Here Tresham began to dispute in Latin.

(6) John vi.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

Latimer:—"I answer as Augustine understandeth: that Christ meant of the spiritual eating of his flesh."

Tresham:—"Of what flesh meant Christ? his true flesh, or no?"

Latimer:—"Of his true flesh, spiritually to be eaten in the supper by faith, and not corporally."

Tresham:—"Of what flesh mean the Capernaites?"

Latimer:—"Of his true flesh also; but to be taken with the mouth."

Tresham:—"They, as ye confess, did mean his true flesh to be taken with the mouth. And Christ also, as I shall prove, did speak of the receiving of his flesh with the mouth. Ergo, they both did understand it of the eating of one thing, which is done by the mouth of the body."[1]

Latimer:—"I say, Christ understood it not of the bodily mouth, but of the mouth of the spirit, mind, and heart."

Tresham flieth to custom.

Tresham:—"I prove the contrary, that Christ understandeth it of the eating with the bodily mouth. For whereas custom is a right good mistress and interpreter of things, and whereas the acts put in practice by Christ, do certainly declare those things which he first spake: Christ's deeds in his supper, where he gave his body to be taken with the mouth, together with the custom which hath been ever since that time, of that eating which is done with the mouth, doth evidently infer that Christ did understand his words, here cited of me out of John vi., of the eating with the mouth."

Distinction.

Latimer:—"He gave not his body to be received with the mouth, but he gave the sacrament of his body to be received with the mouth: he gave the sacrament to the mouth, his body to the mind."

Tresham:—"But my reason doth conclude, that Christ spake concerning his flesh to be received with the corporal mouth: for otherwise (which God forbid) he had been a deceiver, and had not been offensive to the Capernaites and his disciples, if he had not meant in this point as they thought he meant: for if he had thought as you do feign, it had not been an easy matter for him to have said:[2] 'You shall not eat my flesh with your mouth, but the sacrament of my flesh; that is to say, ye shall receive with your mouth not the thing itself, but the figure of the thing; and thus he might have satisfied them: but so he said not, but continued in the truth of his words, as he was wont. Therefore Christ meant the selfsame thing that the Capernaites did, I mean concerning the thing itself to be received with the mouth; videlicet, that his true flesh is truly to be eaten with the mouth. Moreover, forasmuch as you do expound for 'corpus Christi' 'the body of Christ,' 'sacramentum corporis Christi' 'the sacrament of the body of Christ,' and hereby do suppose that we obtain but a spiritual union, or union of the mind between us and Christ, plain it is, that you are deceived in this thing, and do err from the mind of the fathers: for they affirm by plain and express words, that we are corporally and carnally joined together. And these be the words of Hilary:[3] 'Therefore, if Christ did truly take the flesh of our body upon him, and the same man be Christ indeed, which was born of Mary; then we also do receive under a mystery the flesh of his body indeed, and thereby shall become one; because the Father is in him, and he in us. How is the unity of will affirmed, when a natural propriety by the sacrament is a perfect sacrament of unity?' Thus far hath Hilary. Lo! here you see how manifestly these words confound your assertion. To be short, I myself have heard you preaching at Greenwich before king Henry the Eighth, where you did openly affirm, that no christian man ought to doubt of the true and real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, forasmuch as he had the word of Scripture on his side; videlicet, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' 'This is my body:' whereby he might be confirmed. But now there is the same truth; the word of Scripture hath the selfsame thing which it then had. Therefore why do you deny at this present that, whereof it was not lawful once to doubt before, when you taught it?"

Latimer charged to preach the contrary doctrine before the king at Greenwich.

Latimer:—"Will you give me leave to speak?"

(1) Doctor Tresham's argument without form or mood, concluding affirmatively in the second figure.

(2) And what doth Christ else mean by these words, where he saith, "My words be spirit and life; the flesh profiteth nothing?"

(3) "Si verè igitur carnem corporis nostri Christus assumpsit, et verè homo ille qui ex Maria natus fuit Christus est; nos quoque verè sub mysterio, carnem corporis sui sumimus, et per hæc unum erimus, quia pater in eo est, et ille in nobis: Quomodo voluntatis unitas asseritur, cum naturalis per sacramentum proprietas perfectè sacramentum sit unitatis?"

Mary. A.D. 1554.

Tresham :—"Speak Latin, I pray you; for ye can do it, if ye list, promptly enough."

Latimer :—"I cannot speak Latin so long and so largely. Master prolocutor hath given me leave to speak English. And as for the words of Hilary, I think they make not so much for you. But he that shall answer the doctors, had not need to be in my case, but should have them in a readiness, and know their purpose. Melancthon saith, 'If the doctors had foreseen that they should have been so taken in this controversy, they would have written more plainly.'"

Melancthon's judgment.

Smith :—"I will reduce the words of Hilary into the form of a syllogism.

Argument.

Da- "Such as is the unity of our flesh with Christ's flesh, such, yea greater, is the unity of Christ with the Father.

ti- "But the unity of Christ's flesh with ours, is true and substantial:

si. "Ergo, The unity of Christ with the Father, is true and substantial."

Latimer :—"I understand you not."

Seton :—"I know your learning well enough, and how subtle ye be: I will use a few words with you, and that out of Cyprian, 'De cœna Domini.' 'The Old Testament doth forbid the drinking of blood. The New Testament doth command the drinking and tasting of blood: but where doth it command the drinking of blood?'"

Seton reasoneth out of Cyprian.

Latimer :—"In these words, 'Bibite ex hoc omnes;' i. e. 'Drink ye all of this.'"

Seton :—"Then we taste true blood."

Latimer :—"We do taste true blood, but spiritually; and this is enough."

Seton.—"Nay, the Old and New Testament in this do differ:[1] for the one doth command, and the other doth forbid, to drink blood."

Latimer :—"It is true as touching the matter; but not as touching the manner of the thing."

Seton :—"Then there is no difference between the drinking of blood in the New Testament, and that of the Old: for they also drank spiritually."

Latimer :—"And we drink spiritually, also; but a more precious blood."

Weston :—"Augustine, upon the xlvth Psalm, saith:[2] 'Drink boldly the blood which ye have poured out.'—Ergo, it is blood."

Latimer :—"I never denied it, nor ever will I go from it, but that we drink the very blood of Christ indeed, but spiritually: for the same St. Augustine saith,[3] 'Believe, and thou hast eaten.'"

Weston :—"Nay,[4] 'To believe, is not to drink or eat.' You will not say, I pledge you, when I say, I believe in God."

Latimer :—"Is not 'manducare,' 'to eat,' in your learning put for 'credere,' 'to believe?'"

Weston :—"I remember my lord chancellor demanded master Hooper of these questions, whether 'edere,'[5] 'to eat,' were 'credere,' 'to believe;' and 'altare,' 'an altar,' were Christ, in all the Scripture, etc.: and he answered, 'Yea.' Then said my lord chancellor, 'Why then, Habemus altare de quo non licet edere;[6] i. e. We have an altar of which it is not lawful to eat, is as much to say, as Habemus Christum, in quo non licet credere; i. e. We have a Christ, in whom we may not believe.'"

Tresham :—"'Believe, and thou hast eaten,' is spoken of the spiritual eating."

Latimer :—"It is true, I do allow your saying; I take it so also."

Weston :—"We are commanded to drink blood in the new law.—Ergo, it is very blood."

Latimer :—"We drink blood, so as appertaineth to us to drink to our comfort, in sacramental wine. We drink blood sacramentally: he gave us his blood to drink spiritually: he went about to show, that as certain as we drink wine, so certainly we drink his blood spiritually."

(1) By that reason the New and Old Testament should not differ, but should be contrary one from the other, which cannot be true in natural or moral precepts.

(2) "Securè bibite sanguinem quem fudistis." (3) "Crede, et manducasti."

(4) "Credere, non est bibere nec edere."

(5) "Edere" in some places is taken for "credere:" but that in all places it is so taken, it followeth not.

(6) This place of the Hebrews alludeth to the old sacrifice of the Jews, who, in the feast of propitiation the tenth day, used to carry the flesh of the sacrifice out of the tents to be burned on an altar without, because none of them which served in the tabernacle should eat thereof: only the blood was carried by the high priest into the holy place.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

Weston:—"Do not you seem to be a papist, which do bring in new words, not found in Scripture? Where find you that 'sacramentaliter' 'sacramentally,' in God's book?"

Latimer:—"It is necessarily gathered upon Scripture."

Weston:—"The Old Testament doth forbid the tasting of blood, but the new doth command it."

Latimer:—"It is true, not as touching the thing, but as touching the manner thereof."

Weston:—"Hear ye people, this is the argument:—

"That which was forbidden in the Old Testament, is commanded in the New.

'To drink blood was forbidden in the Old Testament, and commanded in the New:

"Ergo, it is very blood that we drink in the New."[1]

Answer

Latimer:—"It is commanded spiritually to be drunk. I grant it is blood drunk in the New Testament, but we receive it spiritually."

Pie:—"It was not forbidden spiritually in the old law."

Latimer:—"The substance of blood is drunk; but not in one manner."

Pie:—"It doth not require the same manner of drinking."

Latimer:—"It is the same thing, not the same manner. I have no more to say."

[Here Weston cited the place of Chrysostome, of Judas's treason: "O the madness of Judas! He made bargain with the Jews for thirty pence to sell Christ, and Christ offered him his blood, which he sold."]

Latimer:—"I grant he offered to Judas his blood, which he sold, but in a sacrament."

Weston:—"Because ye can defend your doctors no better, ye shall see what worshipful men ye hang upon, and one that hath been of your mind, shall dispute with you.—Master Cartwright, I pray you dispute."

Cartwright urged to dispute, returneth to his old error.

Cartwright:—"Reverend father, because it is given me in commandment to dispute with you, I will do it gladly. But first understand, ere we go any further, that I was in the same error that you are in: but I am sorry for it, and do confess myself to have erred. I acknowledge mine offence, and I wish and desire God, that you may also repent with me."

Latimer:—"Will you give me leave to tell what hath caused master doctor here to recant? It is 'pœna legis,' 'the pain of the law,' which hath brought you back, and converted you, and many more; the which letteth many to confess God. And this is a great argument, there are few here can dissolve it."[3]

Cartwright:—"That is not my cause; but I will make you this short argument, by which I was converted from mine errors.

"If the true body of Christ be not really in the sacrament, all the whole church hath erred from the apostles' time.

"But Christ would not suffer his church to err:

"Ergo, It is the true body of Christ."[4]

No mention made of any eating but spiritually, for seven hundred years.

Latimer:—"The popish church hath erred, and doth err. I think for the space of six or seven hundred years, there was no mention made of any eating but spiritually: for, before these five hundred years, the church did ever confess a spiritual manducation. But the Romish church begat the error of transubstantiation. My lord of Canterbury's book handleth that very well, and by him I could answer you, if I had him."

Cartwright:—"Linus and all the rest do confess the body of Christ to be in the sacrament: and St. Augustine also, upon Psalm xcviii., upon this place, 'Adorate scabellum pedum,' etc. granteth that it is to be worshipped."

Latimer:—"We do worship Christ in the heavens, and we do worship him in the sacrament: but the massing worship is not to be used."

Smith:—"Do you think that Cyril was of the ancient church?"

Latimer:—"I do think so."

(1). This argument, because the major thereof is not universal, is not formal, and may well be retorted against Weston thus:—

Ce- No natural or moral thing, forbidden materially in the Old Testament, is commanded in the New.
la- To drink man's natural blood is forbidden materially in the Old Testament:
rent. Ergo, To drink man's natural blood materially is not commanded in the New.

(2) "O Judæ dementia! Ille cum Judæis triginta denariis paciscebatur, ut Christum venderet, et Christus ei sanguinem, quem vendidit, offerebat."

(3) Argumentum à pœna legis durum et difficile.

(4) Argumentum à destructione consequentis, ad destructionem antecedentis.

Smith:—"He saith,[1] 'That Christ dwelleth in us corporally.' These be Cyril's words of the mystical benediction."

Latimer:—"That 'corporally' hath another understanding than you do grossly take it."[2]

[Here Smith repeateth these words of Cyril,[3] "By the communicating of the body of Christ, Christ dwelleth in us corporally."]

Latimer:—"The solution of this, is in my lord of Canterbury's book."

Smith:—"Cyril was no papist, and yet these be his words, 'Christ dwelleth in us corporally:' but you say, he dwelleth in us spiritually."

Latimer:—"I say, both; that he dwelleth in us both corporally and spiritually, according to his meaning: spiritually by faith, and corporally by taking our flesh upon him. For I remember I have read this in my lord of Canterbury's book."

Weston:—"Because your learning is let out to farm, and shut up in my lord of Canterbury's book,[4] I will recite unto you a place of St. Ambrose,[5] where he saith,[6] 'We see the chief priest coming unto us, and offering blood,' etc. Likewise both Augustine on Psalm xxxviii., and Chrysostome, concerning the incomprehensible nature of God, say, 'Non solum homines,'[7] etc."

Latimer:—"I am not ashamed to acknowledge mine ignorance; and these testimonies are more than I can bear away."

Weston:—"Then you must leave some behind you, for lack of carriage."

Latimer:—"But for Chrysostome he hath many figurative speeches, and emphatical locutions in many places; as in that which you have now recited: but he saith not, 'For the quick and the dead:' He taketh the celebration for the sacrifice."

Chrysostome's style.

Weston:—"You shall hear Chrysostome again, upon Acts ix., 'Quid dicis? Hostia in manibus sacerdotis,' &c.:—He doth not call it a cup of wine."

Latimer:—"Ye have mine answer there with you in a paper: and yet he calleth it not, 'propitiatorium sacrificium,' that is, a propitiatory sacrifice."

Weston:—"You shall hear it to be so: and I bring another place of Chrysostome out of the same treatise, 'Non temerè ab apostolis est institutum,' etc."

Latimer:—"He is too precious a thing for us to offer; he offereth himself."

Weston:—"Here, in another place of Chrysostome to the people of Antioch,[8] and also to the Philippians he saith, 'There should be a memory and sacrifice for the dead.'"

Latimer:—"I do say, that the holy communion beareth the name of a sacrifice, because it is a sacrifice memorative."

Weston:—"How say you to the sacrifice of the dead?"

Latimer:—"I say, that it needeth not, and it booteth not."

Weston:—"Augustine, in his Enchiridion saith,[9] 'We must not deny that the souls of the dead are relieved by the devotion of their friends which are living, when the sacrifice of the Mediator is offered for them:'—where he proveth the verity of Christ's body, and praying for the dead. And it is said, that the same Augustine said mass for his mother."

Augustine falsely belied, to say mass for his mother.

Latimer:—"But that mass was not like yours, which thing doth manifestly appear in his writings, which are against it in every place. And Augustine is a reasonable man, he requireth to be believed no further than he bringeth Scripture for his proof, and agreeth with God's word."

Weston:—"In the same place he proveth a propitiatory sacrifice, and that upon an altar; and no oyster-board."

Latimer:—"It is the Lord's table, and no oyster-board. It may be called an altar, and so the doctors call it in many places: but there is no propitiatory sacrifice, but only Christ. The doctors might be deceived in some points, though not in all things. I believe them when they say well."[10]

(1) Cyril in Johan. l. 10. c. 13.

(2) Cyril saith, that Christ dwelleth corporally in us, but he saith not, that Christ dwelleth corporally in the bread. Which dwelling of Christ in us, is as our dwelling is also in Christ—not local or corporal, but spiritual and heavenly. "Corporally," therefore, is to be taken here in the same sense as St. Paul saith the fulness of divinity to dwell in Christ corporally; that is, not lightly or accidentally, but perfectly and substantially, with all his virtue and power, etc. And so dwelleth Christ corporally in us also.

(3) "Per communionem corporis Christi, habitat in nobis Christus corporaliter."

(4) Note the immodest behaviour of this Jack Scorner. (5) De Apparatione ad Missam.

(6) "Videmus principem sacerdotem ad nos venientem, et offerentem sanguinem," etc.

(7) Aug. in Psal. xxxviii.; Chrysost. de incomprehensibili Dei natura. Tom. iii. (8) Hom. 69.

(9) "Non est negandum defunctorum animos pietate suorum viventium relevari, quum pro illis sacrificium Mediatoris offertur." Cap. 110. (10) Doctores legendi sunt cum venia.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

Cole:—"Is it not a shame for an old man to lie? You say, you are of the old fathers' faith where they say well; and yet ye are not."

Latimer:—"I am of their faith when they say well. I refer myself to my lord of Canterbury's book wholly herein."

Smith:—"Then are not you of Chrysostome's faith, nor of St. Augustine's faith."

Latimer:—"I have said, when they say well, and bring Scripture for them. I am of their faith. And further, Augustine requireth not to be believed."

Weston:—"Origen, homily thirteen upon Leviticus—"

Latimer:—"I have but one word to say: 'panis sacramentalis,' 'the sacramental bread' is called a propitiation, because it is a sacrament of the propitiation. What is your vocation?"

Weston:—"My vocation is at this time to dispute; otherwise I am a priest, and my vocation is to offer."

Latimer:—"Where have you that authority given you to offer?"

Weston:—"'Hoc facite,'[1] 'Do this:' for 'facite,' in that place, is taken for 'offerte,' that is, 'offer you.'"

Latimer:—"Is 'facere' nothing but 'sacrificare' 'to sacrifice?' Why, then, no man must receive the sacrament but priests only: for there may none other offer but priests.—Ergo, there may none receive but priests."

Weston:—"Your argument is to be denied."

Latimer:—"Did Christ then offer himself at his supper?"[2]

Pie:—"Yea, he offered himself for the whole world."

Latimer:—"Then if this word 'facite,' 'do ye,' signify 'sacrificate,' 'sacrifice ye,' it followeth, as I said, that none but priests only ought to receive the sacrament, to whom it is only lawful to sacrifice: and where find you that, I pray you?"

Weston:—"Forty year agone, whither could you have gone to have found your doctrine?"

Latimer:—"The more cause we have to thank God, that hath now sent the light into the world."

Weston's railing.

Weston:—"The light? nay light and lewd preachers; for you could not tell what you might have. Ye altered and changed so often your communions and altars; and all for this one end, to spoil and rob the church."

Latimer:—"These things pertain nothing to me; I must not answer other men's deeds, but only for mine own."

Weston:—"Well, master Latimer, this is our intent, to will you well, and to exhort you to come to yourself, and remember, that without Noah's ark there is no health. Remember what they have been, that were the beginners of your doctrine: none but a few flying apostates, running out of Germany for fear of the faggot. Remember what they have been which have set forth the same in this realm: a sort of fling-brains and light heads, which were never constant in any one thing; as it was to be seen in the turning of the table, where, like a sort of apes, they could not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one day west, and another day east; one that way, and another this way. They will be like (they say) to the apostles,[3] they will have no churches. A hovel is good enough for them. They come to the communion with no reverence. They get them a tankard, and one saith, I drink, and I am thankful: the more joy of thee, saith another. And in them was it true that Hilary saith, 'Annuas et menstruas de Deo fides facimus;' that is, 'We make every year and every month a faith.' A runagate Scot[4] did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last Communion-book: so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time. You never agreed with the Zurichers, or the Germans, or with the church, or with yourself. Your stubbornness cometh of a vain glory, which is to no purpose: for it will do you no good when a faggot is in your beard. And we

Weston's apes have tails.

Blasphemous lies of Weston sitting in cathedra pestilentiæ.

(1) "Facere" for "sacrificare," with Dr. Weston.

(2) If Christ offered himself at the supper, and the next day upon the cross, then was Christ twice offered.

(3) Who be these, or where be they, master oblocutor, that will be like the apostles, that will have no churches?—that be runagates out of Germany?—that get them tankards?—that make monthly faiths?—that worship not Christ in all his sacraments?—Speak truth man and shame the devil!

(4) Alexander Ales, or Alesius, who translated the first Liturgy of Edward VI. into Latin. See Dr. Watkins' note in Ales' Life.—Ed.

see all, by your own confession, how little cause you have to be stubborn, for your learning is in feoffer's hold. The queen's grace is merciful, if ye will turn." *Mary.* A.D. 1554.

Latimer:—"You shall have no hope in me to turn. I pray for the queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn from this religion."

Weston:—"Here you all see the weakness of heresy against the truth: he denieth all truth, and all the old fathers."

Here all good readers may see, how this glorious prolocutor triumpheth: but whether he hath the victory or no, that I suppose they have yet neither heard nor seen.—And give, that he had the victory, yet what great marvel was it, disputing as he did, "non sine suo Theseo,"[1] that is, not without his tippling cup standing at his elbow all the time of his disputation; not without a privy noting and smiling of them that beheld the matter, but especially at that time, when Dr. Ridley, disputing with one of the opponents, the said prolocutor took the cup, and holding it in his hand, said to the opponent, "Urge hoc, urge hoc; nam hoc facit pro nobis." In which words, as he moved no little matter of laughter to the beholders thereof, so I thought here also not to leave the same unmentioned, somewhat also to delight the reader withal, after his tedious weariness in reading the story thereof. 'Urge hoc,' quoth Weston with his beer-pot!

TO THE READER.

And thus hast thou, loving reader, the whole action and stage of this doctorly disputation showed forth unto thee, against these three worthy confessors and martyrs of the Lord, wherein thou mayest behold the disordered usage of the university-men, the unmannerly manner of the school, the rude tumult of the multitude, the fierceness and interruption of the doctors, the full pith and ground of all their arguments, the censure of the judges, the railing language of the oblocutor, with his blast of triumph in the latter end, being both the actor, the moderator, and also judge himself. And what marvel then, if the courage of this victorious conqueror, having the law in his own hands, to do and say what him listed, would say for himself, "vicit veritas," although he said never a true word, nor made ever a true conclusion almost, in all that disputation.

It followed furthermore, after disputation of these three days being ended, that master Harpsfield, the next day after, which was the 19th of April, should dispute for his form, to be made doctor: to the which disputation the archbishop of Canterbury was brought forth, and permitted, among the rest, to utter an argument or two in defence of his cause; as in sequel hereof may appear.

Disputation of Master Harpsfield, Bachelor of Divinity, answering for his Form, to be made Doctor.

Harpsfield:—"I am not ignorant what a weighty matter it is to entreat of the whole order and trade of the Scriptures; and most hard it is too, in the great contention of religion, to show the ready way whereby the Scriptures may be best understood: for the often reading of them doth not bring the true understanding of them. What other thing is there then? Verily this is the The judgment of Harpsfield.

(1) "Οὐκ ἄνευ Θησέως, i. e. "Haud absque Theseo;" cum significamus rem alieno auxilio confici:—refertur hoc adagium a Plutarcho in ejus vita, f. 28." Erasmi adagiorum. Chil. i. cent. 5, p. 167. Basil, 1540.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

ready way, not to follow our own heads and senses,[1] but to give over our judgment unto the holy catholic church, which hath had of old years the truth, and always delivered the same to their posterity. But if the often reading of Scriptures, and never so painful comparing of places, should bring the true understanding, then divers heretics might prevail even against whole general councils. The Jews did greatly brag of the knowledge of the law,[2] and of the Saviour that they waited for. But what availed it them? Notwithstanding, I know right well that divers places of the Scripture do much warn us of the often reading of the same, and what fruit doth thereby follow; as 'Scrutamini,' etc. 'Search the Scriptures; for they do bear witness of me,' etc. 'Lex Domini,' etc. 'The law of the Lord is pure, able to turn souls;' and that saying of St. Paul, 'Omnis Scriptura,' etc. 'All Scripture inspired from above, doth make that a man may be instructed to all good works.' Howbeit *doth* the law of the Jews convert their souls? *Are* they by reading instructed to every good work? The letter of the Old Testament is the same that we have.

"The heretics, also, have ever had the same Scriptures which we have that be catholics. But they are served as Tantalus, that the poets speak of; who, in the plenty of things to eat and drink, is said to be oppressed with hunger and thirst. The swifter that men do seek the Scriptures without the catholic church, the deeper they fall, and find hell for their labour. St. Cyprian, never swerving from the catholic church, saith, 'He that doth not acknowledge the church to be his mother, shall not have God to his Father.' Therefore it is true divinity, to be wise with the church, where Christ saith, 'Nisi manducaveritis,' etc. 'Unless ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you.'

"If he had meant of only eating bread and drinking wine, nothing had been more pleasant to the Capernaites, neither would they have forsaken him. The flesh profiteth nothing to them that do so take it. For the Capernaites did imagine Christ to be given in such sort as he lived. But Christ spake high things; not that they should have him as flesh in the market, but to consider his presence with the Spirit under the forms[3] whereby it is given. As there is an alteration of bodies by courses and times of ages, so there is no less variety in eating of bodies.[4]

These things which I have recited briefly, master Harpsfield did, with many more words, set out: and hereupon Dr. Weston disputed against him.

Weston:—"Christ's real body is not in the sacrament: ergo, you are deceived."

Harpsfield:—"I deny the antecedent."

Weston:—"John xvi. 'Dico veritatem vobis,' etc. 'I speak the truth unto you: it behoveth me that I go away from you. For unless I do depart, that Comforter cannot come,' etc. Upon this I will make this argument.

"Christ is so gone away, as he did send the Holy Ghost.

"But the Holy Ghost did verily come into the world:

"Ergo, Christ is verily gone."

Harpsfield:—"He is verily gone, and yet remaineth here."[5]

Argument.

Weston:—"St. Augustine saith, that these words, 'Ergo ero,' etc. 'I will be with you even to the end of the world,' are accomplished, 'secundum majestatem,' 'according to his majesty:' but 'secundum præsentiam carnis non est hic;' i. e. 'by the presence of his flesh he is not here.' The church hath him not in flesh, but by belief."

Harpsfield:—"We must diligently weigh, that there are two natures in Christ: the divine nature, and human nature. The divine nature is of such sort, that it cannot choose but be in all places. The human nature is not such, that of force it must be in all places, although it be in divers after a divers

(1) If Mr. Harpsfield had willed us to submit our senses to the Holy Ghost, he had said much better.

(2) No, but those Jews sticking so much to the old custom and face of their church, and not seeking for knowledge, by ignorance of the Scriptures were deceived, and so be you.

(3) "Under the forms," that is, under the properties of bread and wine: and so all this is true.

(4) In the material eating of man's body, there is no variety: for to eat man's flesh either under accidents, or not accidents, both is against the Scripture, and against nature.

(5) This answer doth not satisfy the argument: for the conclusion speaketh of a bodily absence, the answer speaking of a spiritual remaining.

manner. So, where the doctors do entreat of his presence by majesty, they do commend the majesty of the divine nature, not to hinder us of the natural presence here in the sacrament."[1]

Weston:—"He saith further, 'Me autem non semper habebitis;' 'Ye shall not have me always with you,' is to be understood in the flesh."

Harpsfield:—"The presence of the flesh is to be considered, that he is not here as he was wont to live in conversation with them, to be seen, talked withal, or in such sort as a man may give him any thing: after that sort he is not present."[2]

Weston:—"But what say you to this of Augustine, 'Non est hic,' 'He is not here?'"

Harpsfield:—"I do answer out of St. Augustine upon John, Tract. 25, upon these words, 'Non videbitis me, vado ad Patrem,' etc. 'I go to the Father, ye shall not see me;' that is, 'such as I am now.' Therefore I do deny the manner of his presence."

Weston:—"I will overthrow St. Augustine with St. Augustine; who saith this also, 'Quomodo quis possit tenere Christum? fidem mitte, et tenuisti;' i. e. 'How may a man hold Christ? send thy faith, and thou holdest him.'—So he showeth, that by sending our faith, we do hold Christ."

Harpsfield:—"Indeed no man holdeth Christ, unless he believe in him; but it is another thing to have Christ merciful and favourable unto us, and to have him present in the sacrament. There, St. Augustine speaketh of holding him by faith, as he is favourable unto us."

Weston:—"Nay, he speaketh there, how the fathers had him in the flesh, and teacheth that we have him not so in the flesh, as they had him long time; saying, 'Your fathers did hold Christ present in the flesh: do you hold him in your heart?' What words can be more plain? Further he saith, 'He is gone, and is not here: he hath left us, and yet hath not forsaken us.' 'Hic est majestate, abiit carne;' i. e. 'He is here in majesty, and gone touching the flesh.'"

Harpsfield:—"I do understand Augustine thus: that Christ is here in his flesh, to them that receive him worthily: to such as do not worthily receive him, to them he is not present in the flesh. I judge St. Augustine meaneth so. We have him, and have him not: we have him in receiving of him worthily, otherwise not."[3]

Weston:—"Nay, 'tenere carnem, est tenere corticem literæ.' I will prosecute another argument. Cyril doth say, 'By the majesty of his divinity he is ever here, but the presence of his flesh hath he taken away.'"

Harpsfield:—"The sense of Cyril is thus to be understood: the most true flesh of Christ is at the right hand of the Father.[4] Thus the fathers taught, and so they believed. Thus said Cyril; thus said Augustine: and because this is the foundation of our faith, they did oftentimes teach it. Therefore when they prove this (the body to be in heaven), they do not make against the presence in the sacrament.

"So unless ye can plainly show that the fathers do directly say, he is not in the sacrament, you make nothing against me: for I have showed why the fathers so spake. They did teach the great difference between the divine nature, and the human nature, as I have before said."

Weston:—"I will then prove, that he is not in the sacrament. Vigilius against the heretic Eutiches, upon these words, 'Me autem non semper habebitis,'[5] saith, 'The Son of God, as touching his humanity, is gone from us, by

(1) If the natural presence is here, then that is false which Augustine saith: "Secundum præsentiam carnis non est hic!"

(2) And how can we then give honour to him, to whom we can show no charity, nor give any thing else unto? What manner soever ye give to the body, if the substantial body be here indeed, it cannot be avoided, but either it must needs be false that St. Augustine saith, "Non est hic:" or else, Christ must have two bodies in two places together, present here after one manner, and in heaven after another manner.

(3) Note what Harpsfield here holdeth: that the body of Christ is not present in the sacrament, but only to them that receive him worthily.

(4) If the presence of his flesh be taken away, as Cyril saith, how then can the presence of his flesh be in the sacrament? Vigilius saith, his body is taken up. How then doth the same body remain still? unless either ye make him to have two bodies, or else make two contradictories true in one proposition.

(5) Rather upon "Expedit vobis ut ego eam." See Biblioth. Patrum. Paris, 1576, tom. v. col. 849.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

his divinity he remaineth with us.' And the same Vigilius, in his fourth book saith, 'He that is in the heaven, is not in the earth;' speaking of Christ."

Harpsfield:—"I will show you the reason of these words. The heretic Eutiches did believe, that the divine nature of Christ was fastened on the cross, and believed that Christ had no natural body. To this Vigilius said, that the human nature was taken up and ascended; which could not so have done, unless he had a body. This he said not, to take away the presence in the sacrament: for what had he to refer this sentence to the sacrament? He never did so much as dream of the sacrament."

Weston:—"Cyril saith, 'Although he be absent from us in body, yet are we governed by his Spirit.'"

Harpsfield:—"By these words he gave us a cheerfulness to aspire upwards, seeking thence our help: for as touching his conversation, he is not so in the sacrament as one meet to be lived withal. But let him not teach us, that he is not there to feed us; for after that sort he *is* there."[1]

Weston:—"You have satisfied me with your answers, in doing the same learnedly, and catholicly. But now to another argument.

"Christ is now so absent from the earth by his body, as he was absent from heaven when he lived here.[2]

"But when he did live bodily on earth; the same natural body was out of heaven:

"Ergo, Now whilst this natural body is in heaven, it is not in the earth."

Harpsfield:—"I deny the major."

Weston:—"Fulgentius[3] saith, 'Secundum humanam substantiam absens erat cœlo, cum descendit de cœlo.' These are Fulgentius's words touching his human substance: 'He was absent from heaven, when he descended from heaven; and touching the same substance, now he is in heaven he is not on the earth: but concerning the divine nature, he never forsook, either heaven or earth.'"

After these words, not waiting Harpsfield's answer, he offered master Cranmer to dispute; who began in this wise:

The opinion of Harpsfield reproved, referring the sense of the Scripture rather to the judgment of the church, than to the diligent reading and conferring of places. How Christ is present in the sacrament.

Cranmer:—"I have heard you right learnedly and eloquently entreat of the dignity of the Scriptures, which I do both commend, and have marvelled thereat within myself. But whereas you refer the true sense and judgment of the Scriptures to the catholic church as judge thereof, you are much deceived; specially for that under the name of the church, you appoint such judges as have corruptly judged, and contrary to the sense of the Scriptures. I wonder likewise, why you attribute so little to the diligent reading of the Scriptures, and conferring of places; seeing the Scriptures do so much commend the same, as well in divers other places, as also in those which you yourself have already alleged. And as touching your opinion of these questions, it seemeth to me neither to have any ground of the word of God, nor of the primitive church. And, to say the truth, the schoolmen have spoken diversely of them, and do not agree therein among themselves. Wherefore, minding here briefly to show my judgment also, I must desire you first to answer me to a few questions which I shall demand of you; which being done, we shall the better proceed in our disputation. Moreover, I must desire you to bear also with my rudeness in the Latin tongue, which, through long disuse, is not now so prompt and ready with me as it hath been: and now, all other things set apart, I mind chiefly to have regard to the truth. My first question is this: How Christ's body is in the sacrament, according to your mind or determination?"

Then answered a doctor, "He is there as touching his substance, but not after the manner of his substance."

Harpsfield:—"He is there in such sort and manner, as he may be eaten."

Cranmer:—"My next question is, 'Whether he hath his quantity and qualities, form, figure, and such like properties?'"

Harpsfield:—"Are these your questions?" said master Harpsfield. "I may likewise ask you. 'When Christ passed through the Virgin's womb, an ruperit necne?'"

(1) The body of Christ is here to feed our bellies, but not to be lived withal.
(2) The argument holdeth "è proportione." (3) Ad Thrasimundum Regem, lib. ii.

When they had thus awhile contended, there were divers opinions in this matter. All the doctors fell in a buzzing, uncertain what to answer: some thought one way, some another; and thus master doctors could not agree. Then master Cranmer said thus:

Christ's body without his properties, in the sacrament.

Cranmer:—"You put off questions with questions, and not with answers, I ask one thing of you, and you answer another. Once again I ask, 'Whether he have those properties which he had on the earth?'"

Tresham:—"No, he hath not all the quantities and qualities belonging to a body."

Smith:—"Stay you master Tresham: I will answer you master doctor, with the words of Damascene, 'Transformatur panis,' etc.: 'The bread is transformed,' etc.:—but if thou wilt inquire how, 'Modus impossibilis,' 'The manner is impossible.'"

Then two or three others added their answers to this question, somewhat doubtfully. A great hurly-burly was among them, some affirming one thing, and some another.

Cranmer:—"Do you appoint me a body, and cannot tell what manner of body? Either he hath not his quantity, or else you are ignorant how to answer it."

Harpsfield:—"These are vain questions, and it is not meet to spend the time on them."

Weston:—"Hear me a while: Lanfranc, some time bishop of Canterbury, doth answer in this wise unto Berengarius upon such like questions,[1] 'They may be well believed, but never faithfully asked.'"

Cranmer:—"If you think good to answer it, some of you declare it."

Harpsfield:—"He is there as pleaseth him to be there."

Cranmer:—"I would be best contented with that answer, if that your appointing of a carnal presence had not driven me of necessity to have inquired, for disputation's sake, how you place him there, since you will have a natural body."

The papists would have Christ's body in the sacrament, but they cannot tell how.

When again he was answered of divers at one time, some denying it to be a "quantum," some saying it to be "quantitativum," some affirming it to have "modum quanti;" some denying it; some one thing, some another;—up starts Dr. Weston, and doughtily decided, as he thought, all the matter, saying, "It is 'corpus quantum; sed non per modum quanti;'" i. e. "It is a body, having quantity; but not according to the manner of quantity."

Ward in the misty clouds of Duns's quiddities.

Whereunto master Ward, a great sophister, thinking the matter not fully answered, did largely declare and discourse his sentence.—How learnedly and truly I cannot tell, nor I think he himself either, nor yet the best learned there. For it was said since, that far better learned than he, laid as good ear to him as they could, and yet could by no means perceive to what end all his talk tended: indeed he told a formal tale to clout up the matter. He was full of "quantum," and "quantitativum."[2] This that follows was, as it is thought, the effect; yet others think not. Howbeit we will rehearse the sum of his words, as it is thought he spake then.

Ward:—"We must consider," saith he, "that there are 'duæ positiones,' two positions. The one standeth by the order of parts, with respect of the whole.

(1) "Salubriter credi possunt, fideliter quæri non possunt." [Weston does not give the quotation quite accurately; it is, "Credi salubriter potest (mysterium), vestigari utiliter non potest." Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. iv. col. 225. Edit. Paris, 1576.—Ed.]

(2) An instance of a somewhat similar style of arguing is cited from Joseph Angles, a Spanish author, in Rivet's "Catholicus Orthodoxus," tract iii. quæst. 18, fol. 19.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

The other in respect of that which containeth. Christ is in the sacrament in respect of the whole. This proposition is in one of Aristotle's Predicaments,[1] called 'Situs.' I remember I did entreat these matters very largely, when I did rule and moderate the philosophical disputations in the public schools. This position is 'sine modo quantitativo,' as by an ensample: you can never bring heaven to a quantity. So I conclude that he is in the sacrament 'quantum, sine modo quantitativo.'"

Christ, "sine modo quantitativo" in the sacrament.

These words he amplified very largely, and so high he climbed into the heavens with Duns's ladder, and not with the Scriptures, that it is to be marvelled how he could come down again without falling. To whom master Cranmer said:—

Cranmer's argument.

Cranmer:—"Then thus do I make my argument.
"In heaven his body hath quantity, in earth it hath none by your saying:
"Ergo, He hath two bodies, the one in heaven, the other in earth."

Here some would have answered him, that he had quantity in both, and so put off the antecedent: but thus said master Harpsfield:

Harpsfield:—"I deny your argument;" [though some would not have had him say so.]

Cranmer:—"The argument is good. It standeth upon contradictories, which is the most sure hold."

Harpsfield:—"I deny that there are contradictions."

Cranmer:—"I thus prove it.

"Habere modum quantitativum et non habere, sunt contradictoria.[2]

"Sed Christus in cœlis, ut dicitis, habet modum quantitativum; in terra non habet:

"Ergo, Duo sunt corpora ejus in quæ cadunt hæc contradictoria; nam in idem cadere non possunt."

Weston:—"I deny the minor."

Harpsfield:—"I answer that the major is not true. For 'habere quantum, et non habere, non sunt contradictoria, nisi sic considerentur, ejusdem ad idem, eodem modo et simpliciter.'"

Weston:—"I confirm the same: for one body may have 'modum quantitativum,' and not have; and 'idem corpus' was passible and impassible; one body may have wounds and not wounds."

Cranmer:—"This cannot be at one time."

Weston:—"The ensample of the potter doth prove that which I say; who of that which is clay now, maketh a pot or cup forthwith."

Cranmer:—"But I say again, that it is so; but at divers times: as one piece of meat to be raw and sodden, cannot be at one time together. But you would have it otherwise, that Christ should be here and in heaven at one time, and should have 'modum quantitativum,' and not have; which cannot be but by such argument as I have showed you."

Weston:—"But I say, Christ's body was passible and not passible at one instant."[3]

Seton:—"You may ask as well other questions—how he is in heaven? whether he sit or stand? and whether he be there as he lived here?"

Cranmer:—"You yourself, by putting a natural presence, do force me to question, how he is here. Therefore, next, I do ask this question: Whether good and evil men do eat the body in the sacrament?"

Harpsfield:—"Yea, they do so, even as the sun doth shine upon king's palaces, and on dung-heaps."[4]

Cranmer:—"Then do I inquire, how long Christ tarrieth in the eater?"

Harpsfield:—"These are curious questions, unmeet to be asked."

Cranmer:—"I have taken them out of your schools and schoolmen, which

(1) Aristotle must help to tell us how Christ is in the sacrament.
(2) "Impossibile est, idem simul esse et non esse." Aristotle 4. Metaph.
(3) Passible and impassible cannot stand together in one subject, "Simul et ejusdem respectu et eodem tempore, propter rerum pugnantiam." Christ's body to be passible and not passible at the supper. It appeareth by these words: "that shall be given for you."
(4) That remaineth yet unproved. Harpsfield seemed, a little before, to note the contrary, where he said, That the flesh of Christ, to them that receive him not worthily, is not present.

you yourselves do most use: and there, also, do I learn to ask, how far he goeth into the body."

Harpsfield:—"We know that the body of Christ is received to nourish the whole man, both body and soul: 'eousque progreditur corpus quousque species.'"[1]

Cranmer:—"How long doth he abide in the body?"

Seton:—"St. Augustine saith, 'Our flesh goeth into his flesh.' But after he is once received into the stomach, it maketh no matter for us, to know how far he doth pierce, or whither he is conveyed."

Here master Tresham and one master London answered, that Christ being given there under such form and quantity as pleased him, it was not to be inquired of his tarrying, or of his descending into the body.

Harpsfield:—"You were wont to lay to our charge, that we added to the Scripture; saying always that we should fetch the truth out of the Scripture: and now you yourself bring questions out of the schoolmen, which you have disallowed in us."

Cranmer:—"I say as I have said alway, that I am constrained to ask these questions, because of this carnal presence which you imagine; and yet I know right well, that these questions be answered out of the Scriptures. As to my last question, How long he abideth in the body? etc.: the Scripture answereth plainly, that Christ doth so long dwell in his people, as they are his members. Whereupon I make this argument.

Cranmer's argument in the second figure and second mood.

Baroco. "They which eat the flesh of Christ, do dwell in him, and he in them.
"But the wicked do not remain in him, nor he in them:
"Ergo, The wicked do not eat his flesh, nor drink his blood."

Harpsfield:—"I will answer unto you as St. Augustine saith, not that howsoever a man doth eat, he eateth the body, but he that eateth after a certain manner."

Answer insufficient.

Cranmer:—"I cannot tell what manner ye appoint; but I am sure that evil men do not eat the flesh, and drink the blood of Christ, as Christ speaketh in John vi."

Harpsfield:—"In John vi. some things are to be referred to the godly, and some to the ungodly."

Cranmer:—"Whatsoever he doth entreat there of eating, doth pertain unto good men."

Harpsfield:—"If you do mean only of the word of eating, it is true; if concerning the thing, it is not so: and if your meaning be of that which is contained under the word of eating, it may be so taken, I grant."

Cranmer:—"Now to the argument: 'He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.' Doth not this prove sufficiently, that evil men do not eat that the good do?"

Evil men do not eat the body of Christ.

Tresham:—"You must add, 'Qui manducat dignè,' 'He that eateth worthily.'"

Cranmer:—"I speak of the same manner of eating that Christ speaketh of."

Weston:—"Augustine 'ad Fratres in Eremo,'[2] sermon 28. 'Est quidam manducandi modus;' that is, 'There is a certain manner of eating:' Augustine speaketh of two manners of eating; the one of them that eat worthily, the other that eat unworthily."

Harpsfield:—"All things in John vi. are not to be referred to the sacrament, but to the receiving of Christ by faith. The fathers do agree, that there is not entreaty made of the supper of the Lord, before they come unto 'Panis quem dabo vobis, caro mea est,'" etc.

How St. John is to be referred after the papists.

Cranmer:—"There is entreating of manna, both before and after."

Harpsfield:—"I will apply another answer. This argument hath a kind of poison in it, which must be thus bitten away:—That manna and this sacrament be not both one. Manna hath not its efficacy of itself, but of God."

(1) Sed species non progreditur usque ad animam: ergo nec corpus Christi non pascit corpus et animam.—These men would needs have a bodily presence, yet would they not, or else could not, bring any reason how.

(2) This work is considered spurious. See Edit. Bened. tom. vi. Jenkyns, p. 73.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

Cranmer :—"But they that did take manna worthily, had fruit thereby: and so, by your assertion, he that doth eat the flesh of Christ worthily, hath his fruit by that. Therefore the like doth follow of them both; and so there should be no difference between manna and this sacrament, by your reason."

Comparison between eating of manna, and eating the body of Christ.

Harpsfield :—"When it is said, that they which did eat manna are dead, it is to be understood, that they did want the virtue of manna."

[If master Harpsfield do mean of bodily life, they which eat the sacrament do die, as well as they which did eat the manna. If he mean of spiritual life, neither be they all damned that did eat manna, nor all saved that do eat the sacrament. Wherefore the truth is, that neither the eating of manna bringeth death, nor the eating of the sacrament bringeth salvation: but only the spiritual believing upon Christ's bodily passion, which only justifieth both them and us. And therefore, as the effect is spiritual, which Christ speaketh of in this chapter; so is the cause of that effect spiritual whereof he meaneth, which is our spiritual believing in him, and not our bodily eating of him.]

Cranmer :—"They, then, which do eat either of them worthily, do live."

Harpsfield :—"They do live which do eat manna worthily; not by manna, but by the power of God given by it. The others which do eat this sacrament, do live by the same."

Cranmer :—"Christ did not entreat of the cause, but the effect which followed: he doth not speak of the cause, whereof the effect proceedeth."

Harpsfield :—"I do say, the effects are diverse—life, and death, which do follow the worthy and unworthy eating thereof."

Cranmer :—"Since you will needs have an addition to it, we must use both in manna and in the sacrament, indifferently, either worthily or unworthily. Christ spake absolutely of manna, and of the supper; so that, after that absolute speaking of the supper, wicked men can in no wise eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood. Further, Augustine, upon these words, 'Qui manducat,' etc., saith, 'There are no such respects in common meats, as in the Lord's body. For who that eateth other meats hath still hunger, and needeth to be satisfied daily: but he that doth eat the flesh of Christ, and drinketh his blood, doth live for ever.'[1] But you know wicked men do not so.—Ergo, Wicked men do not receive."

Harpsfield :—"St. Augustine meaneth, that he who eateth Christ's flesh, etc., after a certain manner, should live for ever. Wicked men do eat, but not after that manner."

Argument in the second figure and second mood.

Cametres.

Cranmer :—"Only they which participate Christ, be of the mystical body.

"But the evil men are not of the mystical body.

"Ergo, They do not participate Christ."

Cranmer commended for his modesty.

Weston :—"Your wonderful gentle behaviour and modesty, good master doctor Cranmer, is worthy much commendation: and that I may not deprive you of your right and just deserving, I give you most hearty thanks in my own name, and in the name of all my brethren."

At this saying, all the doctors gently put off their caps. Then master Weston did oppose the respondent on this wise:—

Weston :—"Tertullian doth call the sacrament, 'the sign and figure of the Lord.'[2] St. Augustine ad Dardanum saith,[3] 'The Lord did not stick to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.'

(1) Aug. in Johan. Tract 26. (2) Tertul. cont. Marcion.
(3) "Non dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis."

"Besides this, he giveth rules how to understand the Scriptures, saying: 'If the Scriptures seem to command some heinous thing, then it is figurative, as by example:[1] To eat the flesh, and drink the blood, is a tropical speech.'" *Mary.* A.D. 1554.

Harpsfield:—"Tertullian did write in that place against Marcion, a heretic, who denied Christ to have a true body, and said, he had only a fantastical body. He went about to show, that we had Christ both in heaven and in earth; and though we have the true body in the sacrament, yet he would not go about so to confound him, as to say that Christ was truly in the sacrament: for that heretic would have thereat rather marvelled, than believed it. Therefore he showed him, that it was the figure of Christ: and a figure cannot be but of a thing that is, or hath been extant. Answer to Tertullian.

"To the text of Augustine, the church hath never taught the contrary. There is an outward thing in the sacrament, which sometimes hath sundry names; for it may be called a figure in this declaration: That body which is in the sacrament, is a figure of Christ dwelling in heaven. Answer to Augustine, ad Dardanum.

"To the third: that which is brought by Augustine, for example, about the understanding of the Scriptures, is thus to be understood; as tending to a general manner of eating: so 'Manducare carnem, et bibere sanguinem,' 'To eat the flesh, and drink the blood,' may be a figurative speech to exclude 'Anthropophagiam,' i. e. 'The eating of man's flesh.' The which is, when we eat man's flesh, cut in morsels, as we eat common meat; so as we neither have, nor eat Christ in the sacrament." Answer to Augustine; de Doctrina Christiana.

Weston:—"I understand your short and learned answer, which doth sufficiently content me. But now to the second question, which is of transubstantiation. The second question.

"The Scripture calleth it bread:

"Ergo, It is bread."

Harpsfield:—"In the name of bread all is signified which we do eat."

Weston:—"Theodoret an ancient writer, in his first dialogue, saith, that Christ changed not the nature, but called it his body."

Harpsfield:—"He doth there speak 'de symbolo,' which is 'Externa species sacramenti,' i. e. 'The outward form of the sacrament.' He meaneth, that that doth tarry in his own nature." A single sole answer to Theodoret.

[Moreover, as it was reported, he brought for his answer Augustine, "In sententiis Prosperi."]

Weston:—"Theodoret also, in his second dialogue of those kinds of bread and wine saith, 'Nec naturam egrediuntur, manent etiam in sua substantia.' 'They go not out of their own nature, but they tarry in their own substance.'"

Harpsfield:—"They are understood to be of the same substance wherein they are turned."[2]

Weston:—"But what say you to this? 'Manent in priori substantia,' i. e. 'They remain in their former substance.'"

Harpsfield:—"'Symbola manent,' i. e. 'The outward signs do tarry.'" Symbolum, quid.

Weston:—"But what is meant here by this word 'symbolum?'"

Harpsfield:—"The outward form or shape only of the nature."

Weston:—"Then you cannot call them a substance."

Harpsfield:—"Yes, sir, every thing hath a certain substance in his kind."

Weston:—"That is true; but accidents are not substances in their kind."

Harpsfield:—"Sunt quid in suo genere."

[Of this they contended much.]

Weston:—"Chrysostome saith,[3] 'Like as before it is consecrated, it is bread, so after it is consecrated, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is endued with the name of the Lord's body; whereas the nature doth remain.'"

(1) "Manducare carnem, et bibere sanguinem est tropicus sermo." August. de Doctrina Christiana.

(2) And how are they turned, if they remain "in priori substantia."

(3) "Sicut, antequam consecratur, panis est: sic, postquam consecratur, liberatus est ab appellatione panis, donatusque est appellatione corporis Domini, cum natura remanet." Chrysost. ad Cæsarium Monachum.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

Harpsfield :—" Where read you this place, I pray you?"

Weston :—" Here, in Peter Martyr I find it; I have his book in my hand."

Harpsfield :—" The author shall be of more credit, before that I make so much of him, as to frame an answer unto it."

Weston :—" Indeed I know not well where he findeth it. But Gelasius saith, that the nature of bread and wine do tarry."

Gelasius.

Harpsfield :—" What is that Gelasius?"

Weston :—" A bishop of Rome."

Harpsfield :—" Then he allowed the mass?"

Weston :—" Yea, and oftentimes said it: and purgatory he also allowed, and so prayer for the dead, relics, and invocation to saints."

Harpsfield :—" Belike then, he meant nothing against transubstantiation."

Weston :—" It doth appear so indeed. But Origen[1] saith, that the material bread doth tarry, and is conveyed into the privy, and is eaten of worms."

Harpsfield :—" Tush, tush! this place appertaineth unto holy bread."

Weston :—" What! doth it appertain to holy bread?"

Harpsfield :—" Yea, unto holy bread."

Weston :—" By what means can you show how this miraculous work bringeth Christ into the sacrament?"

Harpsfield :—" By the Scripture I prove that, which saith, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' 'This is my body.' "

Weston :—" It doth rejoice all us not a little, that you have so well maintained the sound doctrine of the sacrament of the altar, wherein you have faithfully cleaved to the catholic church, as an only stay of our religion: by the which means you have proved yourself meet to be authorized further towards the practising of the Scripture.

" And here, I do openly witness, that I do thoroughly consent with you; and have, for disputation's sake only, brought these arguments against you, which you have right learnedly satisfied: and now all things being done, after our form and manner, we will end this disputation, saying, 'In oppositum est sacra theologia; in oppositum est,' " etc.

Certain Observations or Censures given to the Reader, upon the Disputations of the Bishops and Doctors above mentioned.[2]

DECLARING WHAT JUDGMENT IS TO BE GIVEN, AS WELL TOUCHING THE ARGUMENTS OF THE ADVERSARIES, AND ALSO TO THE ANSWERS OF THE MARTYRS.

Thus ye have heard, in these aforesaid disputations about the holy supper of the Lord, the reasons and arguments of the doctors, the answers and resolutions of the bishops, and the triumph of the prolocutor triumphing before the victory with "vicit veritas;" who rather in my mind should have exclaimed "vicit *potestas*:" as it happeneth always "ubi pars major vincit meliorem." For else if "potestas" had not helped the prolocutor more than "veritas," there had been a small "victoria." But so it is, where judgments be partial and parties addicted, there all things turn to victory, though it be never so mean and simple: but, contrariwise, all partiality set apart, if censure should be given upon these disputations with upright and indifferent judgment, weighing with the arguments on the one

(1) Origen in Matt. xv.

(2) For these observations, etc. to the close of the Queen's letter to the mayor and aldermen of Oxford, on page 532, see Edition 1563, pages 991 to 999 inclusive. In later Editions Foxe sums up the disputations in these words: "First, of the opponents' part, neither was there almost any argument in true mood and figure rightly framed: neither could the answerers be permitted to say for themselves; and if they answered any thing, it was condemned before they began to speak. Again, such disturbance and confusion, more like a conspiration than any disputation, without all form and order, was in the schools during the time of their answering, that neither could the answerers have place to utter their minds, neither would the opponents be satisfied with any reasons."

side, the answers on the other, we shall see victory there falsely bragged, where no victory was. *Mary.* A.D. 1554.

If in these disputations it had so been, that the distinction of the answers had been wiped away or removed by the opposers; or if the arguments, of the opponents' side, had been so strong that they could not be dissolved of the answerer, then would I confess victory gotten. But seeing now all the arguments, brought against the bishops, to be taken away by a plain distinction of Really, Spiritually, and Sacramentally: and, again, this distinction of theirs so to stand in force, that the contrary arguments of the other part were not able to infringe the same, therefore we must say, as is said, "vicit non veritas, sed potestas."

And, for the reader's sake, to make the matter more largely and evidently to appear, concerning the distinction made of the bishops in this disputation (whereby they did both repeat the arguments objected, and manfully maintain the verity), here have we, as in a brief sum or table, expressed, as well their arguments, as the distinctions and answers of the other part to the same.

In these disputations the controversy is of the body of Christ, either to be present with us, or to be eaten of us, or to be united to us; which presence, eating, and uniting of him to us, standeth three manner of ways, Really, Spiritually, and Sacramentally. And these three things must be considered after three divers respects; for the lack of the knowledge and consideration whereof, the papists, who take upon them most to maintain this matter, are much deceived and deceive many; of whom I cannot marvel enough, that they, being so full of distinctions in all their other questions, in this one matter neither will make distinction themselves, nor abide it in others. For who seeth not that the presence of Christ's body is one, to the faith and spirit of man—which is spiritual; and another to the body of man—which is bodily.

The body of Christ present, eaten, and united, really, spiritually, and sacramentally.

Besides these two, there is also another presence differing from them both, which is "sacramental." Of things diverse and differing in themselves we must speak diversely, except we will confound things together which nature hath distincted asunder. Now they of the catholic part, as they call themselves (other men call them papists), whether for rudeness they cannot, or for wilfulness they will not see, speaking of the real presence of Christ, think there is no other presence of Christ real but in the sacrament; being deceived therein two manner of ways. First, that they consider not the nature of a sacrament; which is, not to exhibit the thing in deed which it doth represent, but to represent effectually one thing by another: for that is the property of a sacrament to bear a similitude of one thing by another thing; of the which two things the one is represented, the other in deed exhibited. Secondly, that they consider not the operation of faith, which, penetrating up to heaven, there apprehendeth the real body of Christ, no less, yea and more effectually, than if he were here bodily present to the eye.

A double error of the papists.

To these two, the third error also of these men may be added: in that they seem either not to weigh the operation of Christ's passion enough, or else, not to feel the heavy torment of sin and miserable hunger of man's soul; which, if they did feel, they would easily

Mary. A.D. 1554.

perceive what a necessary and opportune nourishment to man's conscience, were the body of Christ on the cross broken, and his blood shed.

Wherefore these are to be distincted after their right terms. For that which is sacramental, by and by, is not real; and, like as the real presence of Christ's body is to be distincted from the spiritual presence, so is it to be said of the eating, and also of the co-uniting or conjunction, betwixt his body and us: for as there is a real eating, so there is a spiritual eating, and also a sacramental eating.

Now the papists, whensoever they speak or read of the eating of Christ's body, conceive no other eating of him but only of that in the sacrament, and no otherwise; which is false and the cause of great error, in that they see not, neither do consider, *how* Christ is eaten, not only with the symbols or sacrament, but also without the sacrament: which eating standeth inwardly by faith, and pertaineth to the spirit of man, in apprehending or digesting with the stomach of faith those things which, by the outward sacrament, are represented. And of the spiritual eating of Christ speaketh the sixth chapter of St. John.

The eating of Christ with the sacrament and without the sacrament.

Besides this spiritual eating there is also a sacramental manducation of Christ's body, under, and with, the elements of bread and wine; that is, when both the mouth and spirit of man receive both the bread and the body together, in divers and sundry respects, bread substantially, the body sacramentally. The spirit receiveth the body only and not the bread.

The like distinction also is to be made of the uniting or conjunction betwixt Christ and us which is both real, spiritual, and sacramental.

Further, here is to be noted, that to this sacramentally uniting, eating, and presence of Christ, in or under the sacrament, belong two things, Mutation and Operation, which the doctors much speak of. This "Mutation" is double, substantial and accidental.

Mutation is called *substantial*, when one substance is changed into another, as water into wine, the rod of Aaron into a serpent, etc.; and this mutation, which they call "transubstantiation," belongeth nothing to the Lord's Supper.

The other mutation, which is *accidental* (whereof the doctors entreat), standeth in three points: that is, where the use, the name, and the honour of the sacramental elements be changed. In use: as, when the use of common bread is changed to a mystical and heavenly use, the name of bread and wine is changed to the name of the body and blood of Christ; the honour, from a not reverend, to a reverend receiving of the same, etc.

About "Operation" the Romish clergy make much ado; thinking there is no other operation but only transubstantiation. And this operation they ascribe to the five words of the priest: saying, that Christ, in calling a thing, maketh the thing so to be.

We affirm also that the words of Christ do work, but not as they do say; to wit, they work effectually in the material bread and wine: not in altering or trans-elementing the substance there, as Harding saith, page 489, but in sanctifying the aforesaid creatures to be a sacrament, which cannot be but only by the virtue of the word and of the

Holy Ghost, as St. Augustine saith;[1] for else no priest or creature hath any such power to make a sacrament. *Mary.* A. D. 1554.

Of these aforesaid distinctions here followeth a brief Table to make the contents hereof more plain.

A Table

DECLARING DIVERS AND SUNDRY RESPECTS HOW THE HOLY REAL BODY OF CHRIST OUR SAVIOUR, BOTH IN THE SACRAMENT AND BESIDE THE SACRAMENT, IS PRESENT, EATEN, AND UNITED TO US.

The body of Christ is, really, spiritually, and sacramentally, *present*, *eaten*, and *united*.

FIRST.

The Body of Christ is *really present*.

So was the body of Christ once present here on earth with us, and shall be again at the day of his coming. Otherwise it is not here really present, but only to our faith, really, that is to say truly, apprehending his body in heaven, and here feeding upon the same in earth. And thus is he present only to good men, whether with the symbols or without the symbols.

The Body of Christ is *really eaten*.

Really, not with our bodily mouth, but with the mouth of faith; apprehending the real body of Christ, who suffered for us, and worketh to us nourishment of life and grace, etc.

The Body of Christ is *really united*.

Really and corporally the body of Christ is united to us, by his incarnation, and the partaking of our flesh.

SECONDLY.

The Body of Christ is *spiritually present*.

Spiritually we say his body to be present, when either the body of Christ is present to our spirit and faith; or when the virtue of his body is present and redoundeth to our bodies and spirits by grace. And this differeth from the other real presence above, in this: that the one hath respect to the body apprehended, the other to the thing that doth apprehend.

The Body of Christ is *spiritually eaten*.

Spiritually we eat the body and blood of Christ, not with mouth and teeth, but with faith only, whensoever we believe on the passion of Christ, being the true bread of life and the only food of man's soul. And thus is he eaten, but only of good men, as well *besides* the sacrament as *with* the sacrament; and of this eating speaketh the sixth chapter of John. And so was he eaten in the time also of the old Law.

The Body of Christ is *spiritually united*.

Spiritually he is united unto us, when the properties of his holy body, as his innocence, power, glorification, eternity, beatitude, etc., are united to our bodies and spirits, which cometh by our faith in him, according to his words in John xvii.: "Ego in eis, et tu in me," etc. And this uniting, standing by grace, cometh as well *besides* the sacrament, as *with* the sacrament; only to the godly.

(1) August. de Trinitate, lib. iii. cap. 4.

Mary.

A. D. 1554.

THIRDLY.

The Body of Christ is *sacramentally present.*

Sacramentally his body is present, by representation of another thing which beareth a similitude or a memorial of his body; and his sacramental presence, pertaining to the outward mouth of the receiver, is common as well to the good as to the evil. And this sacramental presence ought not to be alone, but to be joined with the spiritual presence, etc.

The Body of Christ is *sacramentally eaten.*

Sacramentally we eat with our bodily mouth, the mysteries of bread and wine, not being the real body indeed, but representing the real body indeed; id est, "Non panem Dominum sed panem Domini." And this eating, if it be joined with the other two above, profiteth nothing; and, so, is eaten only of the evil. If it be adjoined, then is it eaten of the good, and them it profiteth.

The Body of Christ is *sacramentally united.*

The sacrament, as it is not the real body itself of the Lord, so it causeth not itself any real conjunction betwixt Christ's real body and ours, but representeth the same; declaring that as the material bread, digested in our bodies, is united to the same, so the body of Christ, being received by faith, changeth our spirits and bodies to the nature of him.

To the sacramental presence, and eating of Christ, pertain two things chiefly to be considered: *Mutation* and *Operation.*

MUTATION.

First, Mutation *substantial.*

Whereby one substance is changed into another: as, water into wine; the rod of Aaron into a serpent, etc. And this "mutation," which they call "transubstantiation," belongeth nothing to the sacrament; for, then, accidents of bread should also be changed, as the accidents of Aaron's rod were changed, with the substance, into a serpent.

Secondly, Mutation *accidental.*

Of this "mutation" speak the doctors, meaning not of the change of substance but of accidents, which standeth in three things, in the *use*, in *name*, and in *honour.*

First, In Use.

As when the use of common bread is changed into a mystical and heavenly use.

Secondly, In Name.

When the name of bread and wine passeth away, and is changed into the name of the body and blood of the Lord, and, so, is the name changed.

Thirdly, In Honour.

As when the bread and wine which before were received not with honour, are now received with honour and reverence: not that we honour the bread and wine, but the things represented in them, as, in a king's letter and seal, we honour the king and not the seal.

OPERATION.

First, Operation *in* the Sacraments.

The operation of the word in the sacraments is this: to change, not the substance of the sacrament, but that the substance thereof remaining may be made the body of Christ, that is, the *sacrament* of the body of Christ. And this operation cannot come but by the Holy Ghost. Whereof Augustine[1] saith:

(1) Augustine, lib. iii. cap. 4. "De Trinitate."

"Panis non sanctificatur in sacramentum tam magnum, nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei."

Secondly, Operation *of* the Sacraments.

The operation of the sacraments is thought by the papists to give grace, which, in very deed, give not grace of their own work; but only serve as instruments and means of that grace and life which cometh from God. So Peter calleth it "verbum vitæ," the word of life; and St. Paul calleth the gospel of Christ, "the power of God unto salvation." Not that they themselves give life and salvation, but that they are certain means and instruments of that life and salvation which cometh to us from God.

To the spiritual presence and manducation of Christ, principally belongeth the sixth chapter of St. John; albeit two sorts of bread are there specified, namely, *bodily or sacramental,* and *spiritual* bread.

First, Bodily or Sacramental, of the *Old Testament;* and also of the *New Testament.*

The bodily or sacramental bread of the *Old* Testament signifying Christ to come, as manna, the rock, etc.; and the bodily or sacramental bread of the *New* Testament signifying, Christ being already come, as the holy eucharist.[1]

Secondly, Spiritual Bread.

Spiritual bread, which is Christ himself, born for us and given for the life of the world. John vi. "My flesh is meat indeed," etc.

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, in this aforesaid table set forth unto thee the diverse respects how the real body of the Saviour is eaten *in* the sacrament and *out* of the sacrament, etc. By which table, if thou mark it well, thou mayest answer easily to the most part of the arguments which the papists bring. And now these things being premised, let us see and examine the arguments of the aforesaid doctors, here in brief sum repeated again, and, afterwards, annex the resolution of the same, with the number also of the pages where they are to be found.

A Table of the Principal Arguments brought against Doctor Cranmer.

I. *Chedsey:*—That thing which was given for us, is here contained; ex verbis Christi. See page 449.

The substance of bread was not given for us: Ergo, the substance of bread is not contained in the sacrament.

II. *Oglethorpe:*—This word *body,* being "prædicatum," doth signify substance. See page 450.

But one substance is not predicated, or affirmed denominatively, upon another: Ergo, it is an essential predication, and, so, it is his true body and not a figure of his body.

III. *Oglethorpe:*—Christ hath no less care for his espouse than a father for his household. See page 450.

No father maketh his will with tropes for deceiving his household: Ergo, Christ used no tropes in making his Will or Testament.

IV. *Weston:*—A good heir will not say that the testator did lie.[2] See page 450.

Whoso saith, that the testator "spake by figures," saith that the testator did lie: Ergo, he that saith that Christ our testator spake by figures is no good heir.

V. *Cole:*—If it be bread it cannot be the body; a disparitis. See page 451.

But Christ saith it is his body: Ergo, it cannot be bread.

(1) Augustine in Psalm lxxvii. "Idem in mysterio cibus illorum et noster, significatione idem, sed non specie."

(2) Augustin. De unitate Eccles. lib. x.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

VI. *Weston:*—The same flesh is given us to be eaten, by which he is made our brother and kinsman.[1] See page 451.

By his true, natural, and organical flesh, he is made our brother and kinsman: Ergo, he gave us his true and organical flesh to eat.

VII. *Weston:*—He gave us the same flesh, which he took of the Virgin. See page 452.

He took his flesh of the Virgin not spiritually: Ergo, he gave his true flesh and not [his flesh] spiritually.

VIII. *Weston:*—As mothers nourish their children with their milk, so Christ nourished us with his body.[2] See page 452.

Mothers nourish not their infants spiritually with their milk: Ergo, Christ nourisheth us not spiritually with his body.

IX. *Weston:*—If Christ gave wine for his blood, then he gave less than mothers to their infants.[3] See page 452.

Chrysostome saith, "Christ gave more to us, than mothers to their infants:" Ergo, he gave not wine for his blood.

X. *Weston:*—That thing which is worthy the highest honour, is showed forth in earth.[4] See page 453.

Christ's body is worthy the highest honour: Ergo, Christ's body is showed forth in earth.

XI. *Chedsey:*—The soul is fed by that which the body eateth.[5] See page 456.

The soul is fed by the body of Christ: Ergo, the body eateth the body of Christ.

XII. *Chedsey:*—The flesh eateth Christ's body that the soul may be fed therewith.[6] See page 456.

The soul is not fed with the sacrament but with Christ's body: Ergo, the flesh eateth the body of Christ.

XIII. *Tresham:*—As Christ liveth by his Father, so we live by his flesh eaten of us. See page 458.

Christ liveth by his Father naturally, not by unity of will: Ergo, we live by eating Christ's flesh naturally, not by faith only and will.

XIV. *Young:*—A figurative speech is no working thing; Christ's speech is a working thing:[7] (see page 462:) Ergo, Christ's speech is not figurative in this sacrament.[8]

XV. *Pie:*—The words of Christ work that, there, which redeemed the people. See page 464.

The natural blood of Christ redeemed the people: Ergo, the words of Christ make, there, the natural blood of Christ.

XVI. *Chedsey:*—As Christ is truly and really incarnate, so is he truly and really in the sacrament. See page 466.

But Christ is truly and really incarnate: Ergo, Christ is truly and really in the sacrament.[9]

XVII. *Weston:*—The substance of our flesh could not be increased thereby, except it were the true body and blood of Christ. See page 467.

But the substance of our body is increased thereby, which we receive in the sacrament:[10] Ergo, it is the true body and blood, which we receive in the sacrament.[11]

A Table of the Principal Arguments objected against Doctor Ridley.

XVIII. *Smith:*—Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth: (see page 481.) Ergo, notwithstanding his ascension, and continual abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally on earth.

Or thus; Christ's ascension into heaven letteth not, but that he may be, really and corporally, seen on the earth: Ergo, his ascension letteth not, but that he may be, really and corporally, in the sacrament.

(1) Chrysostom. ad popu. Anton. Hom. 61. (2) Ex Chrysost. in Matt. cap. xx. Hom. 38.
(3) Ex Chrysost. ut supra. (4) Ex Chrysost. Hom. 24.
(5) Ex Tertul. "De carnis Resurrectione." (6) Ex Tertul. ibid.
(7) Ambrosius, "De Sacrament." Lib. iv. et lib. ix. "De iis qui initiantur."
(8) *Cranmerus:*—"Dicendo dixit non fecit dicendo." (9) Ex Justino. Apolog. 2.
(10) Ex Ireneo.
(11) *Cranmerus:*—"Tert. nutritur corpus, pane symbolico, anima, corpore Christi."

XIX. *Weston*:—We offer one thing at all times. There is one Christ in all places, both here complete, and there complete:[1] (see page 482:) Ergo, by Chrysostome, there is one body both in heaven and earth.

XX. *Smith*:—He was seen of Paul as being born before his time, after his ascending up to heaven [1 Cor. xv.]. See page 483.

But his vision was a corporal vision: Ergo, he was seen corporally on earth, after his ascension.

XXI. *Tresham*:—He was seen after such sort that he might be heard: (see page 484:) Ergo, he was corporally on the earth, or else how could he be heard.

XXII. *Smith*:—He was seen so of him as of others. See page 484.

But he was seen of others being on earth, and appeared visible to them on earth: Ergo, he was seen of Paul on earth.

XXIII. *Weston*:—Christ left his flesh to his disciples, and yet, for all that, he took the same up with him:[2] Ergo, he is present here with us. See page 486.

XXIV. *Ward*:—He delivered that which he bade them take. See page 488.

But he bade them not take material bread, but his own body: Ergo, he gave not material bread, but his own body.

XXV. *Weston*:—That which Christ gave we do give. See page 489.

But that which he gave was not a figure of his body, but his body:[3] Ergo, we give no figure, but his body.

XXVI. *Ward*:—My sheep hear my voice and follow me. See page 489.

But all the sheep of Christ hear this voice, "This is my body," without a figure: Ergo, the voice of Christ, here, hath no figure.

XXVII. *Ward*:—Christ gave us his very and true flesh to be eaten.[4] See page 490.

But he never gave it to be eaten but in his last supper and in the sacrament of the altar: Ergo, there is the very true flesh of Christ.

XXVIII. *Ward*:—He desired to eat his passover. See page 490.

But the Judaical passover was not his: Ergo, he meant not of the Judaical passover.

XXIX. *Ward*:—He gave us his flesh to be eaten, which he took of the earth, in which, also, he here walked,[5] etc. See page 491.

But he never gave his flesh to be eaten, but when he gave it at his supper, saying, "This is my body:" Ergo, in the eucharist he gave us his flesh.

XXX. *Curtop*:—That which is in the cup is the same that flowed from the side of Christ.[6] See page 493.

But his true and pure blood did flow from the side of Christ: Ergo, his true and pure blood is in the cup.

XXXI. *Watson*:—Every sacrament hath a promise of grace annexed unto it. See page 494.

But bread and wine have not a promise of grace annexed unto it: Ergo, the bread and wine are not sacraments.

XXXII. *Smith*:—Every man may bear, in his own hands, a figure of his body. See page 496.

But Augustine denied that David could carry himself in his hands: Ergo, Augustine[7] speaketh of no figure of his body.

XXXIII. *Tresham*:—Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ:[8] (see page 497:) Ergo, the true and natural body of Christ is in the sacrament of the altar.

XXXIV. *Weston*:—We worship the selfsame body in the eucharist, which the wise men did worship in the manger.[9] See page 500.

But that was his natural real body, not spiritual: Ergo, the real body of Christ is in the eucharist.

Arguments objected against Master Latimer.

Seton's arguments, formed by Weston:—You say, That which was forbidden in the Old Testament is commanded in the New. See page 508.

(1) Chrysost. Hom. 17. ad Hebræos. (2) Chrysost. Hom. 2 "Ad popul. Antioch."
(3) Ex Theophylacto. (4) Ex Justino. Apolog. 2. (5) Ex Augustin. in Psalm xcviii.
(6) Chrys. 1 Cor. x.; Hom. 24. (7) On Psalm xxxiii. Conc. 1.
(8) August. lib. v. "Contra Donatistas." cap. 8. (9) Ex Chrysost. 1 Cor. Hom. 24.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

To drink blood was forbidden in the Old Testament and commanded in the New: Ergo, by your own saying, it is the very blood that we drink in the New.

Cartwright:—If the true body of Christ be not really in the sacrament, all the whole church hath erred from the apostles' time. See page 508.

But Christ would not suffer his church to err: Ergo, it is the true body of Christ.

The Argument of Doctor Cranmer objecting against Harpsfield.

Doctor Cranmer:—Christ's body, in heaven, hath quantity. See page 516.

The papists say, Christ's body in earth hath no quantity: Ergo, by the papists Christ hath two bodies, one in heaven, another in earth.

Doctor Cranmer:—They that do eat the flesh of Christ, do dwell in him, and he in them. See page 517.

The wicked do not remain in him, nor he in them: Ergo, the wicked eat not his flesh, nor drink his blood.

HERE FOLLOW THE ANSWERS AND RESOLUTIONS TO THE ARGUMENTS ABOVE MENTIONED, BY NUMBER AND ORDER OF THE SAME;

And first to the Arguments objected against Doctor Cranmer.[1]

I. First, to answer to Chedsey's first argument: Cranmer denieth the argument, and may well so do, for the form thereof is faulty; which, being in the first figure, hath his minor negative. Again, he answereth to the major by a distinction, being two ways: How the body may be contained Really:—and so it is false; Sacramentally,—and so it is true.

Papa est lupus rapax, one substance affirmed of another denominatively.

II. One substance or "disparatum" cannot be affirmed of another properly; but figuratively it may: and therefore we say this is a figurative locution: Bread is the body of Christ (meaning bread to be a figure of the body).

III. The minor is false; for, though equivocation of one word sometimes, peradventure, may deceive, yet the whole sense or locution, being tropical, doth not deceive, but rather serveth for beautifying of the oration, and for the better help of the hearers. And if the trope be not perceived of all, the fault is not in the trope, but in their ignorance.

IV. The authority of St. Augustine, "De unitate Ecclesiæ," proveth the major, which we also do allow. For who knoweth not that a man, at his death, will commonly speak the truth? But we deny the minor, That he which speaketh by figure or trope doth lie: that St. Augustine yet hath not proved, nor Dr. Weston either. Christ, after his supper, being more near his death, saith, "Transferatur a me calix iste;" calling his passion "the cup," by a metaphor; yet he lied not.

V. Cole saith, "This argument cannot be dissolved." But Cranmer's answer cannot be infringed; for, if one "disparatum" cannot be affirmed of another by any way than by that rule, "Christ is not the rock;" "Bread cannot be the body" (being disparate one from the other) I grant, speaking properly; but figuratively or sacramentally, it may.

VI. and VII. Cranmer answereth to the major by a distinction: "The same body is given which was born of the Virgin, but not after the same manner." Of the Virgin, his body was born really: in the sacrament, it is eaten sacramentally and figuratively.

VIII. The nourishment of mothers and of Christ agree in this, wherein they are compared: that is, that they both do nourish their children with their own bodies, but not after one way of nourishing. The mother feedeth her infant by putting her milk into his mouth and body, really; Christ likewise feedeth us with his body broken for us; not in putting his flesh, broken, into our bodies, but in offering the passion of his body to our faith, spiritually; and, in the bread, sacramentally.

IX. The major is false: Christ giveth not only wine for his blood, but giveth both wine and his blood. Wine as a holy sacrament of his blood, to be taken

(1) These answers of John Foxe, not being interesting to general readers, are printed in small type.—Ed.

with mouth, wherein, not the wine, but his blood, is to be considered; and also, besides the wine, he giveth his blood to be received with faith, and these two be more than mothers give to their infants.

X. In this argument is a point of false packing; for where Chrysostome hath, "Ostenditur in terrâ," the prolocutor thrusteth in "est in terrâ." And so is the argument answered—the body of Christ is showed here on earth in a sacrament, and the same body, so showed, is worthy highest honour.

XI. and XII. This argument is to be denied for lack of form, except Chedsey would thus form it: "The soul of man is fed, there, with what the body eateth; The soul of man is fed with Christ's body, and not with sacraments: ergo, the body of man eateth the body of Christ, and not the sacrament," etc.—First, the major is false as it standeth. And here note the deceit of Chedsey in putting in "therewith," which Tertullian hath not; his words be these, "Caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur; caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut anima de Deo saginetur;" etc.—Here Chedsey, for "de Deo," hath "de eo;" which corrupteth the meaning of Tertullian, who saith "de Deo:" meaning that the soul is fed spiritually, and the body sacramentally. Secondly, to the minor: if the soul be not fed with the sacraments, how is it true then that the papists say the sacraments give grace?

XIII. The major is false and to be denied: for the similitude of Christ's living by his Father, and our living by eating the body of Christ, is not like. For if Christ live, naturally, by his Father, so do not we eat the body of Christ naturally in the sacrament, nor live naturally by eating the same; but naturally we live by Christ, in that he took our natural body—not that we eat his natural body.

XIV. To the minor it is answered by a distinction: "For the speech of Christ worketh two manner of ways, by making, and by instituting." The speech of Christ, at the supper, worketh, not by making any new substance or by changing the old, but by instituting a sacrament by the power of the word and of the Holy Spirit; of which instituting St. Augustine speaketh:[1] "Panis non sanctificatur in sacramentum tam magnum, nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei."

XV. To the major, being grounded upon the words of Ambrose, the archbishop answereth, That there is the same blood which redeemed the people, but not after the same manner; for, on the cross, the blood of Christ was there, simply and really: at the supper and in the cup, it is sacramentally and by a similitude. As Ambrose saith himself in another place, "As thou hast received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood."

Dicendo dixit, sed non fecit dicendo; sed instituit.

XVI. As concerning this argument here is to be noted, that the archbishop found fault with Chedsey for false translating of Justin, "Cibum illum consecratum per sermonem," etc., whereas the Greek text of Justin hath not ἱερευθεισαν but εὐχαριστηθεισαν; that is "non consecratum," meat not consecrated; but over which thanks be given, etc. Then to the argument; If Christ be so truly in the sacrament, as he was truly incarnate of the Virgin, then can there be no transubstantiation; for, as "Verbum caro factum est," not by changing the substance of the word into the substance of flesh, so is not the substance of bread changed into the body.

Chedsey falsifying Justin's words.

XVII. To the XVIIth, the major, as it standeth, is not to be granted: "The substance of our flesh may be nourished and increased with that which is received, though it be not the true and real body of Christ; for the bread, being a sacrament of Christ's real body, may feed the body of man, and so doth the real body of Christ properly feed the soul and not the body; as Tertullian saith, 'Nutritur corpus pane symbolico, anima corpore Christi.'"

Next follow the answers and resolutions to the arguments objected against Dr. Ridley; wherein the less labour shall need to be taken, because he, being more practised in the schools, hath sufficiently and fully answered the same before.

XVIII. Argument: This argument doth not hold; and that for three causes, as Dr. Ridley in his answers seemeth to infer. First, that the presence of Christ

1) Augustin. lib. iii. "de Trinitate."

Mary. A.D. 1554.

may be upon earth "secundum rem aliquam quæ ad corpus Christi pertinet," and not according to his real or corporal substance; and so he granteth his ascension not to let his presence to be in the sacrament. Secondly, if Christ, after his ascension, was seen here in earth, as to Paul, Stephen, and Peter, etc., yet, whether he appeared from heaven to them on earth, or whether their eyes from earth were rapt up to him in heaven, it is doubtful; and of things doubtful no certain judgment can be given. Thirdly, though he had so manifested himself at certain times to be seen as pleased him, yet by that is proved that he *was*, and not that he *is* present here now in earth; and therefore, as this, his abiding in heaven is no let but that he may be in the sacrament if he list, so this his appearing sometimes on the earth, is no proof that he list now to be in the sacrament when he may.

XIX. To the antecedent: "One Christ is complete at all times, and in all places;" but Chrysostome saith not, that *one body* of Christ is in all places.

XX. and XXI. It may be that Christ might appear to Paul, not he coming down from heaven—but that the eyes of Paul, rising up to heaven, there might apprehend him. Again it may be, that the power and glory of Christ might appear to Paul, and yet the body of Christ remain still in heaven; but, if his body was then really present on earth, yet his body was not at one time both in heaven and earth together. But what should we say then to the pix? If the body of Christ be so often on the altar and so long in the pix as they make him, then, by this reason, Christ's body is either seldom, or never, lightly, in heaven.

XXII. He answereth to the minor by a distinction: If the being or appearing of Christ here on the earth be referred as to a place, so he denieth that Paul or others did see him corporally being here on earth; but if it be referred as to the verity of his person, so he granteth it may be. And yet, as is said, whether he descended down, or their spirits ascended up, it is doubtful: certes, to whomsoever he appeared, yet his appearing was in the air above, and not on the earth.

XXIII. The force of this argument is grounded upon Chrysostome,[1] "Christus et nobis reliquit, et ipsam habens ascendit." To the which it is thus answered: That Christ both took his flesh and left the same with us; but not after the same manner: for he took up his flesh really, and left the same behind sacramentally. And therein he did more than Elias, for he, as he left his mantle behind him really, so he took the same with him no manner of way.

XXIV. This argument of master Ward, as the terms stand, is neither a right figure nor mode. Again, there is a "fallax a dicto secundum quid ad id quod simpliciter;" and therefore the minor is well denied. For Christ, in giving them his body to eat, did not give his body "simpliciter" to be eaten, but after a certain manner, that is sacramentally his body, and materially his bread; and so both bread and his body, in sundry respects.

XXV. The minor of this argument standeth upon Theophilact,[2] "Non dixit figura est carnis meæ, sed caro, mea est;" which author, as he is not to be numbered among the most ancient, so neither among the most sound of writers. He was about that time, when this controversy about transubstantiation began first to grow, and when the contention was between the Greek church and the Latin about the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, etc. But, to let authority stand: this place upon St. Mark is answered by another place of the said author upon St. John, cap. vi.: "Attende quod panis in mysteriis non est tantum figuratio quædam carnis Domini, sed ipsa caro Domini," etc.; meaning that here, which he speaketh above: That the sacrament is not only a figure (that is, no bare and void figure), but a reverent sacrament of the body, and, after a manner, the body itself, of Christ.

XXVI. The minor hereof is untrue, if it stand universally for all the true sheep of Christ.

XXVII. The major of this argument, taken out of Justin,[3] may be taken two ways: for the giving of the body of Christ, may be understood either really, and so the major is false; or spiritually, and so the minor faileth: for he gave his flesh, not only in the supper, but also on the cross.

XXVIII. The major is false: The Judaical passover is *not* strange from Christ, for that he is the Lord of all.

(1) Hom. 2. ad pop. Antioch. (2) Theophylact. in Marc. cap. xxiv. (3) Justinus, Apol. 2.

XXIX. The minor is denied: for he gave his flesh to be eaten, both in the eucharist and also otherwise; as is before declared: In the eucharist, sacramentally to be eaten; on the cross, and also in the world, spiritually.

XXX. To the major he answereth: The true blood, and the same blood which issued out of his side, is in the cup; but not after the same manner. From his side it streamed, really and substantially. In the cup it is sacramentally, that is, by way and condition of representation, so by him ordained. The question is not of being, for that is granted on both parties, but of the manner of being, which now in heaven is really; in the receivers is spiritually; in the eucharist is sacramentally.

XXXI. The minor is thus to be understood: Bread and wine, as it is common bread and common wine, have no promise; but, as they be sanctified into a sacrament of the Lord's body and blood, they have promise of grace annexed; but so annexed, that not they themselves have or give the grace, but they are only as instruments whereby the grace cometh, not for their sake, but for that thing which they represent.

Dr. Smith falsifieth the words of Augustine.

XXXII. This argument of Dr. Smith lacketh its right shape and form, having four terms, etc. Further, to the sequel, which he inferreth upon this argument: "But Christ bare himself in his *own* hands: ergo, he bare no figure of his body," etc. To this is answered by a distinction really and sacramentally. Really, neither David nor Christ did bear himself in his own hands; sacramentally, David could not bear himself, but Christ so did at the supper; and *that* Augustine meaneth, adding this word, "quodam modo," after a certain manner; expounding thereby his words before. And this Dr. Smith, falsely and craftily, leaveth out, in alleging the doctor's words.

XXXIII. Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ, he granteth, but only sacramentally; that is, that thing which beareth a sacrament of the natural body of Christ: but good men eat the same, both sacramentally and spiritually.

XXXIV. To the major he answereth: We worship the same natural body of Christ, which the wise men did worship, but not after the same manner; that is, not really here present to our bodies, as he was to theirs, but spiritually or sacramentally; and, so we worship Christ spiritually in his word and Scriptures, and yet we say not that he is really present in the Scriptures.

Resolutions to the Arguments objected against Master Latimer.

XXXV. To the major of this argument, master Latimer answereth himself sufficiently before in the line 12, p. 506. As touching drinking of blood, it is forbidden in the Old Testament; and commanded in the New, as touching the matter, but not as touching the manner of the thing, etc.

XXXVI. First he denieth the major; secondly he distincteth the word "church" in the minor; for as there is the true church of Christ which he never suffereth to err, in the whole, from the apostles' time (although it may, in part, sometime), so there is the popish church, and that erreth and hath erred; which first begat the error of transubstantiation in the time of pope Innocent III., about the year 1215.[1]

Here followeth a copy of the letter of warrant, sent from the queen to Richard Atkinson, mayor of Oxford; Richard Ivery, and William Jony, bailiffs; and the rest of the aldermen and inhabitants of the same city, concerning the custody and bringing forth of the said bishops to the disputations.

A Letter of Warrant, etc.

To our trusty and well-beloved the mayor, aldermen, and other inhabitants, of the city of Oxford.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas Dr. Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, and Hugh Latimer clerk, now

(1) In the fourth Lateran council convoked by Innocent III. in 1215, this imperious pontiff published no less than seventy laws or decrees, without designing to consult any one; by which the papal power was extended and new articles of faith enjoined.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

remaining in your custody, by your appointment, have, besides other their great crimes, maintained and openly set forth divers heresies and erroneous and most pernicious opinions, contrary to the catholic faith of Christ's church, to the great offence of Almighty God, and evil and dangerous example of all our faithful and loving subjects:—like as it hath been wisely considered in the convocation of the bishops, prelates, and other the clergy of our realm, that the heresies, moved and nourished by the foresaid persons and other their adherents, being no less perilous for the state of our realm than hurtful to the setting-forth of God's glory and the furtherance of the catholic religion, are meet to be, by learning, convinced and overthrown in time:—so have they, for that purpose, appointed certain grave and well learned doctors and others, as well of that our university of Oxford as of our university of Cambridge, to hear, in open disputation, the said Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; so as their erroneous opinions, being by the word of God justly and truly convinced, the residue of our subjects may be thereby the better established in the true catholic faith: We therefore, minding to have the truth of Christ's catholic religion set forth and justly established among our loving subjects, to his glory and benefit of this our realm, do let you wit, that our will and pleasure is, that when, and as often as, the said learned persons appointed for that purpose shall require you to cause the said Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer (every or any of them), to be brought to the place of open disputation, you shall not only give order for the safe conveying thither of them, or any one or two of them, at the hours to them to be appointed, but also to receive them again into your custody, to be kept altogether or separately as the commissioners shall appoint from time to time, until further order shall be taken in this behalf accordingly. Given under our signet, at our manor of St. James, the 6th of April, and in the first year of our reign.*

The Report and Narration of Master Ridley, concerning the misordered Disputation had against him and his Fellow-Prisoners at Oxford.[1]

I never yet, since I was born, saw or heard anything done or handled more vainly or tumultuously, than the disputation which was with me in the schools at Oxford. Yea verily, I could never have thought that it had been possible to have found amongst men recounted to be of knowledge and learning in this realm, any so brazen-faced and shameless, so disorderly and vainly to behave themselves, more like to stage-players in interludes to set forth a pageant, than to grave divines in schools to dispute. The Sorbonical clamours—which at Paris I have seen in times past, when popery most reigned—might be worthily thought (in comparison of this Thrasonical ostentation) to have had much modesty. And no great marvel, seeing they which should have been moderators and overseers of others, and which should have given good examples in words and gravity; they themselves, above all others, gave worst example, and did, as it were, blow the trump to the rest, to rave, roar, rage, and cry out. By reason whereof (good christian reader) manifestly it may appear, that they never sought for any truth or verity, but only for the glory of the world, and their own bragging victory. But lest, by the innumerable railings and reproachful taunts, wherewith I was baited on every side, our cause—yea rather God's cause and his churches—should be evil spoken of, and slandered to the world, through false reports and untrue examples given out of our disputation, and so the verity might sustain some damage, I thought it no less than my duty to write mine answers; to the intent that whosoever is desirous to know the truth thereof, may by this perceive, as well those things which were chiefly objected, as summarily that which was answered of me unto every of them. Howbeit (good reader) I confess this to be most true, that it is impossible to set forth either all that was (God knoweth) tumultuously and confusedly objected of their parts, being so many; speaking many times altogether so thick, that one could not well hear another, neither all that was answered on my behalf to them so sundry and divers opponents.

No verity but glory sought for in this disputation.

Moreover, a great part of the time appointed for the disputations was vainly consumed in opprobrious checks and reviling taunts (with hissing and clapping

(1) See the Harleian MSS. Number 422, art. 53, 60, 68.—Ed.

of hands), and that in the English tongue, to procure the people's favour withal. All which things, when I with great grief of heart did behold, protesting openly, that such excessive and outrageous disorder was unseemly for those schools, and men of learning and gravity, and that they which were the doers and stirrers of such things, did nothing else but betray the slenderness of their cause, and their own vanities: I was so far off, by this my humble complaint, from doing any good at all, that I was enforced to hear such rebukes, checks, and taunts for my labour, as no person of any honesty, without blushing, could abide to hear the like spoken of a most vile varlet, against a most wretched ruffian.

Taunts and revilings used in this disputation.

At the first beginning of the disputation, when I should have confirmed mine answer to the first proposition in few words (and that after the manner and law of schools); afore I could make an end of my first probation, which was not very long, even the doctors themselves cried out, "He speaketh blasphemies! he speaketh blasphemies!" And when I on my knees besought them, and that heartily, that they would vouchsafe to hear me to the end (whereat the prolocutor, being moved, cried out on high, "Let him read it! let him read it!"): yet, when I began to read again, there followed immediately such shouting, such a noise and tumult, such confusion of voices, crying, "Blasphemies! blasphemies!" as I, to my remembrance, never heard or read the like; except it be that one, which was in the Acts of the Apostles, stirred up of Demetrius the silversmith, and others of his occupation, crying out against Paul, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians! great is Diana of the Ephesians!" And except it be a certain disputation which the Arians had against the orthodox, and such as were of godly judgment in Africa; where, it is said, that such as the president and rulers of the disputation were, such was the end of the disputations: all were in a hurly-burly; and so great were the slanders which the Arians cast out, that nothing could quietly be heard. This writeth Victor, in the second book of his history.

Ridley could not be suffered to read forth his protestation.

The which cries and tumults of them against me so prevailed, that, will I, nill I, I was enforced to leave off the reading of my probations, although they were short. If any man doubt of the truth hereof, let the same ask any one that was there, and not utterly perverted in popery; and I am assured he will say, I spake the least. But, to complain of these things further, I will cease.

And further, speaking of this disputation, he concludeth with these words:

"And thus was ended this most glorious disputation of the most holy fathers, sacrificers, doctors, and masters; who fought most manfully, as ye may see, for their God and goods, for their faith and felicity, for their country and kitchen, for their beauty and belly, with triumphant applauses, and favour of the whole university."

After the disputation of master Latimer ended, which was the 18th of April; the Friday following, which was the 20th of the said month, the commissioners sat in St. Mary's church, as they did the Saturday before, and Dr. Weston used particularly dissuasions with every one of them, and would not suffer them to answer in any wise, but directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to say whether they would subscribe, or no. And first to the archbishop of Canterbury, he said, he was overcome in disputations. To whom the archbishop answered, that whereas Dr. Weston said, he hath answered and opposed, and could neither maintain his own errors, nor impugn the verity; all that he said was false. For he was not suffered to oppose as he would, nor could answer as he was required, unless he would have brawled with them; so thick their reasons came one after another. Ever four or five did interrupt him, that he could not speak. Master Ridley and master Latimer were asked what they would do: they

The three prisoners at Oxford called before the commissioners.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer condemned.

replied, that they would stand to that they had said. Then were they all called together, and sentence read over them, that they were no members of the church: and therefore they, their fautors and patrons, were condemned as heretics. And in reading of it, they were asked, whether they would turn or no: and they bade them read on in the name of God; for they were not minded to turn. So they were condemned all three.

After which, sentence of condemnation being awarded against them, they answered again every one in his turn, in manner and effect of words, as followeth: the archbishop first beginning thus:

The Archbishop of Canterbury:—"From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of God almighty; trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned."

Dr. Ridley:—"Although I be not of your company, yet doubt I not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner, than we should by the course of nature have come."

Master Latimer:—"I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God by that kind of death."

Dr. Weston to Latimer:—"If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus persuaded."[1]

The archbishop and his fellow-prisoners separated.

After the sentence pronounced, they were separated one from another; videlicet, the archbishop was returned to Bocardo, Dr. Ridley was carried to the sheriff's house, master Latimer to the bailiffs. On Saturday following, they had a mass with a general procession and great solemnity. Dr. Cranmer was caused to behold the procession out of Bocardo;[2] Dr. Ridley out of the sheriff's house; Latimer also, being brought to see it from the bailiff's house, thought that he should have gone to burning, and spake to one Augustine Cooper, a catchpole, to make a quick fire. But when he came to Carfax,[3] and saw the matter, he ran as fast as his old bones would carry him, to one Spenser's shop, and would not look towards it. Last of all, Dr. Weston carried the sacrament, and four doctors carried the canopy over him. Immediately after the sentence was given, Dr. Ridley writeth to the prolocutor in manner as followeth.

A Letter of Bishop Ridley to the Prolocutor.

Master prolocutor, you remember, I am sure, how you promised me openly in the schools, after my protestation, that I should see how my answers were there taken and written of the notaries whom ye appointed (me fateor neminem recusare) to write what should be said, and to have had license to have added unto them, or to have altered them, as upon more deliberation should have seemed me best. Ye granted me also, at the delivery of my answer unto your first proposition, a copy of the same:—these promises are not performed. If your sudden departure be any part of the cause thereof, yet I pray you remember that they may be performed; for performance of promise is to be looked for at a righteous judge's hands. Now I send you here my answers in writing to your second and third propositions, and do desire and require earnestly a copy of the same; and I shall, by God's grace, procure the pains of the writer to be paid for, and satisfied accordingly. Master prolocutor, in the time of my answering in the schools, when I would have confirmed my sayings with authorities and reasons, ye said then openly, that I should have time and place, to say and bring whatsoever I could, another time, and the same your saying

Papists have small conscience in performing promises.

(1) Weston, here, giveth sentence against himself. (2) A prison so called.—Ed.
(3) The market-place.—Ed

was then and there confirmed of other of the commissioners: yea, and (I dare say) the audience also thought then, that I should have had another day, to have brought and said what I could, for the declaration and confirmation of mine assertions. Now that this was not done, but so suddenly sentence given, before the cause was perfectly heard, I cannot but marvel *at[1] it all; and the due reformation of all things which are amiss, I commit to Almighty God my heavenly Father, who, by his dear Son our Saviour Jesus Christ whom he hath made the universal judge of all flesh, shall truly and righteously judge both you and me.*

On Monday next ensuing, after these things done and past, being the 23d of the said month of April, Dr. Weston, prolocutor, took his journey up to London, with the letters certificatory from the university unto the queen, by whom the archbishop of Canterbury directed his letters supplicatory unto the council. The which letters, after the prolocutor had received, and had carried them well-near half way to London, by the way he opened the same, and seeing the contents thereof, sent them back again, refusing to carry them, etc. Likewise bishop Ridley, hearing of the prolocutor's going to London, writeth to him his letters, wherein he desireth him to carry his answers up to certain bishops in London, the form of which letters, first of Dr. Ridley, then of the archbishop; and lastly, another letter of Dr. Ridley to the archbishop, here in order followeth.

Another Letter of Bishop Ridley to the Prolocutor.

Master prolocutor, I desire you, and in God's name require you, that you truly bring forth and show all mine answers, written and subscribed with mine own hand, unto the higher house of the convocation, and especially to my lord chancellor, my lords of Durham, Ely, Worcester, Norwich, and Chichester; and also to show and exhibit this my writing unto them, which in these few lines here I write unto you. And that I did make this request unto you by this my writing, know ye that I did take witness of them by whom I send you this writing, and also of those which were then with them present; videlicet, the two bailiffs of Oxford—and of master Irish, alderman, then there called to be a witness.

By me Nicholas Ridley, the 13th of April, anno 1554.

The Copy of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter to the Council, sent by Dr. Weston, who refused to deliver it.

In right humble wise showeth unto your honourable lordships Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, beseeching the same to be a means for me unto the queen's highness for her mercy and pardon. Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained unto the will of our late sovereign lord king Edward the Sixth, and what I spake against the same; wherein I refer me to the reports of your honours and worships. Furthermore, this is to signify unto your lordships, that upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last past, were open disputations here in Oxford against me, master Ridley, and master Latimer, in three matters concerning the sacrament: first, of the real presence: secondly, of transubstantiation: and thirdly, of the sacrifice of the mass. Upon Monday, against me; upon Tuesday, against Dr. Ridley; and upon Wednesday, against master Latimer. How the other two were ordered, I know not; for we were separated, so that none of us knoweth what the other said, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning myself, I can report. Dr. Chedsey was appointed to dispute against me, but the disputation was so confused, that I never knew the like; every man bringing forth what him liked without order: and such haste was made, that no answer could be suffered to be taken fully to any argument, before another brought a new argument. And in such weighty matters the disputation must needs be ended in one day, which

The archbishop not suffered to answer fully to any argument.

(1) This letter is completed from the Edition of 1563, page 977; it is followed by An Address of Dr. Ridley to the Reader, which will be found in his subsequent History.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

can scantly be ended in three months. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofs, that they might answer us, being required by me thereunto; whereas I myself have more to say, than can be well discussed, as I suppose, in twenty days. The means to resolve the truth, had been to have suffered us to answer fully to all that they could say; and then they again to answer us fully to all that we can say. But why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to answer us, or else for some consideration they made such haste, not to seek the truth, but to condemn us, that it must be done in post-haste before the matters could be thoroughly heard—for in haste we were all three condemned of heresy. Thus much I thought good to signify unto your lordships, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgment thereof unto your wisdoms. And I beseech your lordships, to remember me, a poor prisoner, unto the queen's majesty; and I shall pray, as I do daily unto God, for the long preservation of your good lordships in all godliness and felicity.

Haste made in condemning the archbishop and his fellows.

April 23, 1554.

Bishop Ridley to Archbishop Cranmer.

I wish ye might have seen these mine answers before I had delivered them, that ye might have corrected them. But, I trust, in the substance of the matter we do agree fully, both led by one spirit of truth, and both walking after one rule of God's word. It is reported, that serjeant Morgan,[1] the chief justice of the Common Pleas, is gone mad. It is said also, that justice Hales hath recanted, perverted by Dr. Moreman. Item, that master Rogers, Dr. Crome, and master Bradford shall be had to Cambridge, and there be disputed with, as we were here; and that the doctors of Oxford shall go likewise thither, as Cambridge men came hither. When ye have read mine answers, send them again to Austin, except ye will put any thing to them. I trust the day of our delivery out of all miseries, and of our entrance into perpetual rest, and into perpetual joy and felicity, draweth nigh: the Lord strengthen us with his mighty Spirit of grace!

Disputation in Cambridge intended.

If you have not to write with, you must make your man your friend. And this bearer deserveth to be rewarded; so he may, and will do you pleasure. My man is trusty, but it grieveth both him and me, that when I send him with any thing to you, your man will not let him come up to see you, as he may to master Latimer, and yours to me. I have a promise to see how my answers were written in the schools, but as yet I cannot come by it. Pray for me, I pray for you, and so shall I for you. The Lord have mercy of his church, and lighten the eyes of the magistrates, that God's extreme plagues light not on this realm of England!—Turn, or burn.

OTHER THINGS WHICH HAPPENED IN THIS REALM, IN THIS TUMULTUOUS TIME.

A.D. 1553 to 1554.

These disputations being thus discussed and ended, which were at Oxford in the month of April, as is aforesaid: now let us return again to the prosecuting of our story, touching other things likewise that happened in other parts of the realm, in this tumultuous time of queen Mary. And because things that happened in that time were so many and divers, that it is hard to keep a perfect order in reciting them all—to the intent therefore to insert things left out before, or else to prosecute the same more at full, we have thought here a little to interrupt the order of time (albeit not much), returning again to the month of July the year before, viz. 1553. In the which month of July, I showed before, how the duke of Northumberland was apprehended by the guard, and brought to London by the earl of Arundel, and other lords and gentlemen appointed for that purpose,

(1) This justice Morgan gave sentence against lady Jane.

on St. James's day (being the 25th of July), and so to the Tower, where he remained.

These be the names of them that were committed to the Tower with the duke. First, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Huntingdon, lord Ambrose Dudley and lord Henry Dudley, lord Hastings, who was delivered again the same night; sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, sir Andrew Dudley, sir Thomas Palmer, and Dr. Sands, chancellor of Cambridge.

The names of them that were committed to the Tower with the duke of Northumberland.

The 26th of July, the lord marquis of Northampton, the bishop of London, lord Robert Dudley, and sir Richard Corbet, were brought and committed to the Tower.

The 27th of July, the lord chief justice of England, and the lord Mountacute,[1] chief justice of the Common Pleas, were committed to the Tower.

On the Friday, being the 28th of July, the duke of Suffolk, and sir John Cheke were committed to the Tower.

The 30th of July, the lord Russel was committed to the sheriff of London's custody.

The 31st of July, the earl of Rutland was committed to the Fleet.

Duke of Suffolk.

On the same day, being Monday, the duke of Suffolk was delivered out of the Tower again.

On Thursday the 3d of August, the queen entered into the city of London at Aldgate, and so to the Tower, where she remained seven days, and then removed to Richmond.

On Friday the 4th of August, Dr. Day was delivered out of the Fleet.

Bonner set at liberty.

On Saturday the 5th of August, the lord Ferrers was committed to the Tower, and the same day Dr. Bonner was delivered out of the Marshalsea. The same day at night, Dr. Coxe was committed to the Marshalsea, and one master Edward Underhill to Newgate.[2] Also the same day Dr. Tonstal and Stephen Gardiner were delivered out of the Tower, and Gardiner received into the queen's privy council, and made lord chancellor.

On Sunday the 6th of August, Henry Dudley, captain of the guard at Guines,[3] who before had been sent to the French king by his cousin the duke of Northumberland, after the dispatch of his ambassage with the French king, returned to Guines, and so was taken, and this day brought to the Tower.

On Monday the 7th of August, "Dirige" in Latin was sung within the Tower, by all the king's chapel, and the bishop of Winchester was chief minister; whereat was present the queen, and most part of the council.

King Edward's body buried.

On Tuesday the 8th of August,[4] the king's body was brought to Westminster, and there buried; where Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, preached. The same day a mass of Requiem was sung within the Tower, by the bishop of Winchester, who had on his mitre, and did all things as in times past was done; at which mass the queen was present.

(1) Sir Edward Montague, is meant. He had been speaker of the House of Commons in the reign of Henry VIII.

(2) Of the sufferings of this man, a narration is given by Strype, from an account which Underhill himself drew up and sent to Foxe. See Mem. under Mary, cap. 6.—Ed.

(3) A small town four miles from Calais.—Ed.

(4) Stow says the 9th of August.—Ed.

Mary.

A. D. 1553 to 1554.

On Thursday the duke of Norfolk came forth of the Tower, with whom the duchess of Somerset was also delivered this Thursday.

On Sunday the 13th of August, Dr. Bourn preached at Paul's Cross: of the which sermon read before.[1]

In the week following, commandment was given throughout the city, that no apprentices should come to the sermon, nor bear any knife or dagger.

Bradford with others committed to the Tower.

On the Wednesday, being the 16th of August, master Bradford, master Beacon, and master Veron, were committed to the Tower: with whom also master Sampson should have been committed, and was sought for the same time at master Elsing's house in Fleet-street, where master Bradford was taken; and because he was not found, the bishop of Winchester fumed like a prelate, with the messenger.

On the Friday, being the 18th of August, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, were arraigned at Westminster, and there the same day condemned; the duke of Norfolk that day being the high judge.

On Saturday the 19th of August, sir Andrew Dudley, sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, were arraigned at Westminster, and condemned the same day; the lord marquis of Winchester being high judge.

On that day a letter was sent unto sir Henry Tirril, Anthony Brown and Edmund Brown, esquires, praying them to eommit to ward all such as should contemn the queen's order of religion, or should keep themselves from church, there to remain until they be conformable, and to signify their names to the council.

Dr. Watson preached at Paul's Cross.

On Sunday the 20th of August, Dr. Watson, the bishop of Winchester's chaplain, preached at Paul's Cross, at whose sermon were present the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Pembroke, the lord Rich, and two hundred of the guard with their halberts, lest the people should have made any stir against the preacher.

On Monday the 21st of August, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, sir Andrew Dudley, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, heard a mass within the Tower, and after mass they all five received the sacrament in one kind only, as in the popish time was used. On the which day also queen Mary set forth a proclamation, signifying to the people, that she could not hide any longer the religion which she from her infancy had professed, etc.: inhibiting in the said proclamation, printing, and preaching. The tenor thereof read before.[2]

Execution at the Tower-hill.

On the Tuesday, being the 22d of August, the duke of Northumberland, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, were beheaded at the Tower-hill, as before is said.[3] The same day certain noble personages heard mass within the Tower, and likewise after mass, received the sacrament in one kind.

On Sunday, the 27th of August, Dr. Chedsey preached at Paul's-Cross; and the same day the bishop of Canterbury, sir Thomas Smith, and the dean of Paul's, were cited to appear the week following before the queen's commissioners, in the bishop's consistory within Paul's.

(1) Page 391. (2) Page 390. (3) Page 389.

Mary. A. D. 1553 to 1554.

In this mean time it was noised abroad by running rumours falsely and craftily devised; either to stablish the credit of the mass, or else to bring Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, out of credit, that he, to curry favour with queen Mary, should promise to say "Dirige mass," after the old custom for king Edward, and that he had already said mass at Canterbury, etc. Wherefore, to stop the noise and slanders of those rumours, on the 7th of September, 1553, he set forth a letter, which was also printed, in purgation of himself, the copy of which letter here ensueth:

A Purgation of Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, against certain Slanders and Rumours falsely raised upon him.[1]

As the devil, Christ's ancient adversary, is a liar, and the father of lies, even so hath he stirred up his servants and members to persecute Christ, and his true word and religion, with lying: which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present time. For whereas the prince of famous memory, king Henry the Eighth, seeing the great abuses of the Latin mass, reformed some things therein in his lifetime, and after, our late sovereign lord king Edward the Sixth, took the same wholly away, for the manifold and great errors and abuses of the same, and restored in the place thereof Christ's holy supper, according to Christ's own institution, and as the apostles used the same in the primitive church; the devil goeth about now, by lying, to overthrow the Lord's supper again, and to restore his Latin satisfactory mass, a thing of his own invention and device. And to bring the same more easily to pass, some have abused the name of me, Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, bruiting abroad, that I have set up the mass at Canterbury, and that I offered to say mass at the burial of our late sovereign prince king Edward the Sixth, and that I offered to say mass before the queen's highness, and at Paul's church, and I wot not where. And although I have been well exercised these twenty years to suffer and bear evil reports and lies, and have not been much grieved thereat, but have borne all things quietly: yet, when untrue reports and lies turn to the hinderance of God's truth, they are in no wise to be suffered. Wherefore, these be to signify unto the world, that it was not I, that set up the mass at Canterbury, but it was a false, flattering, lying, and dissembling monk,[2] which caused mass to be set up there without mine advice or counsel: "Reddat illi Dominus in die illo." And as for offering myself to say mass before the queen's highness, or in any other place, I never did it; as her grace well knoweth. But if her grace will give me leave, I shall be ready to prove, against all that will say the contrary, that all that is contained in the Holy Communion, set out by the most innocent and godly prince king Edward the Sixth, in his high court of parliament, is conformable to that order which our Saviour Christ did both observe, and command to be observed; and which his apostles and the primitive church used many years:—whereas the mass, in many things, not only hath no foundation of Christ, his apostles, nor the primitive church, but is manifestly contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible abuses in it. And although many, either unlearned or malicious, do report, that master Peter Martyr is unlearned, yet, if the queen's highness will grant thereunto, I, with the said master Peter Martyr, and other four or five, which I shall choose, will, by God's grace, take upon us to defend, not only the common prayers of the church, the ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also all the doctrine and religion set out by our sovereign lord king Edward the Sixth, to be more pure, and according to God's word, than any other that hath been used in England these one thousand years: so that God's word may be judge, and that the reasons and proofs of both parties may be set out in writing, to the intent, as well that all the world may examine and judge thereon, as that no man shall start back from his writing. And whereas they boast of the faith, that hath been in the church these fifteen hundred years, we will join with them in this point; and that the same doctrine and usage is to be followed, which was in

(1) See the Harleian MSS. in the Brit Mus. No. 422, artic. 3, in Grindall's handwriting.—Ed.
(2) This monk was Dr. Thornton, a cruel murderer of God's people, of whose horrible end ye shall read hereafter, partly also in the Life of Cranmer.

Mary. A.D. 1553 to 1554.

the church fifteen hundred years past: and we shall prove, that the order of the church, set out at this present in this realm by act of parliament, is the same that was used in the church fifteen hundred years past—and so shall they be never able to prove theirs.

The same Thursday, being the 7th of September, 1553, lord Mountacute chief justice, and the lord chief baron, were delivered out of the Tower.

The 13th of September,[1] the reverend father, master Hugh Latimer was committed to the Tower.

The 14th of September,[2] the archbishop of Canterbury was committed to the Tower.

The 26th of September, one master Gray of Cambridge, called before him one master Garth, for that he would not suffer a boy of Peter-house to help him say mass in Pembroke-hall; which was before any law was established for that behalf.

The queen came to the Tower of London upon the Thursday, the 28th of September. And, upon the Saturday following, she rode from the Tower through the city of London, where were made many pageants[3] to receive her; and so she was triumphantly brought to Westminster to Whitehall.

Upon the Sunday, being the 1st of October, 1553, the queen's highness went from Whitehall to Westminster-abbey, accompanied with the most part of the nobility of this realm, namely these: the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Shrewsbury, the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Derby, Bedford, Worcester, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Oxford, Sussex, Devonshire, Pembroke, the lord Dacres of the north, lord Ferrers, lord Cobham, lord Abergavenny, lord Wentworth, lord Scrope, lord Riche, lord Vaux, lord Howard, lord Connyers, lord Morley, lord Paget, and the lord Willoughby; with other nobles, and all the ambassadors of divers countries, and the mayor of London, with all the aldermen. Also out of the abbey, to receive her coming, came three silver crosses, and to the number of fourscore, or near upon, of singing men, all in very rich and gorgeous copes. Amongst whom was the dean of Westminster, and divers of her chaplains, which bare every one some ensign in their hands, and after them followed ten bishops, mitred all, and their crosier staves in their hands, and rich copes upon them every one. And in this order they returned from Westminster-hall before the queen to the abbey, where she was crowned by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester and lord chancellor of England. At the time of the coronation Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, made a sermon to the queen's majesty, and to the rest of the nobility.

Queen Mary crowned.

Dr. Day's sermon.

General pardon at the coronation. Exceptions.

Also there was a general pardon proclaimed within the abbey at the same time of her coronation, out of which proclamation all the prisoners of the Tower and the Fleet were excepted, and sixty-two more; whereof master Whitchurch and master Grafton were two.

The 3d of October, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge did challenge one master Pierson, for that he ministered still the communion in his own parish, and did receive strangers of other parishes to the same,

(1) Stow says the 14th of September.—Ed. (2) Sept. 15, according to Stow.—Ed.
(3) Amongst these pageants, stood a certain man upon the top of the eagle upon Paul's steeple, with a flag in his hand.

and would not say mass. Whereupon, within two days after, he was clean discharged from further ministering in his cure.

On the Wednesday following, the archbishop of York was committed to the Tower.

On Thursday, being the 5th of October, the queen rode to the parliament in her robes, and all the nobility with her, and when they were set in the parliament-house, the bishop of Winchester made to them a solemn oration, and serjeant Pollard was chosen speaker of the parliament. The same day the bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, and Chester, were discharged from the parliament and convocation.

Queen Mary rideth to the parliament-house.

Also, the 10th of October, the earl of Huntingdon was delivered out of the Tower.

On the Sunday after, being the 15th of October, master Laurence Saunders preached at Allhallows in Bread-street in the morning; where he declared the abomination of the mass, with divers other matters, very notably and godly: whereof more shall be heard (by the Lord's leave) hereafter, when we come to his story. In which his doing, as he showed himself to be God's faithful minister, so is he sure not to be defrauded of God's faithful promise, who saith, "Omnis qui confitebitur me coram hominibus, confitebor et ego illum coram Patre meo qui est in cœlis." But about noon of the same day, he was sent for by the bishop of London, and from thence committed to the Marshalsea.

Saunders, for preaching against the mass, committed to the Marshalsea.

Matt. x.

On the Sunday following, being the 20th of October, Dr. Weston preached at Paul's Cross; who, in the beginning of his sermon, willed the people to pray for the souls departed, on this wise: "You shall pray for all them that be departed, that be neither in heaven, nor hell, but in a place not yet sufficiently purged to come to heaven, that they may be relieved by your devout prayers." He named the Lord's table an oyster-board. He said, that the catechism in Latin, lately set out, was abominable heresy, and likened the setters-out of the same catechism to Julian the apostate, and the book to a dialogue set out by the said Julian the apostate, wherein Christ and Pilate were the speakers; with many other things. Which sermon, with all the points thereof, master Coverdale the same time learnedly confuted by writing; which remaineth yet in my hands to be seen.

Weston's popish sermon.

Weston's sermon confuted by Coverdale.

In the week following began the disputations in the Convocation-house in Paul's church, whereof sufficient hath been before declared.

The 26th of October, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge went to Clare-hall, and in the presence of Dr. Walker, displaced Dr. Madew, and placed master Swynbourne in the mastership there, by force of the lord chancellor's letters; for that he was (as they termed it) "uxoratus," that is, married.

The 28th of October, the papists in the King's college in Cambridge (not tarrying the making of any law, but of their blind zeal), had their whole service again in the Latin tongue; contrary to the law then in force.

Running before the law.

The last day of October, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge did sharply reprove and threaten one master Thrackold, for that he challenged the said vice-chancellor, who had suffered master Bovell (contrary to the statutes then in force) quietly without punishment to

Mary. A.D. 1553 to 1554.

depart, notwithstanding that he refused to swear to the supremacy of the queen, and the abrogation of the bishop of Rome.

The 3d of November the vice-chancellor sent for the curate of the Round church in Cambridge, commanding him not to minister any more in the English tongue; saying, he would have one uniform order of service throughout the town, and that in Latin, with mass: which was established the twelfth day of this month.

The queen's proceedings maintained in Cambridge.

The 6th of November, master Pollard preached at St. Michael's, and in his sermon approved purgatory.

The 28th of November, the archdeacon's official visited in Hinton, where he gave in charge to present all such as did disturb the queen's proceedings, in letting the Latin service, the setting up of their altars, and saying of mass, or any part thereof: whereby it was easy to see, how these good fellows meant to proceed, having the law once on their side; that thus readily, against a manifest law, would attempt the punishment of any man.

King Edward's acts repealed.

The 15th of December there were two proclamations at London; the one for the repealing of certain acts made by king Edward, and for the setting up of the mass, for the 20th of December then next following: the other was, that no man should interrupt any of those that would say mass.

The parliament beginning about the 5th of October, continued till the 5th of December. In the which parliament were dissolved as well all the statutes made of præmunire, in the time of king Henry the Eighth, etc., as also other laws and statutes concerning religion and administration of sacraments, decreed under king Edward the Sixth, as is partly above touched. In the which parliament moreover was appointed, the 20th of December next ensuing, the same year 1553, that all the old form and manner of church-service, used in the last year of king Henry, should now again be restored.

On new-year's even, being the last day of December, the lord marquis of Northampton was delivered out of the Tower.

A priest of Canterbury repenting his saying mass.

About this time a priest of Canterbury said mass on the one day, and the next day after he came into the pulpit, and desired all the people to forgive him; for he said, he had betrayed Christ, not as Judas did, but as Peter did: and there made a long sermon against the mass.

A.D. 1554.

The day after new-year's day, being the 2d of January, A.D. 1554, four ambassadors came into London from the emperor, and were honourably received. Their names were these: the counts of Egmont and Lalain, the lord of Courrieres, and the sieur de Nigry.

New bishops made.

About this time a great number of new bishops, deans, etc., were chosen; more than were made at one time since the Conquest. Their names are these:

Holyman, bishop of Bristol; Cotes, bishop of Chester; Hopton, bishop of Norwich; Bourn, bishop of Bath; White, bishop of Lincoln; Mores,[1] bishop of Rochester; Morgan, bishop of St. David's; Poole, bishop of St. Asaph; Brookes, bishop of Gloucester; Moreman, coadjutor to the bishop of Exeter, and, after his decease, bishop of

(1) "Mores." Maurice Griffin was consecrated to this see in April 1554. "Poole," bishop of Asaph, also appears to be an error. Parfew and Goldwell are the only names that occur about the period specified. A David Poole was made bishop of Peterborough in 1557. See Godwin.—Ed.

Exeter; Glyn, bishop of Bangor; master Fecknam, dean of Paul's; Rainolds, dean of Bristol, with others. *Mary.* A. D. 1554.

The 12th of January, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge called a congregation general, wherein amongst other things he showed, that the queen would have there a mass of the Holy Ghost upon the 18th of February then next following, for that it was her birthday; which was fulfilled the day appointed, and that very solemnly.

On the Saturday, being the 13th of January, Dr. Crome was committed to the Fleet. Also upon the Sunday following, one master Addington was committed to the Tower. Also this same Sunday knowledge was given in the court openly by the bishop of Winchester, that the marriage between the queen's majesty and the king of Spain was concluded; and the day following, being Monday, and the 15th of January, the mayor with the aldermen and certain commons were at the court; and there they were commanded by the lord chancellor to prepare the city ready to receive the said king of Spain; who declared unto them what a catholic, mighty, prudent, and wise prince the said king was, with many other commendations of him.

Crome committed to the Fleet.

Marriage of the queen.

On the Saturday following, being the 20th of January, the court of the first-fruits and tenths was dissolved.

On the Thursday at night following, the 25th of January, the lord marquis of Northampton was again committed to the Tower, and sir Edward Warner with him; who were brought to the Tower by the mayor.

On the Saturday following, being the 27th of January, justice Hales was committed to the Marshalsea, and the same day master Rogers was committed to Newgate. On this Saturday, and the Sunday and Monday following, the Londoners prepared a number of soldiers (by the queen's commandment), to go into Kent against the commons: whereof were chief captains the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, sir Henry Jerningham, sir George Hayward, and ten other captains. Which soldiers when they came to Rochester-bridge, where they should have set upon their enemies, most of them (as it is said) left their own captains, and came wholly to the Kentish men; and so the aforesaid captains returned to the court both void of men and victory, leaving behind them both six pieces of ordnance, and treasure.

Justice Hales committed; also master Rogers.

About the latter end of January, the duke of Suffolk with his brethren departed from his house at Shene, and took his voyage into Leicestershire. After whom was sent the earl of Huntingdon to take him and bring him to London, who proclaimed the said duke traitor, by the way as he rode.

And thus passing to the month of February, here is to be noted by way of story, that upon the fifteenth day of the said month, being Thursday, there were seen within the city of London, about nine of the clock in the forenoon, strange sights. There were seen two suns both shining at once, the one a pretty good way distant from the other. At the same time was also seen a rainbow turned contrary, and a great deal higher than hath been accustomed. The common standing of the rainbow is thus ⌒, but this stood thus ⌣, with the head downward, and the feet as it were upward. Both these sights were seen as well at Westminster, in Cheapside, and on the south

Strange sights seen before the coming in of king Philip, and subversion of religion.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

side of Paul's, as in very many other places; and that by a great number of honest men. Also certain aldermen went out of the Guildhall, to behold the sight.

As touching the rising of master Wyat, with sir William Cobham and others, in Kent, and their coming to London in the month of February; also of the queen's coming to Guildhall, and her oration there made; and after of the taking of the said Wyat and his company; likewise of the apprehension of the duke of Suffolk with his brother lord John Gray; and, the next day after, of the beheading of the lord Guilford and lady Jane, which was the 12th of February, and how the day before, which was the 11th of the said month, lord William Howard, and sir Edward Hastings were sent for the lady Elizabeth; and how the same Sunday, sir Henry Iseley, master Culpepper, and master Winter were committed to the Tower, the bishop of Winchester the same day (being the 11th of February) preaching before the queen, and persuading her to use no mercy toward these Kentish men, but severe execution—all which was in the month of February; because most of these matters have been briefly touched before, or else may be found in other chronicles, I will cease to make any further story of them: having somewhat, notwithstanding, to declare touching the arraignment and death of the duke of Suffolk.

The lady Elizabeth sent for; the bishop of Winchester preacheth.

The duke of Suffolk.

On Saturday, the 17th of February, the duke of Suffolk was arraigned at Westminster, and the same day condemned to die by his peers: the earl of Arundel was chief judge for this day.

On the Sunday following, the 18th of February, sessions was kept in London, which hath not before been kept on the Sunday.

On Monday, the 19th of February, the lord Cobham's three sons, and four other men, were arraigned at Westminster: of which sons the youngest was condemned, whose name was Thomas, and the other two came not at the bar; and the other four were condemned.

The lord John Gray.

On Tuesday, the 20th of February, the lord John Gray was arraigned at Westminster, and there condemned the same day; and other three men, whereof one was named Nailer.

On Wednesday, the 21st of February, the lord Thomas Gray and sir James Croft were brought through London to the Tower, with a number of horsemen.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

On Thursday, the 22d of February, sir Nicholas Throgmorton was committed to the Tower.

On Friday, the 23d of February, the duke of Suffolk was beheaded at the Tower-hill, the order of whose death here followed.

The godly End and Death of the Duke of Suffolk beheaded at Tower-hill.

Weston the duke's ghostly father against the duke's will.

On Friday the 23d of February, 1554, about nine of the clock in the forenoon, the lord Henry Gray, duke of Suffolk, was brought forth of the Tower of London unto the scaffold on the Tower-hill, with a great company, etc.; and in his coming thither, there accompanied him Dr. Weston, as his ghostly father: notwithstanding, as it should seem, against the will of the said duke—for when the duke went up

to the scaffold, the said Weston being on the left hand, pressed to go up with him. The duke with his hand, put him down again off the stairs; and Weston, taking hold of the duke, forced him down likewise. And as they ascended the second time, the duke again put him down.

Then Weston said, that it was the queen's pleasure he should so do. Wherewith the duke casting his hands abroad, ascended up the scaffold, and paused a pretty while after. And then he said:

Put back by the duke.

"Masters, I have offended the queen and her laws, and thereby am justly condemned to die, and am willing to die, desiring all men to be obedient. And I pray God that this my death may be an ensample to all men, beseeching you all to bear me witness, that I die in the faith of Christ, trusting to be saved by *his* blood only, and by no other trumpery, the which died for me, and for all them that truly repent, and steadfastly trust in him. And I do repent, desiring you all to pray to God for me; and that when you see my breath depart from me, you will pray to God that he may receive my soul."

The godly faith and confession of the duke at his death

And then he desired all men to forgive him, saying, that the queen had forgiven him.

Then master Weston declared with a loud voice, that the queen's majesty had forgiven him. With that divers of the standers-by said, with meetly good and audible voice: "Such forgiveness God send thee" (meaning Dr. Weston). Then the duke kneeled down upon his knees, and said the psalm, "Miserere mei Deus," unto the end, holding up his hands, and looking up to heaven. And when he had ended the psalm, he said, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum," etc. Then he arose and stood up, and delivered his cap and his scarf unto the executioner.

The duke prayeth.

Then the said executioner kneeled down, and asked the duke forgiveness. And the duke said, "God forgive thee, and I do: and when thou dost thine office, I pray thee do it well, and bring me out of this world quickly; and God have mercy to thee." Then stood there a man, and said, "My lord, how shall I do for the money that you do owe me?" And the duke said, "Alas, good fellow! I pray thee trouble me not now; but go thy way to my officers." Then he knit a kercher about his face, and kneeled down and said, "Our Father which art in heaven," etc., unto the end. And then he said, "Christ have mercy upon me;" and laid down his head on the block, and the executioner took the axe, and, at the first chop, struck off his head, and held it up to the people, etc.

The duke prepareth for death.

His end.

The same day a number of prisoners had their pardon, and came through the city with their halters about their necks. There were in number about two hundred.[1]

On Saturday, the 24th of February, sir William Sentlow was committed as prisoner to the master of the horse, to be kept. This sir William was at this time one of the lady Elizabeth's gentlemen.

On Sunday, the 25th of February, sir John Rogers was committed to the Tower.

In this week, all such priests within the diocese of London as were married, were divorced from their livings, and commanded to bring their wives within a fortnight, that they might be likewise divorced from them.—This the bishop did of his own power.

Priests divorced.

(1) The number of those were two hundred and forty, which with halters about their necks passed through the city to Westminster, and had their pardon.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

On the Tuesday in the same week, being the 27th of February, certain gentlemen of Kent were sent into Kent, to be executed there: their names were these, the two Mantels, two Knevets, and Bret. With these master Rudston also, and certain others were condemned, and should have been executed, but they had their pardon.

Gentlemen executed.

As touching the aforesaid master Mantel the elder, here by the way is to be noted, that as he was led to execution, and at his first casting under the gallows, the rope brake. Then they would have had him recant the truth, and receive the sacrament of the altar (as they term it): and then, they said, he should have the queen's pardon. But master Mantel, like a worthy gentleman, refused their serpentine counsel, and chose rather to die, than to have life for dishonouring of God.

Moreover, as touching the said master Mantel, for that he was reported falsely to have fallen from the constancy of his profession: to clear himself thereof, and to reprove the sinister surmise of his recantation, he wrote this brief apology in purgation of himself, the copy whereof you shall hear.

The Apology of Master Mantel the elder.

Perceiving that already certain false reports are raised of me, concerning my answer in the behalf of my belief, while I was prisoner in the Tower of London, and considering how sore a matter it is to be an occasion of offence to any of those little ones that believe in Christ: I have thought it the duty of a christian man, as near as I can (with the truth), to take away this offence. It pleased the queen's majesty to send unto me master doctor Bourn, unto whom at the first meeting I acknowledged my faith in all points to agree with the four creeds, that is, the common creed, the creed of Nicene, "Quicunque vult," and "Te Deum laudamus."

Bourn sent to Mantel.

Further, as concerning confession and penance, I declare that I could be content to show unto any learned minister of Christ's church, any thing that troubled my conscience; and of such a man I would most willingly hear absolution pronounced.

Mantel opposed in the sacrament.

Touching the sacrament of the altar (as he termed it), I said that I believed Christ to be there present as the Holy Ghost meant, when these words were written, "Hoc est corpus meum."

Further, when this would not satisfy, I desired him to consider, that I was a condemned man to die by a law, and that it was more meet for me to seek a readiness and preparation to death. And insomuch as I dissented not from him in any article of the christian faith necessary to salvation, I desired him, for God's sake, no more to trouble me with such matters, as which to believe, is neither salvation; nor not to believe, damnation. He answered, that if I dissented but in the least matter from the catholic church, my soul was in great danger; therefore much more in this great matter—alleging this text,[1] "He that offendeth in the least of these, is guilty of them all." Yea, quoth I,[2] "It is true of these commandments of God." To this I desired him to consider, it was not my matter, nor could I in these matters keep disputation, nor minded so to do. And therefore, to take these few words for a full answer, that I not only in the matter of the sacrament, but also in all other matters of religion, believe as the holy catholic church of Christ (grounded upon the prophets and apostles) believeth. But upon this word "church" we agreed not; for I took exception at the antichristian, popish church.

The church.

Bourn and Mantel disagree in the mass.

Then fell we in talk of the mass, wherein we agreed not; for I, both for the occasion of idolatry, and also the clear subversion of Christ's institution, thought it nought; and he, *è contra*, upon certain considerations supposed it good. I found fault that it was accounted a sacrifice propitiatory for sin, and at certain

(1) "Qui offenderit in minimo, factus est reus omnium." Matt. v.
(2) "Verum ex hisce mandatis." James ii.

other applications of it. But he said, that it was not a propitiatory sacrifice for sin (for the death of Christ only was that sacrifice), and this but a commemoration of the same. "Then, if ye think so (certain blasphemous collects left out), I could be content (were it not for offending my poor brethren that believe in Christ, which know not so much) to hear your mass." "See," quoth he, "how vain glory toucheth you." "Not so, sir," quoth I, "I am not now, I thank God, in case to be vain-glorious."

Bourn maketh the mass a communion.

Then I found further fault with it, that it was not a communion. "Yea," saith he, "one priest saying mass here, and another there, and the third in another place, etc., is a communion." "This agreeth scarcely with these words of Paul," said I,[1] "Ye come not after a better manner, but after a worse." "Yea, and it is a communion too," said he, "when they come together. Now draweth on the time," quoth he, "that I must depart from you to the court, to say mass before the queen, and must signify unto her, in what case I find you, and methinks I find you sore seduced." Then I said, "I pray you report the best: for I trust you find me not obstinate." "What shall I say? are ye content to hear mass, and to receive the sacrament in the mass?" "I beseech you," said I, "signify unto her majesty, that I am neither obstinate nor stubborn; for time and persuasion may alter me, but as yet my conscience is such, that I can neither hear mass, nor receive the sacrament after that sort."—Thus, after certain requests made to the queen's majesty concerning other matters, he departed.

Mantel neither obstinate nor stubborn.

The next day he came to me again, and brought with him St. Cyprian's works; for so I had required him to do the day before, because I would see his sermon "De Mortalitate." He had in this book turned and interlined certain places, both concerning the church and the sacrament, which he willed me to read. I read as much as my time would serve, and at his next coming I said, that I was wholly of Cyprian's mind in the matter of the sacrament. Dr. Weston and Dr. Mallet came after to me, whom I answered much after that sort as I did the other. Dr. Weston brought in the place of St. Cyprian, "Panis iste non effigie sed natura mutatus," etc. I asked of him how "natura" was taken in the Convocation-house, in the disputation upon the place of Theodoret.

To be short, Dr. Bourn came often unto me, and I always said unto him, that I was not minded, nor able to dispute in matters of religion: but I believed as the holy catholic church of Christ, grounded upon the prophets and apostles, doth believe: and namely in the matter of the sacrament, as the holy fathers, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine do write and believed. And this answer, and none other, they had of me in effect: what words soever have been spread abroad of me, that I should be conformable to all things, etc. The truth is, I never heard mass, nor received the sacrament during the time of my imprisonment.

Mantel constant in his religion.

One time he willed me to be confessed. I said, "I am content." We kneeled down to pray together in a window. I began without "Benedicite," desiring him not to look, at my hand, for any superstitious particular enumeration of my sins. Therewith he was called away to the council; *et ego liberatus.* Thus much I bare only for my life, as God knoweth. If in this I have offended any Christian, from the bottom of my heart I ask them forgiveness. I trust God hath forgiven me, who knoweth that I durst never deny him before men, lest he should deny me before his heavenly Father.

Thus I have left behind me, written with mine own hand, the effect of all the talk, especially of the worst that ever I granted unto, to the uttermost I can remember, as God knoweth. All the whole communication I have not written; for it were both too long, and too foolish, so to do. Now I beseech the living God, which hath received me to his mercy, and brought to pass that I die steadfast and undefiled in his truth, at utter defiance and detestation of all papistical and antichristian doctrine—I beseech him (I say) to keep and defend all his chosen, for his name's sake, from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome (that Antichrist), and from the assault of all his satellites. God's indignation is known: he will try and prove who be his. Amend your lives. Deny not Christ before men, lest he deny you before his heavenly Father. Fear not to lose your lives for him; for ye shall find them again. God hold his merciful

(1) "Non in melius, sed in deterius convenitis." 1 Cor. x.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

hand over this realm, and avert the plagues imminent from the same! God save the queen, and send her knowledge in his truth, Amen! Pray, pray, pray, ye Christians, and comfort yourselves with the Scriptures.

Written the 2d of March, anno 1554, by me Walter Mantel, prisoner, whom both God and the world have forgiven his offences. Amen.

And thus much concerning the purgation of master Walter Mantel, who, if he had consented unto the queen, what time she sent Dr. Bourn unto him to deny his faith, it is not otherwise to be thought, but he had had his pardon, and escaped with life.

Carew and Gibbs in the Tower.

On Saturday, the 3d of March, Sir Gawen Carew, and master Gibbs were brought through London to the Tower with a company of horsemen.

In London, the 17th of March, every householder was commanded to appear before the alderman of his ward, and there were commanded, that they, their wives and servants, should prepare themselves to shrift, and receive the sacrament at Easter; and that neither they, nor any of them, should depart out of the city, until Easter was past.

Lady Elizabeth brought to the Tower.

On the Sunday following, being the 18th of March, the lady Elizabeth, of whom mention was made before, the queen's sister, was brought to the Tower.

On Easter even, being the 24th of March, the lord marquis of Northampton, the lord Cobham, and sir William Cobham, were delivered out of the Tower.

The pix risen out of the sepulchre from all the watchmen at St. Pancras church.

The 25th day (being Easter-day), in the morning, at St. Pancras in Cheap, the crucifix with the pix were taken out of the sepulchre, before the priest rose to the resurrection: so that when, after his accustomed manner, he put his hand into the sepulchre, and said very devoutly, "surrexit; non est hic,"—he found his words true, for he was not there indeed. Whereupon, being half dismayed, they consulted amongst themselves whom they thought to be likeliest to do this thing. In which debatement they remembered one Marsh, who, a little before, had been put from that parsonage because he was married, to whose charge they laid it. But when they could not prove it, being brought before the mayor, they then burdened him to have kept company with his wife, since that they were by commandment divorced. Whereto he answered, "that he thought the queen had done him wrong, to take from him both his living and his wife:"—which words were then noted, and taken very grievously, and he and his wife were both committed to several compters, notwithstanding that he had been very sick.

Marsh burdened with suspicion, and with his marriage.

A cat hanged with a shaven crown, upon the gallows in Cheapside.

The 8th of April, there was a cat hanged upon a gallows at the cross in Cheap, apparelled like a priest ready to say mass, with a shaven crown. Her two fore-feet were tied over her head; with a round paper like a wafer-cake put between them: whereon arose great evil-will against the city of London; for the queen and the bishops were very angry withal. And therefore the same afternoon there was a proclamation, that whosoever could bring forth the party that did hang up the cat, should have twenty nobles, which reward was afterwards increased to twenty marks; but none could or would earn it.

As touching the first occasion of setting up this gallows in Cheapside, here is to be understood, that after the sermon of the bishop of

Winchester (above mentioned), made before the queen for the strait execution of Wyat's soldiers; immediately upon the same, the 13th of February, were set up a great number of gallowses in divers places of the city; namely, two in Cheapside, one at Leadenhall, one at Billingsgate, one at St. Magnus church, one in Smithfield, one in Fleet-street, four in Southwark, one at Aldgate, one at Bishopsgate, one at Aldersgate, one at Newgate, one at Ludgate, one at St. James's-park-corner, one at Cripplegate: all which gibbets and gallowses, to the number of twenty, there remained for terror of others, from the 13th of February till the 4th of June; and then, at the coming in of king Philip, were taken down.

The number and occasion of the gallowses set up in the city of London.

The 11th of April was sir Thomas Wyat beheaded and quartered at the Tower-hill, where he uttered these words touching the lady Elizabeth, and the earl of Devonshire. "Concerning," said he, "what I have said of others in my examination, to charge any others as partakers of my doings, I accuse neither my lady Elizabeth's grace, nor my lord of Devonshire. I cannot accuse them, neither am I able to say, that to my knowledge they knew anything of my rising." And when Dr. Weston told him, that his confession was otherwise before the council, he answered: "That which I said then, I said; but that which I say now, is true!"

Wyat's words touching lady Elizabeth.

On Tuesday, the 17th of April, sir James Croft and master Winter were brought to the Guildhall, with whom also, the same time, and to the same place, was brought sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and there arraigned of treason, for that he was suspected to be of the conspiracy with the duke of Suffolk and the rest, against the queen: where he so learnedly and wisely behaved himself (as well in clearing his own case, as also in opening such laws of the realm as were then alleged against him), that the quest which was charged with this matter, could not in conscience but find him "not guilty:" for the which, the said twelve persons of the quest, being also substantial men of the city, were bound in the sum of five hundred pounds apiece to appear before the queen's council at a day appointed; there to answer such things as should be laid against them for his acquittal. This quest appeared accordingly before the council in the Star-chamber on Wednesday, being the 25th of April, and St. Mark's day. From whence, after certain questioning, they were committed to prison: Emanuel Lucas and Thomas Whetstone were committed to the Tower, and the other ten to the Fleet.

Croft, Winter, and Throgmorton.

The quest troubled for sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

As concerning the condemnation of Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, of doctor Ridley, and master Latimer, which was the 20th of this month of April, and also of their disputations, because we have said enough before, it shall not need now to bestow any further rehearsal thereof.

The Friday next following after the condemnation of them (the 27th of April), lord Thomas Gray, the late duke of Suffolk's brother, was beheaded at Tower-hill.

Lord Thomas Gray beheaded.

On Saturday, the 28th of April,[1] sir James Croft and master Winter were again brought to the Guildhall, where sir James Croft was arraigned and condemned; and because the day was far spent, master Winter was not arraigned.

(1) Stow says April 29.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

William Thomas condemned.

On Thursday, the 17th of May,[1] William Thomas was arraigned at the Guildhall, and there the same day condemned, who, the next day after, was hanged, drawn, and quartered. His accusation was, for conspiring the queen's death: which how true it was, I have not to say. This is certain, that he made a right godly end, and wrote many fruitful exhortations, letters, and sonnets, in the prison before his death.

A disputation intended to be had at Cambridge.

In the month of May it was given out, and bruited abroad, that a solemn disputation should be holden at Cambridge (as ye heard before in master Ridley's letter, p. 534), between master Bradford, master Saunders, master Rogers, and others of that side, and the doctors of both the universities on the other side, like as had been in Oxford before, as you have heard. Whereupon the godly preachers who were in prison, having word thereof, albeit they were destitute of their books, neither were ignorant of the purpose of the adversaries, and how the cause was prejudiced before; also how the disputations were confusedly handled at Oxford: nevertheless, they thought not to refuse the offer of disputation, so that they might be quietly and indifferently heard. And therefore, wisely pondering the matter with themselves, by a public consent they directed out of prison a declaration of their mind by writing, the 8th of May. Wherein first, as touching the disputation, although they knew that they should do no good, where all things were so predetermined before; yet, nevertheless, they would not deny to dispute, so that the disputation might be either before the queen, or before the council, or before the parliament-houses, or else if they might dispute by writing: for else, if the matter were brought to the doctors' handling in their own schools, they had sufficient proof, they said, by the experience of Oxford, what little good would be done at Cambridge. And so consequently declaring the faith and doctrine of their religion, and exhorting the people withal to submit themselves with all patience and humility, either to the will or punishment of the higher powers, they appealed in the end from them to be their judges in this behalf; and so ended their protestation, the copy and contents whereof I thought not unfit here to be inserted.

The preachers in prison refuse not to dispute before indifferent judges.

A Copy of a certain Declaration drawn and sent abroad out of Prison by Master Bradford, Master Saunders, and divers other godly Preachers, concerning their Disputation, and Doctrine of their Religion, as followeth:

Because we hear that it is determined of the magistrates, and such as be in authority, especially of the clergy, to send us speedily out of the prisons of the King's Bench, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and Newgate, where at this present we are, and of long time some of us have been, not as rebels, traitors, seditious persons, thieves, or transgressors of any laws of this realm, inhibitions, proclamations, or commandments of the queen's highness, or of any of the council's (God's name be praised therefore), but alonely for the conscience we have to God, and his most holy word and truth, upon most certain knowledge:—because, we say, we hear that it is determined, we shall be sent to one of the universities of Cambridge or Oxford, there to dispute with such as are appointed in that behalf: in that we purpose not to dispute otherwise than by writing, except it may be before the queen's highness and her council, or before the parliament-houses; and therefore perchance it will be bruited abroad, that we are not able

Talk of a pretended disputation to be had at Cambridge.

(1) Stow says he was condemned on the 9th of May.—Ed.

to maintain by the truth of God's word, and the consent of the true and catholic church of Christ, the doctrine we have generally and severally taught, and some of us have written and set forth; through which the godly and simple may be offended, and somewhat weakened: we have thought it our bounden duty now, while we may, by writing to publish and notify the causes why we will not dispute otherwise than is abovesaid, to prevent the offences which might come thereby:—

Why they will not dispute before indifferent judges.

First, Because it is evidently known unto the whole world; that the determinations of both the universities in matters of religion, especially wherein we should dispute, are directly against God's word, yea, against their own determinations in the time of our late sovereign lord and most godly prince, king Edward: and further it is known they be our open enemies, and have already condemned our causes, before any disputation had of the same.

Secondly, Because the prelates and clergy do not seek either us or the verity, but our destruction and their glory. For if they had sought us (as charity requireth), then would they have called us forth hereabouts before their laws were so made, that frankly and without peril we might have spoken our consciences. Again, if they had sought for the verity, they would not have concluded of controversies before they had been disputed; so that it easily appeareth, that they seek their own glory and our destruction, and not us and the verity: and therefore we have good cause to refuse disputation, as a thing which shall not further prevail than to the setting forth of their glory, and the suppression of the verity.

Neither charity nor verity sought for.

The judges professed enemies against the truth.

Thirdly, Because the censors and judges (as we hear who they be) are manifest enemies to the truth, and that which worse is, obstinate enemies, before whom pearls are not to be cast, by the commandment of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and by his own example. That they be such, their doings of late at Oxford, and in the Convocation-house in October last past, do most evidently declare.

Books necessary for disputation.

Fourthly, Because some of us have been in prison these eight or nine months, where we have had no books, no paper, no pen, no ink, or convenient place for study, we think we should do evil thus suddenly to descend into disputation with them, who may allege, as they list, the fathers and their testimonies; because our memories have not that which we have read so readily, as to reprove, when they shall report and wrest the authors to their purpose, or to bring forth that we may have there for our advantage.

Example of the disputation at Oxford.

Fifthly, Because in disputation we shall not be permitted to prosecute our arguments, but be stopt when we should speak; one saying this, another that, the third his mind, etc. As was done to the godly learned fathers, especially Dr. Ridley at Oxford, who could not be permitted to declare his mind and meaning of the propositions, and had oftentimes half a dozen at once speaking against him, always letting him to prosecute his argument, and to answer accordingly: we will not speak of the hissing, scoffing and taunting, which wonderfully then was used. If on this sort, and much worse, they handled these fathers, much more will they be shamelessly bold with us, if we should enter into disputation with them.

Notaries not indifferent.

Sixthly, Because the notaries, that shall receive and write the disputations, shall be of their appointment, and such as either do not or dare not favour the truth, and therefore must write either to please them, or else they themselves (the censors and judges we mean) at their pleasure will put to, and take from, that which is written by the notaries; who cannot, or must not, have in their custody that which they write, longer than the disputation endureth; as their doings at Oxford declare. No copy nor scroll could any man have, by their good will: for the censors and judges will have all delivered into their hands. Yea, if any man was seen there to write, as the report is, the same man was sent for, and his writings taken from him: so must the disputation serve only for the glory, not of God, but of the enemies of his truth.

For these causes we all think it so necessary not to dispute with them, as, if we did dispute, we should do that which they desire and purposely seek, to promote the kingdom of Antichrist, and to suppress (as much as may be) the truth. We will not speak of the offence that might come to the godly, when they should hear, by the report of our enemies, our answers and arguments framed (you may be sure) for their fantasies, to the slandering of the verity.

Mary.

A. D. 1554.

Exceptions taken against the adversaries. Conditions assigned how they would dispute. Exhortation to obedience.

Therefore we publish, and by this writing notify, unto the whole congregation and church of England, that for these aforesaid causes we will not dispute with them, otherwise than with the pen, unless it be before the queen's highness and her council, or before the houses of the parliament, as is abovesaid. If they will write, we will answer, and by writing confirm and prove out of the infallible verity, even the very word of God, and by the testimony of the good and most ancient fathers in Christ's church, this our faith and every piece thereof, which hereafter we, in a sum, do write and send abroad purposely, that our good brethren and sisters in the Lord may know it. And, to seal up the same, we are ready, through God's help and grace, to give our lives to the halter or fire; or otherwise, as God shall appoint: humbly requiring, and in the bowels of our Saviour Jesus Christ beseeching, all that fear God, to behave themselves as obedient subjects to the queen's highness and the superior powers, which are ordained of God under her; rather, after our example, to give their heads to the block, than in any point to rebel, or once to mutter against the Lord's anointed; we mean our sovereign lady queen Mary: into whose heart we beseech the Lord of mercy plentifully to pour the wisdom and grace of his holy Spirit, now and for ever. Amen!

The confession of the preachers.

First, We confess and believe all the canonical books of the Old Testament, and all the books of the New Testament, to be the very true word of God, and to be written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and are therefore to be heard accordingly, as the judge in all controversies and matters of religion.

The catholic church.

Secondly, We confess and believe, that the catholic church, which is the spouse of Christ, as a most obedient and loving wife, doth embrace and follow the doctrine of these books in all matters of religion; and therefore is she to be heard accordingly: so that those who will not hear this church thus following and obeying the word of her husband, we account as heretics and schismatics, according to this saying, "If he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as a heathen."

The creeds.

Thirdly, We believe and confess all the articles of faith and doctrine set forth in the symbol of the apostles, which we commonly call the creed, and in the symbols of the councils of Nice, kept A.D. 324;[1] of Constantinople, A.D. 384;[2] of Ephesus, kept A.D. 432;[3] of Chalcedon, kept A.D. 454;[4] of Toledo, the first and fourth. Also in the symbols of Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and of Damasus (who was about the year of our Lord 376) we confess and believe (we say) the doctrine of the symbols generally and particularly; so that whosoever doth otherwise, we hold the same to err from the truth.

Justification by faith only in Christ. What faith is.

Fourthly, We believe and confess concerning justification, that as it cometh only from God's mercy through Christ, so it is perceived and had of none which be of years of discretion, otherwise than by faith only: which faith is not an opinion, but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost in the mind and heart of man, through whom as the mind is illuminated, so the heart is suppled to submit itself to the will of God unfeignedly; and so showeth forth an inherent righteousness, which is to be discerned, in the article of justification, from the righteousness which God endueth us withal, justifying us; although inseparably they go together. And this we do, not for curiosity or contention's sake, but for conscience' sake, that it might be quiet; which it can never be, if we confound without distinction forgiveness of sins, and Christ's justice imputed to us, with regeneration and inherent righteousness. By this we disallow the papistical doctrine of free-will, of works of supererogation, of merits, of the necessity of auricular confession, and satisfaction to God-ward.

The doctrine of free justification defended, not for curiosity, but for quiet of conscience.

Service in the vulgar tongue.

Fifthly, We confess and believe concerning the exterior service of God, that it ought to be according to the word of God: and therefore, in the congregation, all things public ought to be done in such a tongue as may be most to edify; and not in Latin, where the people understand not the same.

Invocation to God alone.

Sixthly, We confess and believe that God only by Christ Jesus is to be prayed unto and called upon; and therefore we disallow invocation or prayer to saints departed this life.

Purgatory and masses suffragatory denied.

Seventhly, We confess and believe, that as a man departeth this life, so shall he be judged in the last day generally, and in the mean season is entered either into the state of the blessed for ever, or damned for ever; and therefore is either past all help, or else needs no help of any in this life. By reason whereof

(1) A.D 325.—Ed. (2) A.D. 383.—Ed. (3) A.D. 431.—Ed. (4) A.D. 451.—Ed.

we affirm purgatory, masses of "Scala cœli," trentals, and such suffrages as the popish church doth obtrude as necessary, to be the doctrine of Antichrist.

Eighthly, We confess and believe the sacraments of Christ, which be baptism and the Lord's supper, that they ought to be ministered according to the institution of Christ, concerning the substantial parts of them: and that they be no longer sacraments, than they be had in use, and used to the end for which they were instituted.

And here we plainly confess, that the mutilation of the Lord's supper, and the subtraction of the one kind from the lay people, is antichristian. And so is the doctrine of transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine after the words of consecration, as they be called. Item, the adoration of the sacrament with honour due unto God. [Item,] the reservation and carrying about of the same. Item, the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, or a work that pleaseth God.

Against transubstantiation, and adoration of the sacrament.

All these we believe and confess to be Antichrist's doctrine: as is the inhibition of marriage as unlawful to any state. And we doubt not, by God's grace, but we shall be able to prove all our confessions here to be most true by the verity of God's word, and consent of the catholic church, which followeth, and hath followed, the governance of God's Spirit, and the judgment of his word.

Inhibition of priests' marriage antichristian.

And this, through the Lord's help, we will do, either in disputation by word, before the queen's highness and her council, or before the parliament-houses, of whom we doubt not but to be indifferently heard, or else with our pens, whensoever we shall be thereto, by them that have authority, required and commanded.

In the mean season, as obedient subjects, we shall behave ourselves towards all that be in authority, and not cease to pray to God for them, that he would govern them all, generally and particularly, with the Spirit of wisdom and grace. And so we heartily desire, and humbly pray all men to do, in no point consenting to any kind of rebellion or sedition against our sovereign lady the queen's highness: but where they cannot obey, but they must disobey God, there to submit themselves with all patience and humility to suffer as the will and pleasure of the higher powers shall adjudge: as we are ready, through the goodness of the Lord, to suffer whatsoever they shall adjudge us unto, rather than we will consent to any doctrine contrary to this which we here confess; unless we shall be justly convinced thereof, either by writing or by word, before such judges as the queen's highness and her council, or the parliament-houses shall appoint. For the universities and clergy have condemned our causes already by the bigger, but not by the better part, without all disputation of the same: and therefore most justly we may, and do, appeal from them to be our judges in this behalf, except it may be in writing; that to all men the matter may appear. The Lord of mercy endue us all with the Spirit of his truth and grace of perseverance therein unto the end! Amen.

Exhortation against rebellion.

The bigger part against the better.

The 8th day of May, A.D. 1554.

Robert St. David's; alias Robert Ferrar.	Gloucester Episcopus; alias John Hooper.
Rowland Taylor.	Edward Crome.
John Philpot.	John Rogers.
John Bradford.	Laurence Saunders.
John Wigorn, and	Edmund Laurence.
	J. P., and T. M.

To these things abovesaid, do I, Miles Coverdale, late of Exon, consent and agree, with these mine afflicted brethren being prisoners (mine own hand).

And thus much concerning this present declaration subscribed by these preachers; which was on the 8th of May.

Furthermore, the 19th of the said month, the lady Elizabeth, sister to the queen, was brought to the Tower, and committed to the custody of sir John Williams, after lord Williams of Thame; of whom her highness was gently and courteously entreated; who afterward was had to Woodstock, and there committed to the keeping of sir Henry Benifield knight, of Oxborough in Norfolk; who, on the

Lady Elizabeth. Sir John Williams.

Sir Henry Benifield.

Mary. A. D. 1544.

other side, both forgetting her estate, and his own duty (as it is reported), showed himself more hard and strait unto her, than either cause was given of her part, or reason of his own part would have led him, if either grace or wisdom in him might have seen before, what danger afterward might have ensued thereof. *But[1] herein have we to see and note, not so much the uncivil nature and disposition of that man, as the singular lenity and gracious mansuetude of that princess, who, after coming to her crown, showed herself so far from revenge of injuries taken, that whereas other monarchs have oftentimes requited less offences with loss of life, she hath scarce impaired any piece of his liberty or estimation, save only that he was restrained from coming to the court. And whereas some, peradventure, of her estate would here have used the bloody sword, her majesty was contented with scarce a nipping word; only bidding him to repair home, and saying, "If we have any prisoner, whom we would have sharply and straitly kept, then we will send for you."

A rare example of a princely clemency.

This virtuous and noble lady, in what fear she was the mean time, and in what peril greater than her fear, the Lord only best doth know: and, next, it is not unknown to herself, to whose secret intelligence I leave this matter further to be considered. This I may say, which every man may see; that it was not without a singular miracle of God that she could or did escape, in such a multitude of enemies, and grudge of minds so greatly exasperated against her; especially Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, whose head and devices were chiefly bent, as a bow, against that only person, to make her away: and no doubt would have brought it by some means to pass, had not the Lord prevented him with death; to preserve her life, to the preservation of this realm. Wherefore that is false which Dr. Story said in the parliament-house, lamenting, as I heard say, "that when they went so much about the branches, they had not shot at the root herself." For why? They neither lacked their darts, or no good will, to shoot at the root, all they possibly might; but, what God's providence will have kept, it shall be kept, when all Dr. Stories have shot all their artillery in vain. But of this matter it is sufficient at this present, for of it* we have to entreat more at large (the Lord willing) hereafter, in the story and life of queen Elizabeth.

King Philip arriveth at Southampton.

On the Friday following, being the 20th of July,[2] and St. Margaret's day, the prince of Spain landed at Southampton. The prince himself was the first that landed; who, immediately as he set foot upon the land, drew out his sword, and carried it naked in his hand a good pretty way.

The keys of Southampton delivered to him.

Then met him, a little without the town, the mayor of Southampton with certain commoners, who delivered the keys of the town unto the prince, who removed his sword (naked as it was) out of his right into his left hand, and so received the keys of the mayor without any word speaking, or countenance of thankfulness; and after a while delivered the keys to the mayor again. At the town-gate met him the earl of Arundel and the lord Williams, and so he was brought to his lodging.

On the Wednesday following, being St. James's day, and the 25th

(1) See Ed. 1563, p. 1004.—Ed. (2) Stow says July 19.—Ed.

Mary.

A.D. 1554.

Marriage between Philip and Mary.

of July, Philip prince of Spain, and Mary queen of England were married together solemnly in the cathedral church at Winchester, by the bishop of Winchester, in the presence of a great number of noblemen of both the realms. At the time of this marriage, the emperor's ambassador being present, openly pronounced, that in consideration of that marriage the emperor had granted and given unto his son the kingdom of Naples, etc.

Whereupon, the first day of August following, there was a proclamation, that from that time forth the style of all manner of writings should be altered, and this following should be used.

Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland; defenders of the faith; princes of Spain and Sicily; archdukes of Austria; dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; counts of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol.

Of this marriage as the papists chiefly seemed to be very glad, so divers of them, after divers studies, to show forth their inward affections, made interludes and pageants: some drew forth genealogies, deriving his pedigree from Edward the Third, and John of Gaunt; some made verses. Amongst all other, master White, then bishop of Lincoln (his poetical vein being drunk with joy of the marriage) spewed out certain verses: the copy whereof we have here inserted.

Philippi et Mariæ Genealogia, qua ambo Principes ex Johanne de Gandavo, Edwardi Tertii, Angliæ, Franciæque Regis, filio, descendisse ostenduntur. Whito Lincolniensi Authore.

Ille parens regum Gandava ex urbe Johannes
Somersetensem comitem profert Johannem:
Somersetensis venit hoc patre dux Johannes,
Qui Margaretam Richmundi habuit comitissam.
Hæc dedit Henricum, qui regni Septimus hujus
Henrico Octavo solium regale reliquit.
Hoc patre propitio et fausto quasi sidere nata,
Jure tenes sacram teneasque, Maria, coronam.

Verses of Master John White, Bishop of Lincoln, concerning the Marriage of Philip and Mary.

Nubat ut Angla Anglo, regina Maria Philippo,
  Inque suum fontem regia stirps redeat,
Noluit humani generis dæmon vetus hostis;
  Sed Deus, Anglorum provida spes, voluit.
Nollet Scotus inops, timidusque ad prælia Gallus:
  Cæsar, et Italia, et Flandria tota volet.
Noluit hæreticus, stirps Caiphæ, pontificum grex;
  Pontificum sed grex catholicus voluit.
Octo uxorati patres in dæmone nollent:
  Quinque catenati pro pietate volent.
Noluit Johannes Dudley Northumbrius ursus;
  Sed fidum regni concilium voluit.
Noluit ætatis nostræ Catilina Viatus;
  Sed proceres et plebs et pia turba volet.
Nollet Graius dux, et Cantia turba rebellans:
  Nos, quoniam Dominus sic voluit, volumus.
Clarior effectus repetat sua limina sanguis,
  Cum sit Philippo juncta Maria viro.

Mary.

A. D. 1554.

Answer by the Bishop of Norwich[1] to the Bishop of Lincoln.

Externo nubat Maria ut regina Philippo,
  Ut sint pulsa suis sceptra Britanna locis,
Vult dæmon generis nostri antiquissimus hostis;
  Anglorum non vult anchora sola Deus.
Nolunt hoc Galli, nolunt Scoti armipotentes;
  Vult Cæsar, Flandrus, vult Italus Golias.
Vult grex pontificum, stirps Caiphæ, turba bicornis:
  Non vult sanctorum sed pia turba patrum.
Nolunt octo, quibus sunt vincla jugalia curæ;
  Quinque catenati dæmonis arte volunt.
Hoc neque tu prorsus, Dudlæe animose, volebas:
  Invitum regni consilium voluit.
Dedecus hoc non vult fortissimus ille Viatus:
  Invitus populus sic, proceresque, volent.
Vos vultis, quoniam semper mala cuncta voletis:
  Non vult Graius dux, nec pia turba volet.
Quot tulit Hispanus rex ergo commoda secum,
  Reginæ socias cum dedit ille manus?

Another Answer by the said Author.

Hispano nubat Maria ut regina Philippo,
  Extirpetur stirps ut quoque nobilium,
Vult pater id vester disturbans omnia dæmon:
  Non vult Anglorum sed pater altitonans.
Non vult bellipotens Gallus, non vult Scotus acer:
  Vult Cæsar, Flandrus, Papicolæque volunt.
Grex mitratorum vult, Caiphæ ipsa propago:
  Non vultis sanctorum sed pius ordo patrum
Nolunt octo, pios qui jure colunt hymenæos:
  Quinque catenati pro impietate volunt.
Dudlæus minimè voluit, Northumbrius, heros:
  Cui sua perchara est patria, nemo volet.
Libertatis amans non vult bonus ille Viatus,
  Non proceres, non pleba, nec pia turba volet.
Vos vultis, pietas qui vultis ut exulet omnis:
  Non Graius, sed nec Cantia turba volet.
Ergo magis clarus quî sit (rogo) sanguis avitus,
  Quando jugali sit junctus uterque thoro?

Other Verses answering to Bishop White, made by J. C.

Quamlibet Anglorum stirps ementita Philippo,
  Et Maria Hispanâ de genetrice fuit.
Ut tamen Hispano confusi sanguinis Angla
  Nuberet in gentis dedecus atque patris,
Noluit Anglorum priscæ virtutis amator:
  Sed Deus in nostram perniciem voluit.
Noluit in nostram nisi conspirata salutem
  Turba: quid ad nos si gens inimica volet?
Pontifices fatis quasi Caiphas, omina dantes
  Nolebant: at grex catholicus voluit.
Elegêre pii connubia talia nolle:
  Velle quidem demens hæresis illa fuit.
Consilium multo præstantius octo mariti
  Quinque cathenatis ob malefacta dabant.
Noluit hos jungit halamos Northumbrius heros.
  O consultores, qui voluere, malos!

(1) Dr. John Hopton.—Ed.

Noluit haud æquo confligens Marte Viatus:
  Solaque quæ voluit, turba papalis erat.
Nolebat Graius, neque terra Britanna volebat:
  Nos, quoniam Dominus sic voluit, tulimus.
Sed tulimus pariter fata infelicia: quando
  Infelix Maria est nupta, Philippe, tibi.

Other Verses answering likewise.

Nubat ut Hispano regina Maria Philippo
  Dic age, White, mihi, quos voluisse vides?
Noluit aut voluit quid inanis turba, refert nil.
  Velle et nolle Dei est: quid volet ille, refert.
Hoc quoniam voluit (inquis) Dominus, voluistis:
  Quid voluit, quoniam nescis inepte, scias.
Scilicet hoc voluit, vates ut vanus et augur,
  Et mendax Whitus pseudopropheta foret.
Regi non regi nupsit, non nupserat; Angla est,
  Non Angla est; gravida est, non gravida est, gravis est.
Parturit atque parit, sic vos voluistis ovantes,
  Nil tamen illa parit: hoc voluit Dominus.
Duxerat ad paucos menses, mox deserit idem:
  Sponsa est, mox vidua est: hoc voluit Dominus.
Irrita frustrentur semper sic vota malorum,
  Perniciem patriæ qui voluere suæ.
  Sit nomen Domini benedictum!

King Philip cometh to Windsor. The arms of England taken down, and those of Spain set up. Philip cometh to London.

After the consummation of this marriage, they both removed from Winchester to sundry other places, and by easy journeys came to Windsor-castle, where he was installed in the order of the garter, on Sunday the 12th of August.[1] At which time a herald took down the arms of England at Windsor, and in the place of them would have set up the arms of Spain, but he was commanded to set them up again by certain lords. From thence they both removed to Richmond, and from thence by water came to London, and landed at the bishop of Winchester's house, through which they passed, both, into Southwark-park, and so to Southwark-house called Suffolk-place, where they lay that night, being the 17th of August.

Vain pageants of London.

And the next day, being Saturday, and the 18th of August, the king and queen's majesties rode from Suffolk-place (accompanied with a great number, as well of noblemen as gentlemen) through the city of London to White-hall; and at London-bridge, as he entered at the draw-bridge, was a vain great spectacle set up, two images representing two giants, the one named Chorinæus, and the other, Gogmagog, holding between them certain Latin verses, which for the vain ostentation of flattery I overpass.

And as they passed over the bridge, there were a number of ordnance shot off at the Tower, such as by old men's report the like hath not been heard or seen these one hundred years.

From London-bridge they passed the conduit in Gracious-street, which was finely painted; and among other things, the nine worthies, whereof king Henry the Eighth was one. He was painted in harness, having in one hand a sword, and in the other hand a book, whereupon was written "Verbum Dei;" delivering the same book

(1) Stow says, they went to Richmond on the 11th, and rode through Southwark and London on the 12th; thus antedating the pageant of the 18th of August.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

(as it were) to his son king Edward, who was painted in a corner by him.

Winchester cannot abide the book called "Verbum Dei." The painter sent for to the bishop.

But hereupon was no small matter made: for the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, sent for the painter, and not only called him knave, for painting a book in king Henry's hand, and specially for writing thereupon "Verbum Dei," but also rank traitor and villain; saying to him, that he should rather have put the book into the queen's hand (who was also painted there), for that she had reformed the church and religion, with other things, according to the pure and sincere word of God indeed.

The painter's answer.

The painter answered and said, that if he had known that had been the matter wherefore his lordship sent for him, he could have remedied it, and not have troubled his lordship.

The bishop answered and said, that it was the queen's majesty's will and commandment, that he should send for him: and so, commanding him to wipe out the book and "Verbum Dei" too, he sent him home. So the painter departed; but, fearing lest he should leave some part either of the book, or of "Verbum Dei," in king Henry's hand, he wiped away a piece of his fingers withal!

Five Philips.

Here I pass over and cut off other gaudes and pageants of pastime showed to him in passing through London, with the flattering verses set up in Latin; wherein were blazed out in one place the five Philips, as the five worthies of the world: Philip of Macedonia, Philip the emperor, Philip the bold, Philip the good, Philip prince of Spain and king of England.

In another poetry king Philip was resembled by an image representing Orpheus, and all English people resembled to brute and savage beasts following after Orpheus's harp, and dancing after king Philip's pipe—not that I reprehend the art of the Latin verses, which was fine and cunning, but that I pass over the matter, having other graver things in hand: and therefore pass over also, the sight at Paul's church-side, of him that came down upon a rope tied to the battlements with his head before, neither staying himself with his hand nor foot; which shortly after cost him his life.

But one thing by the way I cannot let pass, touching the young flourishing rood, newly set up against this present time to welcome king Philip into Paul's church. The setting up of which rood was this, and may make as good a pageant as the best:—

The erecting the rood at Paul's.

In the second year of Mary, Bonner in his royalty, and all his prebendaries about him in Paul's choir, the rood laid along upon the pavements, and also, the doors of Paul's being shut—the bishop with others said and sung divers prayers by the rood. That being done, they anointed the rood with oil in divers places; and, after the anointing, crept unto it, and kissed it.

Bonner's god; the rood of Paul's set up with Te Deum.

After that, they took the said rood, and weighed him up, and set him in his old accustomed place; and all the while they were doing thereof, the whole choir sang "Te Deum;" and when that was ended, they rang the bells, not only for joy, but also for the notable and great fact they had done therein.

Salutation to the rood of Paul's.

Not long after this, a merry fellow came into Paul's, and spied the rood with Mary and John new set up; whereto, among a great sort of people, he made low courtesy, and said: "Sir, your master-

ship is welcome to town. I had thought to have talked further with your mastership, but that ye be here clothed in the queen's colours. I hope that ye be but a summer's bird, in that ye be dressed in white and green." *Mary.* A.D. 1554.

The prince thus being in the church of Paul's, after Dr. Harpsfield had finished his oration in Latin, set forward through Fleet-street, and so came to Whitehall, where he with the queen remained four days after; and from thence removed unto Richmond.

After this, all the lords had leave to depart into their countries, with strait commandment to bring all their harness and artillery into the Tower of London with all speed. Now remained there no English lord at the court but the bishop of Winchester. From Richmond they removed to Hampton-court, where the hall-door within the court was continually shut, so that no man might enter, unless his errand were first known; which seemed strange to Englishmen that had not been used thereto.

About the 8th of September bishop Bonner began his visitation, who charged six men in every parish to inquire (according to their oaths), and to present before him the day after St. Matthew's day, being the 22d of September, all such persons as either had or should offend in any of his articles, which he had set forth to the number of thirty-seven; of the which visitation of Bonner I have somewhat more largely to entreat, after that first I shall overpass a few other things following in course of this present story.

The 17th of September was a proclamation in London, that all vagabonds and masterless men, as well strangers as Englishmen, should depart the city within five days; and straitly charging all innholders, victuallers, taverners, and alehouse-keepers, with all others that sell victuals, that they (after the said five days) should not sell any meat, drink, or any kind of victual to any servingman whatsoever, unless he brought a testimonial from his master to declare whose servant he was, and were in continual household with his said master; upon pain to run in danger of the law, if they offended herein.

On the Sunday following, being the 30th of September, the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor of England, preached at Paul's Cross, at whose sermon were present all the council that were at the court: namely, the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Arundel, lord North, sir Anthony Brown, master Rochester, master Walgrave, master Englefield, lord Fitzwater, and secretary Peter; and the bishops of London, Durham, and Ely; which three sat under the bishop's arms. The gospel whereof he made his sermon, is written in Matt. xxii., where the Pharisees came unto Christ; and amongst them, one asked Christ which was the greatest commandment. Christ answered, "Thou shalt love thy Lord God with all thy heart, etc., and thy neighbour as thyself; in these two are comprehended the law and the prophets." *The bishop of Winchester preacheth.*

After his long declaration of these words, speaking very much of love and charity, at last he had occasion, upon St. James's words, to speak of the true teachers, and of the false teachers; saying, that all the preachers almost in king Edward's time, preached nothing but voluptuousness, and filthy and blasphemous lies; affirming their doctrine to be that false doctrine whereof St. James speaketh; saying, *A blasphemous mouth against the true preachers of God's word.*

Mary. A.D. 1554.

that it was full of perverse zeal, earthly, full of discord and dissension, that the preachers aforenamed would report nothing truly, and that they taught, that it was lawful for a man to put away his wife for adultery, and marry another; and that if a man vowed to-day, he might break it to-morrow at his pleasure; with many other things which I omit. And when he spake of the sacrament, he said, that all the church from the beginning have confessed Christ's natural body to be in heaven, and here to be in the sacrament; and so concluded that matter.[1] And then willed all men to say with Joseph's brethren, "Peccavimus in fratrem:" "We have all sinned against our brother:"—"and so," said he, "have I too." Then he declared what a noble king and queen we have, saying, that if he should go about to show that the king came hither for no necessity or need, and what he had brought with him, it should be superfluous, seeing it is evidently known, that he hath ten times as much as we are in hope and possession of; affirming him to be as wise, sober, gentle, and temperate a prince, as ever was in England; and if it were not so proved, then to take him for a false liar for his so saying: exhorting all men to make much of him, and to win him whilst we had him; and so should we also win all such as he hath brought with him. And so made an end.

Winchester preacheth in commendation of king Philip.

On the Tuesday following, being the 2d of October, twenty carts came from Westminster, laden (as it was noised) with gold and silver,[2] and certain of the guard with them through the city to the Tower, and there it was received in by a Spaniard, who was the king's treasurer, and had custody of it within the Tower. It was matted about with mats, and mailed in little bundles about two feet long, and almost half a foot thick; and in every cart were six of those bundles. What it was indeed, God knoweth; for it is to us uncertain.

About the same time, or a little before, upon Corpus Christi day, the procession being made in Smithfield, where, after the manner, the priest with his box went under the canopy, by chance there came by the way a certain simple man, named John Street, a joiner of Coleman-street, who, having some haste in his business, and finding no other way to pass through, by chance went under the canopy by the priest. The priest, seeing the man so to presume to come under the canopy, being belike afraid, and worse feared than hurt, for fear let his pix fall down. The poor man, being straightways apprehended, was had to the Compter, the priest accusing him unto the council as though he had come to slay him; whereas the poor man (as himself hath since declared unto us) had no such thought ever in his mind. Then from the Compter he was had unto Newgate, where he was cast into the dungeon, there chained to a post; where he was cruelly and miserably handled, and so extremely dealt withal, that being but simple before, he was now feared out of his wits altogether, and so upon the same had to Bedlam. Whereupon the brief chronicle of London in this point is not to be credited, which untruly reported that he feigned himself in Newgate to be mad; which thing we, in writing of this history, by due inquisition of the party, have found to be contrary.

John Street.

The priest, worse feared than hurt, let the pix fall.

John Street innocently cast into the dungeon.

Falsely reported of.

(1) The church never confessed the natural body of Christ so to be in the sacrament, that the substance of bread was taken away, before the time of Pope Innocent the Third, an. 1215.

(2) "Twenty cartloads of gold and silver in bullion, and two more of coined money." Walter's History of England, vol. iii. p. 383.—Ed.

About the 5th of October, and within a fortnight following, were divers, as well householders as servants and apprentices, apprehended and taken, and committed to sundry prisons, for the having and selling of certain books which were sent into England by the preachers that fled into Germany and other countries; which books nipped a great number so near, that within one fortnight there were little less than threescore imprisoned for this matter: among whom was master Brown a goldsmith, master Spark a draper, Randal Tirer a stationer, master Beston a merchant, with many others.

Men imprisoned for books.

On the Sunday, the 14th of October, the old bishop of Durham preached in the Shrouds.

On St. Luke's day following, being the 18th of October, the king's majesty came from Westminster to Paul's church along the streets, accompanied with a great number of noblemen; and there he was received under a canopy at the west door, and so came in to the chancel, where he heard mass, which a Spanish bishop and his own chaplain sung: and that done, he returned to Westminster to dinner again.

Trouble of the good men who were of Throgmorton's quest.

On Friday, the 26th of October, certain men, whereof I spake before, who were of master Throgmorton's quest, being in number eight (for the other four were delivered out of prison, for that they submitted themselves, and said they had offended—like weaklings, not considering truth to be truth; but of force for fear said so): these eight men, I say, whereof master Emanuel Lucas, and master Whetstone were chief, were called before the council of the Star-chamber: where they all affirmed, that they had done all things in that matter according to their knowledge, and with good consciences; even as they should answer before God at the day of judgment. Where master Lucas said openly before all the lords, that they had done in the matter like honest men, and true and faithful subjects; and therefore they humbly besought the lord chancellor, and the other lords, to be means to the king and queen's majesties that they might be discharged and set at liberty: and said, that they were all contented humbly to submit themselves to their majesties, saving and reserving their truth, consciences, and honesty.—Some of the lords said, that they were worthy to pay a thousand pounds apiece, and others said, that master Lucas and master Whetstone were worthy to pay a thousand marks apiece, and the rest five hundred pounds apiece. In conclusion, sentence was given by the lord chancellor, that they should pay a thousand marks apiece; and that they should go to prison again, and there remain, till further order were taken for their punishment.

On Tuesday, being the 30th of October, the lord John Gray was delivered out of the Tower, and set at liberty.

On Sunday, the 4th of November, five priests[1] did penance at Paul's Cross, who were content to put away their wives, and take upon them again to minister. Every of them had a taper in his hand, and a rod, wherewith the preacher did disple them.

Pole nominated archbishop of Canterbury.

On Wednesday, the 7th of November, the lord Paget, and sir Edward Hastings master of the horse, were sent as ambassadors,

(1) Stow says, three priests and two laymen. He adds, that during the sermon they were "displed [disciplined] on the heads, with the same rods."—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

I know not whither; but, as it was adjudged, to cardinal Pole, who lay all that summer before at Brussels: and it was thought they were sent to accompany and conduct him into England, whereas at that time he was nominated and appointed bishop of Canterbury.

On the Friday following, being the 9th of November, master Barlow, late bishop of Bath, and master Cardmaker, were brought before the council in the Star-chamber, where, after communication, they were commanded to the Fleet.

On the Saturday, the 10th of November, the sheriffs of London had commandment to take an inventory of every one of their goods who were of master Throgmorton's quest, and to seal up their doors; which was done the same day. Master Whetstone, master Lucas, and master Kytely, were judged to pay a thousand pounds apiece, and the rest a thousand marks apiece, to be paid within a fortnight after. From this payment were exempted those four who confessed a fault, and submitted themselves; whose names are these, master Loe, master Poynter, master Beswike, and master Carter.

Bonner goeth in his visitation.

Mention was made a little before, of the visitation of Edmund Bonner bishop of London, which began (as is said) about the month of September: for the better preparation whereof were set forth certain articles to the number of thirty-seven. These articles, partly for the tediousness of them, partly for that master Bale in a certain treatise[1] hath sufficiently painted out the same in their colours, partly also because I will not infect this book with them, I slip over, proceeding in the progress of this bishop in his visitation in the county of Essex; who, passing through the said county of Essex, being attended with divers worshipful of the shire (for so they were commanded), arrived at Stortford in Hertfordshire, where he rested certain days; solacing himself after that painful peregrination with no small feasting and banqueting with his attendants aforesaid, at the house of one Parsons his nephew, whose wife he commonly called his fair niece (and fair she was indeed). He took there great pleasure to hear her play upon the virginals, wherein she excelled; insomuch that every dinner (sitting by his sweet side) she arose and played three several times at his request, of his good and spiritual devotion towards her. These certain days thus passed in this bishoplike fashion, he proceeded in his popish visitation towards Hadham his own house and parish, not past two miles from Stortford, being there most solemnly rung out, as in all other places where he passed. At length drawing near unto Hadham, when he heard no bells stirring there in honour of his holiness, he grew into some choler; and the nearer he approached, the hotter was his fit: and the quieter the bells were, the unquieter was his mood. Thus rode he on, chafing and fuming with himself. "What meaneth," saith he, "that knave the clerk, that he ringeth not? and the parson that he meeteth me not?" with sundry other furious words of fiery element. There this patient prelate, coming to the town, alighted, calling for the key of the church, which was then all unready, for that (as they then pretended) he had prevented his time by two hours; whereupon he grew from choler to

His behaviour at Stortford.

His behaviour at Hadham.

Bonner in a pelting chafe.

(1) This book is entitled "A Declaration of Edmonde Bonner's Articles concerning the Cleargye of London Diocese, whereby that execrable Antichriste is, in his righte colours, reuealed." London, 1554.—Ed.

Mary.

A. D. 1554.

plain melancholy, so as no man willingly would deal with him to qualify the raging humour so far incorporated in his breast. At last, the church door being opened, the bishop entered, and finding no sacrament hanged up, nor rood-loft decked after the popish precept (which had commanded about the same time a well-favoured rood, and of tall stature, universally in all churches to be set up), curtailed his small devotions, and fell from all choler and melancholy to flat madness in the uttermost degree, swearing and raging with a hunting oath or two, and by no beggars, that in his own church, where he hoped to have seen best order, he found most disorder, to his honour's most heavy discomfort, as he said; calling the parson (whose name was Dr. Bricket) knave, and heretic. Who there humbled himself, and yielded, as it were, to his fault, saying; He was sorry his lordship was come before that he and his parish looked for him; and therefore could not do their duties to receive him accordingly. And as for those things lacking, he trusted in short time hereafter he should compass that, which hitherto he could not bring about. Therefore if it pleased his lordship to come to his poor house (where his dinner was prepared), he would satisfy him in those things which his lordship thought amiss.—Yet this so reasonable an answer nothing could satisfy or assuage his passion unreasonable: for the catholic prelate utterly defied him and his cheer, commanding him out of his sight; saying, as his bye-word was, "Before God, thou art a knave: avaunt heretic!" and therewithal, whether thrusting or striking at him, so it was, that with his hand he gave sir Thomas Jocelyn, knight (who was then amongst the rest, and stood next the bishop), a good flewet upon the upper part of the neck—even under his ear, as some say which stood by; but, as he himself said, he hit him full upon the ear: whereat he was somewhat astonied at the suddenness of the quarrel for that time. At last he spake and said, "What meaneth your lordship? have you been trained in Will Sommers's school, to strike him that standeth next you?" The bishop still in rage either heard not, or would not hear.

Bricket, parson of Hadham, called knave, of Bonner.

Sir Thomas Jocelyn stricken of Bonner.

Bonner striketh him that standeth next.

Then master Fecknam dean of Paul's, seeing the bishop still in this bitter rage, said, "Oh master Jocelyn! you must bear with my lord; for truly his long imprisonment in the Marshalsea, and the misusing of him there, hath altered him, that in these passions he is not ruler of himself, nor it booteth any man to give him counsel until his heat be past; and then, assure yourself, master Jocelyn, my lord will be sorry for those abuses that now he cannot see in himself." Whereunto he merrily replied and said, "So it seems, master Fecknam; for now that he is come forth of the Marshalsea, he is ready to go to Bedlam." At which merry conceit some laughed, and more smiled; because the nail was so truly hit upon the head. The bishop, nothing abashed at his own folly, gave a deaf ear; as no marvel it was that he shamed little to strike a stranger, who spared not the burning of so many good men.

Fecknam excuseth Bonner by the Marshalsea.

Sir Thomas Jocelyn's apothegm touching Bonner.

After this worthy combat thus finished and achieved, this martial prelate presently taketh him to his horse again, notwithstanding he was minded to tarry at Hadham three or four days, and so had made provision in his own house; and, leaving his dinner, rode that night with a small company of his household to Ware, where he was not

Mary. A.D. 1554.

looked for till three days after, to the great wonder of all the country, why he so prevented his day aforestalled.

At this hasty posting-away of this bishop, his whole train of attendants there left him. Also his doctors and chaplains (a few excepted) tarried behind and dined at Dr. Bricket's as merrily, as he rode towards Ware all chafingly: which dinner was prepared for the bishop himself. Now, whether the bishop were offended at those solemnities which he wanted, and was accustomed to be saluted withal in other places where he journeyed; joining to that, that his "great god" was not exalted above-ground over the altar, nor his "block almighty" set seemly in the rood-loft to entertain strangers, and thereupon took occasion to quarrel with Dr. Bricket (whose religion perchance he somewhat suspected), I have not perfectly to say: but so it was supposed of divers the cause thereof to rise, which drave the bishop so hastily from such a dinner.[1]

Bonner driven from a good dinner.

A STORY OF A ROOD SET UP IN LANCASHIRE.

In this visitation of bishop Bonner above mentioned, ye see how the bishop took on for not setting up the rood, and ringing the bells at Hadham. Ye heard also of the precept, which commanded in every parish a rood to be erected, both well favoured and of a tall stature. By the occasion whereof it cometh in mind (and not out of place) to story, likewise, what happened in a certain town in Lancashire near to Lancaster, called Cockram, where the parishioners and churchwardens, having the same time a like charge for the erecting of a rood in their parish-church, had made their bargain, and were at a price with one that could cunningly carve and paint such idols, for the framing of their rood: who, according to his promise, made them one, and set it up in their church. This done, he demanded his money: but they, misliking his workmanship, refused to pay him, whereupon he arrested them, and the matter was brought before the mayor of Lancaster, who was a very meet man for such a purpose, and an old favourer of the gospel; which is rare in that country. Then the carver began to declare how they covenanted with him for the making of a rood with the appurtenances, ready carved and set up in their church, which he, according to his promise, had done; and now, demanding his money, they refused to pay him. "Is this true?" quoth the mayor to the wardens. "Yea sir," said they. "And why do you not pay the poor man his due?" quoth he. "And it please you, master mayor," quoth they, "because the rood we had before, was a well-favoured man; and he promised to make us such another: but this that he hath set us up now, is the worst favoured thing that ever you set your eyes on; gaping and grinning in such sort, that none of our children dare once look him in the face, or come near him!" The mayor, thinking that it was good enough for that purpose if it had been worse—"My masters," quoth he, "howsoever the rood like you, the poor man's labour hath been never the less; and it is pity that he should have any hinderance or loss thereby: therefore I will tell you what you shall do. Pay him the money ye promised him, and go your ways home and look on it, and if it will not serve

Story of a rood set up in Lancashire.

The men of Cockram not pleased therewith.

The rood of Cockram driving the children out of the church.

(1) Testified by such as there and then were present.—Rich. K. etc.

for a god, make no more ado, but clap a pair of horns on his head, and so he will make an excellent devil." This the parishioners took well in worth; the poor man had his money; and divers laughed well thereat—but so did not the Babylonish priests.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

The mayor of Lancaster a good man.

This mayor abovementioned continued a protestant almost fifty years, and was the only reliever of Marsh the martyr (whose story followeth hereafter) with meat, drink and lodging, while he lay in Lancaster-castle, the space of three quarters of a year, before he was had to Chester to be burned.

About this time, or the month next before, which was October, there came a precept or mandate from Bonner bishop of London, to all parsons and curates within his diocese, for the abolishing of such Scriptures and writings as had been painted upon church-walls before, in king Edward's days. The copy of which precept or mandate here we thought good to express in their own style and words,[1] that the world might see the wicked proceedings of their impious zeal, or rather their malicious rage against the Lord and his word, and against the edifying of christian people: whereby it might appear, by this blotting out of Scriptures, not only how blasphemously they spake against the holy Scriptures of God, but also how studiously they sought, by all manner of means, to keep the people still in ignorance.

A Mandate of Bonner Bishop of London, to abolish the Scriptures and Writings painted upon the Church-Walls.

Edmund, by God's permission bishop of London—to all and every parsons, vicars, clerks, and lettered, within the parish of Hadham, or within the precinct of our diocese of London, wheresoever being—sendeth greeting, grace, and benediction.

The Scriptures painted on church-walls razed out.

Because some children of iniquity, given up to carnal desires and novelties, have by many ways enterprised to banish the ancient manner and order of the church, and to bring in and establish sects and heresies; taking from thence the picture of Christ, and many things besides instituted and observed of ancient time laudably in the same; placing in the room thereof such things, as in such a place it behoved them not to do; and also have procured, as a stay to their heresies (as they thought), certain Scriptures wrongly applied to be painted upon the church-walls; all which persons tend chiefly to this end—that they might uphold the liberty of the flesh, and marriage of priests, and destroy, as much as lay in them, the reverent sacrament of the altar, and might extinguish and enervate holy-days, fasting-days, and other laudable discipline of the catholic church; opening a window to all vices, and utterly closing up the way unto virtue:[2] Wherefore we, being moved with a christian zeal, judging that the premises are not to be longer suffered, do, for discharge of our duty, commit unto you jointly and severally, and by the tenor hereof do straitly charge and command you, that at the receipt hereof, with all speed convenient, you do warn, or cause to be warned, first, second, and third time, and peremptorily, all and singular churchwardens and parishioners whosoever, within our aforesaid diocese of London (wheresoever any such Scriptures or paintings have been attempted), that they abolish and extinguish such manner of Scriptures, so that by no means they be either read or seen; and therein to proceed, moreover, as they shall see good and laudable in this behalf. And if, after the said monition, the said churchwardens and parishioners shall be found remiss and negligent, or culpable, then you, jointly and severally, shall see the foresaid Scriptures to be razed, abolished, and extinguished forthwith: citing all and singular those churchwardens and parishioners (whom we, also, for the same do cite here, by the tenor hereof), that all and singular the churchwardens and parishioners,

Scriptures open a window to vices with Bonner.

(1) It is extant in Latin in the First Edition, p. 1005, and will be found in the Appendix.—Ed.
(2) Note well these causes, reader, why the Scriptures should be razed out!

Mary. A.D. 1554.

being slack and negligent, or culpable therein, shall appear before us, our vicar-general and principal official, or our commissary special, in our cathedral church of St. Paul at London, in the consistory there, at the hour appointed for the same, the sixth day next after their citation, if it be a court-day, or else at the next court-day after ensuing, where either we or our official or commissary shall sit: there to say and allege for themselves some reasonable cause, if they have or can tell of any, why they ought not to be excommunicated, or otherwise punished, for their such negligence, slackness, and fault; to say and to allege, and further to do and receive, as law and reason requireth. And what you have done in the premises, do you certify us, or our vicar, principal official, and such our commissary, diligently and duly in all things, and through all things; or let him among you thus certify us, which hath taken upon him to execute this mandate: In witness whereof we have set our seals to these presents.

Dated in the Bishop's Palace at London, the 25th day of the month of October, in the year of our Lord 1554, and of our translation the 16th.

Christopherson sent to Cambridge with Gardiner's instructions.

About this time the lord chancellor sent master Christopherson unto the university of Cambridge, with these three articles, which he enjoined them to observe.

The first, that every scholar should wear his apparel according to his degree in the schools.

The second was touching the pronunciation of the Greek tongue.

The third, that every preacher there should declare the whole style of the king and queen in their sermons.

In this university of Cambridge, and also of Oxford, by reason of the bringing of these things, and especially for the alteration of religion, many good wits and learned men departed the universities: of whom, some of their own accord gave over, some were thrust out of their fellowships, some were miserably handled: insomuch that in Cambridge, in the college of St. John, there were four-and-twenty places void together, in whose rooms were taken in four-and-twenty others, who, neither in virtue nor in religion, seemed to answer to them before. And no less miserable was the state of Oxford, by reason of the time, and the strait dealing of the visitors, that, for setting forward their papistical proceedings, had no regard or respect to the forwardness of good wits, and the maintenance of good letters, beginning then more and more to flourish in that university.

Twenty-four places void at one time in one college.

Popish exhortation of Tresham.

And forsomuch as we have entered into the mention of Oxford, we may not pass over in silence the famous exhortation of Dr. Tresham, who, supplying the room of the sub-dean in Christ-church, after he had called all the students of the college together, with great eloquence and art persuasory, began to commend the dignity of the mass unto them; declaring, that there was stuff enough in the Scripture to prove the mass good. Then, to allure them to the catholic service of the church, he used these reasons—declaring that there were a company of goodly copes, that were appointed to Windsor; but he had found the queen so gracious unto him, that they should come to Christ-church. Now if they, like honest men, would come to church, they should wear them on holy-days. And besides all this, he would get them the lady bells of Bampton, and that should make the sweetest ring in all England. And as for a holy-water-sprinkle, he had already the fairest that was within the realm. Wherefore

His great reasons.

he thought that no man would be so mad, to forego these commodities, etc.

These things I rehearse, that it may appear what want of discretion is in the fathers of popery, and into what idle follies such men do fall; whom, I beseech the Lord, if it be his pleasure, to reduce to a better truth, and to open their eyes to see their own blindness.

To proceed now further in the course and race of our story where we left, being before in the month of November, it followeth more, that on the 12th day of the same month of November, being Monday,[1] began the parliament holden at Westminster, to the beginning whereof both the king and queen rode in their parliament robes, having two swords borne before them. The earl of Pembroke bare his sword, and the earl of Westmorland bare the queen's. They had two caps of maintenance borne before them, whereof the earl of Arundel bare one, and the earl of Shrewsbury the other.

Cardinal Pole arriveth in England.

Cardinal Pole landed at Dover on Wednesday, the 21st of November;[2] on which day one act passed in the parliament for his restitution in blood, utterly repealing as false and most slanderous, that act made against him in king Henry the Eighth's time, and on the next day, being Thursday, and the 22d of November, the king and the queen came both to the parliament-house, to give their royal assent, and to establish this act against his coming.

On Saturday, being the 24th of November, the said cardinal came by water to London, and so to Lambeth-house, which was ready prepared against his coming.

On the Wednesday following, being the 28th of November, there was general procession in Paul's, for joy that the queen was conceived and quick with child, as it was declared in a letter sent from the council to the bishop of London.

The same day were present at this procession ten bishops, with all the prebendaries of Paul's, and also the lord mayor with the aldermen, and a great number of commons of the city in their best array. The copy of the council's letter here followeth—ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

A Copy of a Letter sent from the Council, unto Edmund Bonner Bishop of London, concerning Queen Mary's conceiving with Child.

After our hearty commendations unto your good lordship: whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, amongst other his infinite benefits of late most graciously poured upon us and this whole realm, to extend his benediction upon the queen's majesty in such sort as she is conceived and quick of child:[3] whereby (her majesty being our natural liege lady, queen, and undoubted inheritor of this imperial crown) good hope of certain succession in the crown is given unto us, and consequently the great calamities, which, for want of such succession, might otherwise have fallen upon us and our posterity, shall, by God's grace, be well avoided, if we thankfully acknowledge this benefit of Almighty God, endeavouring ourselves with earnest repentance to thank, honour, and serve

(1) Here note, that the printer of queen Mary's statutes, doth err in his supputation, which saith, that this parliament began the 11th of this month; which day was then Sunday. Ex Statut. an. 1 & 2 R. Philip. et Mariæ, cap. 8.

(2) Stow says, Nov. 24.—Ed.

(3) If queen Mary were quick with child in the 28th of the month of November, and afterward did labour in the month of June, then went she almost seven months quick with child.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

Te Deum sung for queen Mary's child.

him, as we be most bounden: these be not only to advertise you of these good news, to be by you published in all places within your diocese, but also to pray and require you, that both yourself do give God thanks with us for this his especial grace, and also give order that thanks may be openly given by singing of Te Deum in all the churches within your said diocese; and that likewise all priests and other ecclesiastical ministers, in their masses, and other divine services, may continually pray to Almighty God, so to extend his holy hand over her majesty, the king's highness, and this whole realm, as that this thing, being by his omnipotent power graciously thus begun, may by the same be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glory of his name. Whereunto, albeit we doubt not ye would of yourself have had special regard without these our letters, yet, for the earnest desire we have to have this thing done out of hand, and diligently continued, we have also written these our letters, to put you in remembrance; and so bid your lordship most heartily well to fare.

From Westminster the 27th of November, 1554.

Your assured loving friends,

Stephen Winton. Cancel.	John Bathon.
Arundel.	R. Riche.
F. Shrewsbury.	Thomas Wharton.
Edward Darby.	John Huddilstone.
Henry Sussex.	R. Southwell.

Also the same day in the afternoon, cardinal Pole came to the parliament-house, which, at that present, was kept in the great chamber of the court at Whitehall, for that the queen was then sick, and could not go abroad; where the king and queen's majesties, sitting under the cloth of state, and the cardinal sitting on the right hand, with all the other estates of the parliament being present, the bishop of Winchester, being lord chancellor, began in this manner:

The Words of Winchester for receiving of the Cardinal.

My lords of the upper house, and you my masters of the nether house, here is present the right reverend father in God my lord cardinal Pole, come from the apostolic see of Rome, as ambassador to the king and queen's majesties, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever happened in this realm, and which pertaineth to the glory of God, and your universal benefit. The which ambassage, it is their majesties' pleasure, that it be signified unto you all by his own mouth; trusting that you will receive and accept it in as benevolent and thankful wise, as their highnesses have done, and that you will give an attent and inclinable ear unto him.

When the lord chancellor had thus ended his talk, the cardinal, taking the time then offered, began his oration, wherein he declared the causes of his coming, and what were his desires and requests. In the mean time the court-gate was kept shut until he had made an end of his oration.

The tenor of Cardinal Pole's Oration, made in the Parliament-House.

My lords all, and you that are the commons of this present parliament assembled (which, in effect, is nothing else but the state and body of the whole realm) as the cause of my repair hither hath been most wisely and gravely declared by my lord chancellor, so, before that I enter to the particularities of my commission, I have somewhat touching myself, and to give, most humble and hearty thanks to the king and queen's majesties, and after them to you all, which of a man exiled and banished from this commonwealth, have restored me to be a member of the same, and of a man having no place either here, or elsewhere within this realm, have admitted me in a place, where to speak and to be heard. This I protest unto you all, that though I was exiled my native

country without just cause, as God knoweth, yet the ingratitude could not pull from me the affection and desire that I had to profit and do you good. If the offer of my service might have been received, it was never to seek, and where that could not be taken, you never failed of my prayer, nor ever shall.

But leaving the rehearsal thereof, and coming more near to the matter of my commission, I signify unto you all, that my principal travail is, for the restitution of this noble realm to the ancient nobility, and to declare unto you, that the see apostolic, from whence I come, hath a special respect to this realm above all others;[1] and not without cause, seeing that God himself, as it were by providence, hath given this realm prerogative of nobility above others; which to make more plain unto you, it is to be considered that this island, first of all islands, received the light of Christ's religion. For as stories testify, it was "prima provinciarum quæ amplexa est fidem Christi."

England, of all islands, received first the faith of Christ.

For the Britons, being first inhabitants of this realm (notwithstanding the subjection of the emperors and heathen princes), did receive Christ's faith from the apostolic see universally: and not in parts, as other countries; nor by one and one, as clocks increase their hours by distinction of times; but altogether at once, as it were in a moment. But after that their ill merits, or forgetfulness of God, had deserved expulsion, and that strangers, being infidels, had possessed this land, yet God of his goodness, not leaving where he once loved, so illuminated the hearts of the Saxons, being heathen men, that they forsook the darkness of heathen errors, and embraced the light of Christ's religion: so that within a small space idolatry and heathen superstition were utterly abandoned in this island.

This was a great prerogative of nobility; the benefit whereof though it be to be ascribed to God, yet the mean occasion of the same came from the church of Rome,[2] in the faith of which church we have ever since continued and consented with the rest of the world in unity of religion. And to show further the fervent devotion of the inhabitants of this island towards the church of Rome, we read that divers princes in the Saxons' time, with great travail and expenses went personally to Rome, as Offa and Adulphus, who thought it not enough to show themselves obedient to the said see; unless that in their own persons they had gone to that same place from whence they had received so great a grace and benefit.

In the time of Charlemagne, who first founded the university of Paris, he sent into England for Alcuinus a great learned man, which first brought learning to that university; whereby it seemeth that the greatest part of the world fetched the light of religion from England.

Adrian IV., being an Englishman, converted Norway from infidelity; which Adrian afterwards, upon great affection and love that he bare to this realm, being his native country, gave to Henry II., king of England, the right and seigniory of the dominion of Ireland, which pertained to the see of Rome.

I will not rehearse the manifold benefit that this realm hath received from the apostolic see,[3] nor how ready the same hath been to relieve us in all our necessities. Nor will I rehearse the manifold miseries and calamities that this realm hath suffered by swerving from that unity. And even as in this realm, so also in all other countries which, refusing the unity of the catholic faith have followed fantastical doctrine, the like plagues have happened.[4] Let Asia and the empire of Greece be a spectacle unto the world, which, by swerving from the unity of the church of Rome, are brought into captivity and subjection of the Turk. All stories be full of like examples. And to come unto the later time, look upon our neighbours in Germany, who, by swerving from this unity, are miserably afflicted with diversity of sects, and divided into factions.

What shall I rehearse unto you the tumults and effusion of blood that hath happened there of late days; or trouble you with the rehearsal of those plagues that have happened since this innovation of religion, whereof you have felt the

(1) More for the vantage that was hoped by it, than for any great love!

(2) That the faith of the Britons came first from Rome, neither doth it stand with the circumstance of our stories: and if it so did, yet that faith and doctrine of the Romanists was not such then, as it is now.

(3) Nay rather what riches and treasures the see of Rome hath sucked out of England, it is incredible.

(4) The cause of their subjection to the Turk cannot be proved to come by swerving from the unity of the church of Rome, for they never fully joined unto it. And as touching the subjection of Asia and Greece to the Turks, read in the story of the Turks before. [Vol. iv. page 18.—Ed.]

Mary. A. D. 1554.

bitterness, and I have heard the report? of all which matters I can say no more but—such was the misery of the time. And see how far forth this fury went. For those that live under the Turk, may freely live after their conscience;[1] and so was it not lawful here.

If men examine well upon what grounds these innovations began, they shall well find that the root of this, as of many other mischiefs, was avarice; and that the lust and carnal affection of one man confounded all laws, both divine and human. And notwithstanding all these devices and policies practised within this realm against the church of Rome, they needed not to have lost you, but that they thought rather as friends to reconcile you, than as enemies to infest you: for they wanted not great offers of the most mighty potentates in all Europe to have aided the church in that quarrel. Then mark the sequel: there seemed by these changes to rise a great face of riches and gain, which, in proof, came to great misery and lack. See how God then can confound the wisdom of the wise, and turn unjust policy to mere folly; and that thing which seemed to be done for relief, was cause of plain ruin and decay. Yet see that goodness of God, which at no time failed us, but most benignly offered his grace, when it was of our parts least sought and worse deserved.

And when all light of true religion seemed utterly extinct, the churches defaced, the altars overthrown, the ministers corrupted—even like as in a lamp, the light being covered, yet it is not quenched—even so, in a few remained the confession of Christ's faith; namely, in the breast of the queen's excellency, of whom, to speak without adulation, the saying of the prophet may be verified, "Ecce quasi derelicta!"

And see how miraculously God of his goodness preserved her highness, contrary to the expectation of man, that when numbers conspired against her, and policies were devised to disinherit her, and armed power prepared to destroy her; yet she, being a virgin helpless, naked, and unarmed, prevailed, and had the victory of tyrants; which is not to be ascribed to any policy of man, but to the almighty great goodness and providence of God, to whom the honour is to be given:[2] and therefore it may be said, "Da gloriam Deo." For in man's judgment, on her grace's part was nothing in appearance but despair.

And yet for all these practices and devices of ill men, here you see her grace established in her estate, being your lawful queen and governess, born among you; whom God hath appointed to reign over you for the restitution of true religion, and extirpation of all errors and sects. And to confirm her grace the more strongly in this enterprise, lo! how the providence of God hath joined her in marriage with a prince of like religion, who, being a king of great might, armour, and force, yet useth towards you neither armour nor force, but seeketh you by the way of love and amity: in which respect great cause you have to give thanks to Almighty God, that hath sent you such a catholic sovereign. It shall be, therefore, your part again to love, obey, and serve them.

The cardinal here appeareth to be a false prophet.

And as it was a singular favour of God to conjoin them in marriage, so it is not to be doubted but that he shall send them issue, for the comfort and surety of this commonwealth.

Of all princes in Europe, the emperor hath travailed most in the cause of religion, as it appeareth by his acts in Germany; yet happily, by some secret judgment of God, he hath not achieved the end: with whom in my journey hitherwards, I had conference touching my legation; whereof when we had understanding, he showed a great appearance of most earnest joy and gladness, saying, that it rejoiced him no less of the reconcilement of this realm unto christian unity, than that his son was placed by marriage in the kingdom,—and most glad he was of all, that the occasion thereof should come by me being an Englishman born, which is (as it were) to call home ourselves. I can well compare him to David, which, though he were a man elect of God, yet, for that he was contaminate with blood and war, he could not build the temple of Jerusalem, but left the finishing thereof to Solomon, who was "rex pacificus." So may it be thought, that the appeasing of controversies of religion in Christianity, is not appointed to this emperor, but rather to his son, who shall perform the building that his father had begun. Which church cannot be perfectly builded, unless universally in all realms we adhere to one head, and do acknow-

Charles the emperor compared to David.

(1) And why then do ye, more cruelly than the Turk, persecute others for their conscience?
(2) What policy is this, to make promise to get strength, and to break it as the queen did?

ledge him to be the vicar of God, and to have power from above: for all power is of God, according to the saying, "Non est potestas, nisi à Deo." And therefore I consider that all power being in God, yet, for the conservation of quiet and godly life in the world, he hath derived that power from above into two parts here in earth; which is, into the powers imperial and ecclesiastical. And these two powers, as they be several and distinct, so have they two several effects and operations: for secular princes, to whom the temporal sword is committed, be ministers of God to execute vengeance upon transgressors and evil livers, and to preserve the well-doers and innocents from injury and violence. Which power is represented in these two most excellent persons, the king and queen's majesties here present, who have this power committed unto them immediately from God, without any superior in that behalf.

Two powers on earth: ecclesiastical and imperial.

The other power is of ministration, which is the power of the keys, and order in the ecclesiastical state, which is, by the authority of God's word, and examples of the apostles, and of all old holy fathers from Christ hitherto, attributed and given to the apostolic see of Rome by special prerogative: from which see, I am here deputed legate and ambassador, having full and ample commission from thence, and have the keys committed to my hands. I confess to you that I have the keys, not as mine own keys, but as the keys of him that sent me, and yet cannot open: not for want of power in me to give, but for certain impediments in you to receive, which must be taken away before my commission can take effect. This I protest before you, my commission is not of prejudice to any person. I come not to destroy, but to build: I come to reconcile, not to condemn: I am not come to compel, but to call again: I am not come to call any thing in question already done, but my commission is of grace and clemency, to such as will receive it. For touching all matters that be past, they shall be as things cast into the sea of forgetfulness.

The power of the keys clerkly declared.

The pope's keys sent by the cardinal.

But the mean whereby you shall receive this benefit, is to revoke and repeal those laws and statutes, which be impediments, blocks, and bars, to the execution of my commission. For, like as I myself had neither place nor voice to speak here among you, but was in all respects a banished man, till such time as ye had repealed those laws that lay in my way: even so cannot you receive the benefit and grace offered from the apostolic see, until the abrogation of such laws, whereby you have disjoined and dissevered yourselves from the unity of Christ's church.

The pope's keys cannot work in England, etc.

It remaineth therefore that you, like true Christians and provident men, for the weal of your souls and bodies, ponder what is to be done in this so weighty a cause; and so to frame your acts and proceedings, as they may first tend to the glory of God, and next to the conservation of your commonwealth, surety, and quietness.

The next day after, the three estates assembled again in the great chamber of the court at Westminster; where the king and queen's majesties and the cardinal being present, they did exhibit (all kneeling on their knees) a supplication to their highnesses, the tenor whereof ensueth.

The Copy of the Supplication and Submission exhibited to the King and Queen's Majesties, by the Lords and Commons of the Parliament.

We, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled—representing the whole body of the realm of England and dominions of the same, in our own names particularly, and also of the said body universally, in this supplication directed to your majesties with most humble suit, that it may, by your gracious intercession and means, be exhibited to the most reverend father in God, the lord cardinal Pole, legate, sent specially hither from our most holy father pope Julius the Third, and the see apostolic of Rome—do declare ourselves very sorry and repentant for the schism and disobedience committed in this realm and dominions of the same, against the said see apostolic, either by making, agreeing, or executing any laws, ordinances, or commandments, against the supremacy of the said see, or otherwise doing or speaking what might impugn the same: offering ourselves, and promising by

O great sorrow and deep repentance.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

this our supplication, that for a token and knowledge of our said repentance, we be, and shall be alway ready, under and with the authority of your majesties, to the uttermost of our power, to do that which shall be in us for the abrogation and repealing of the said laws and ordinances in this present parliament: as well for ourselves, as for the whole body whom we represent.

The pope's absolution cannot come, but by intercession of kings and queens.

Whereupon we most humbly beseech your majesties, as persons undefiled in the offence of this body towards the said see, which nevertheless God, by his providence, hath made subject unto your majesties, so to set forth this our most humble suit, that we may obtain from the see apostolic, by the said most reverend father, as well particularly as universally, absolution, release, and discharge from all danger of such censures and sentences, as by the laws of the church we be fallen in; and that we may, as children repentant, be received into the bosom and unity of Christ's church, so as this noble realm, with all the members thereof, may, in unity and perfect obedience to the see apostolic, and pope for the time being, serve God and your majesties, to the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glory. Amen.

The supplication given up to the cardinal.

The supplication being read, the king and queen delivered the same unto the cardinal, who (perceiving the effects thereof to answer his expectation) did receive the same most gladly from their majesties: and after he had in few words given thanks to God, and declared what great cause he had to rejoice above all others, that his coming from Rome into England had taken most happy success; he, by the pope's authority, did give them this absolution following.

An Absolution pronounced by Cardinal Pole to the whole Parliament of England, in the Presence of the King and Queen.

Absolution from the pope given to the realm of England. England brought from God's blessing into the warm sun!

Our Lord Jesus Christ, which with his most precious blood hath redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase unto himself a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whom the Father hath appointed head over all his church, he by his mercy absolve you! And we, by apostolic authority (given unto us by the most holy lord pope Julius the Third, his vicegerent in earth)[1] do absolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole realm and dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and from all and every judgment, censure and pain, for that cause incurred; and also we do restore you again unto the unity of our mother the holy church (as in our letters more plainly it shall appear), in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

When all this was done, they went into the chapel, and there, singing Te Deum, with great solemnity declared[2] the joy and gladness that for this reconciliation was pretended.

Great joy at Rome for the conversion of England, and good cause why.

The report of this was with great speed sent unto Rome; as well by the king and cardinal's letters, which hereafter follow, as also otherwise; whereupon the pope caused there at Rome processions to be made, and thanks to be given to God with great joy, for the conversion of England to his church; and therefore (praising the cardinal's diligence, and the devotion of the king and queen), on Christmas even, by his bulls he set forth a general pardon to all such as did truly rejoice for the same.

A Copy of King Philip's Letter, written with his own hand to Pope Julius, touching the restoring of the Realm of England: translated out of Spanish into English.

Most holy father, I wrote yesterday unto Don John Maurique,[3] that he should declare by word of mouth, or else write to your holiness, in what good state

(1) Christ's absolution not sufficient, without the pope's be joined withal.
(2) With heavy hearts, God knoweth. (3) Or Maurena.—Ed

the matter of religion stood in this realm, and of the submission to your holiness, as to the chief. As this day, which is the feast of St. Andrew, late in the evening, we have done God that service (to whose only goodness we must impute it, and to your holiness, who have taken so great pain to gain these souls), that this realm, with full and general consent of all them that represent the state, being very penitent for that was past, and well bent to what they come to do, submitted themselves to your holiness, and to that holy see; whom, at the request of the queen and me, your legate did absolve. And forasmuch as the said Don John shall signify unto your holiness all that passed in this matter, I will write no more thereof; but only that the queen and I, as most faithful and devout children of your holiness, have received the greatest joy and comfort thereof that may be expressed with tongue: considering that, besides the service done to God hereby, it hath chanced, in the time of your holiness, to place as it were in the lap of the holy and catholic church such a kingdom as this is. And therefore I think I cannot be thankful enough for that is done this day. And I trust in him, that your holiness shall alway understand, that the holy see hath not had a more obedient son than I, nor more desirous to preserve and increase the authority of the same. God guide and prosper the most holy personage of your holiness, as I desire.

From London, the 30th of November, 1554.

Your holiness's most humble son, the king, etc.

Here followeth, likewise, the Cardinal's Letter to the said Pope concerning the same matter.[1]

Those things which I wrote unto your holiness of late, of that hope which I trusted would come to pass, that in short space this realm would be reduced to the unity of the church, and obedience of the apostolic see; though I did write then not without great cause, yet, nevertheless, I could not be void of all fear, not only for that difficulty which the minds of our countrymen did show, being so long alienated from the see apostolic, and for the old hatred which they had borne so many years to that name; but much more I feared, lest the first entry into the cause itself, should be put off by some other bye-matter or convention coming betwixt. For the avoiding whereof, I made great means to the king and queen, which little needed; for their own godly forwardness, and earnest desire to bring the thing to pass, far surmounted my great and earnest expectation.

This day in the evening, being St. Andrew's day (who first brought his brother Peter to Christ), it is come to pass by the providence of God, that this realm is reclaimed to give due obedience unto Peter's seat and your holiness, by whose means it may be conjoined to Christ the head, and to his body which is the church. The thing was done and concluded in parliament (the king and queen being present) with such full consent and great rejoicing, that incontinently after I had made my oration, and given the benediction, with a great joy and shout there was divers times said, "Amen, Amen." Which doth evidently declare, that that holy seed, although it hath been long oppressed, yet was not utterly quenched in them; which chiefly was declared in the nobility.[2]

Returning home to my house, these things I wrote unto your holiness upon the sudden, rejoicing that I had so luckily brought to pass so weighty a matter by the Divine Providence, thinking to have sent my letters by the king's post, who (as it was said) should have departed shortly: but afterwards, changing my purpose, when I had determined to send one of mine own men, I thought good to add thus much to my letters, for the more ample gratulation and rejoicing at that good chance. Which thing as it was right great gladness to me, through the event of the same (being itself very great, and so holy, so profitable to the whole church, so healthful to this my country which brought me forth, so honourable to the same which received me): so likewise I took no less rejoicing of the princes themselves, through whose virtue and godliness the matter did take success and perfection.

Of how many, and how great things may the church (which is the spouse of

(1) The Latin copy of this letter is in the First Edition, pp. 1012, 1013, and will be found in the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) The pope's authority was as much welcome to the nobility of England as water into the ship.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

Christ, and our mother) make her account through those her children! O notable zeal of godliness! O ancient faith![1] which undoubtedly doth so manifestly appear in them both, that whoso seeth them, must needs (whether he will or no) say the same which the prophet spake of the first children of the church: "Isti sunt semen cui benedixit Dominus. Hæc plantatio Domini ad gloriandum." That is, "These are the seed which the Lord hath blessed. This is the Lord's planting to glory in." How holily did your holiness with all your authority and earnest affection favour this marriage! which truly seemeth to express a great similitude of the highest King,[2] which, being heir of the world, was sent down by his Father from the regal seat to be spouse and son of the Virgin, and by this means to comfort all mankind. For even so this king himself, the greatest heir of all men which are in the earth, leaving his father's kingdoms that are most great, is come into this little kingdom, and is become both the spouse and son of this virgin (for he so behaveth himself as though he were a son, whereas indeed he is a husband), that he might, as he hath in effect already performed, show himself an aider and helper to reconcile this people to Christ, and to his body, which is the church. Which things, seeing they are so, what may not our mother the church herself look for at his hands, that hath brought this to pass, to convert the hearts of the fathers towards their sons, and the unbelievers to the wisdom of the righteous? which virtue, truly, doth wonderfully shine in him. But the queen, which at that time, when your holiness sent me legate unto her, did rise up as a rod of incense springing out of the trees of myrrh, and as frankincense out of the desert—she, I say, which a little before was forsaken of all men, how wonderfully doth she now shine! What a savour of myrrh and frankincense doth she give forth unto her people, who (as the prophet saith of the mother of Christ) brought forth, before she laboured; before she was delivered, brought forth a man-child! Who ever heard of such a thing, and who hath seen the like of this? Shall the earth bring forth in one day, or shall a whole nation be brought forth together? But she now hath brought forth a whole nation before the time of that delivery, whereof we are in most great hope.

Cardinal Pole flattereth the king.

Scripture well applied.

How great cause is given to us to rejoice! How great cause have we to give thanks to God's mercy, your holiness, and the emperor's majesty, which have been causers of so happy and so godly a marriage, by which we, being reconciled, are joined to God the Father, to Christ, and to the church! of the which although I cannot comprehend in words the joy that I have taken, yet I cannot keep silence of it. And to this my rejoicing, this also was joined (which when I had perceived by the letters of the reverend archbishop of Cocenza, your holiness's nuncio with the emperor's majesty, brought me marvellous great gladness), that your said holiness began to restore to the ancient beauty those things, which, in the church of Rome, through the corruption of times, were deformed; which truly, when it shall be finished, then indeed may we well cry out with the prophet, and speak unto your holiness with these words:[3] "Put off the stole of sorrow and vexation; and put on comeliness, which thou hast of God in everlasting glory. For thy name shall be named of God everlasting, peace of righteousness, and honour of godliness; and then it shall be said, Look about and see thy sons gathered together from the sun-rising to the going down of the same, rejoicing in the holy word." There is nothing truly (to speak of thy children gathered together in the west, which prepare themselves to meet their mother) which they had rather see, than her apparelled (that I may use the words of the prophet) in that garment of righteousness, wherewith God adorned her in times past. This one thing remaineth: that your holiness's joy, and the joy of all the universal church may be perfected; which, together with us her unworthy children, ceaseth not to pray to God for it. The Almighty God preserve your holiness long to continue in health, for the profit of his church!

The Scripture speaking of Sion and Jerusalem; unaptly applied to the pope.

From London, the last of November, 1554.

Your most humble servant,

Reginald Pole, cardinal.

(1) O dissimulation of a flattering cardinal!

(2) What similitude is betwixt light and darkness? 2 Cor. vi.

(3) "Exue te stolâ luctus et vexationis, et indue te decore, qui à Deo tibi est in gloria sempiterna: nominabitur enim tibi nomen tuum à Deo sempiternum, pax justitiæ et honor pietatis. Tum autem dicetur, circumspice et vide collectos filios tuos ab oriente sole usque in occidentem, verbo sancto gaudentem."

A Lamentable Example of Cruelty

Mary.

A. D. 1554.

SHOWED UPON JOHN BOLTON, A MAN OF READING, IMPRISONED FOR THE TRUE TESTIMONY OF A CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE.

*The[1] Lent following the coronation of queen Mary, which Lent was in the year 1554, there was a writing set upon the church-door at Reading in Berkshire, containing matter against the mass, but the author thereof then, and a long time after, was unknown; although now certainly known to be indeed one John Moyer, who afterwards confessed the fact, recanted, and is now made minister. Great inquisition was in every place thereabouts, but nothing, as I said, could be found certainly. Amongst many others one John Bolton was suspected, who, being asked his mind of the mass, answered, that he took it to be against the word of God, and contumelious to Christ: upon which words, he was by the mayor (whose name was Boyer, and by science a tanner), with other officers, committed to the gaol about three weeks before Easter; where being kept by the space of a week or a fortnight, in the under prison or dungeon, afterwards he was had up to a chamber of the gaoler's (whose name was Welch), having his bed and other necessaries to help himself withal, and so continued until Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, came through the town with king Philip and queen Mary, straight upon their marriage at Winchester.

Then the said bishop, hearing of the said John Bolton, sent for him to talk with him, persuading him, what he could, to relent from the truth. But he stood steadfast, and most boldly reproved the said bishop to his face, and replied most earnestly against his persuasions; whereby the bishop, being greatly moved, commanded that he should be had to prison again, there to be kept with bread and water, and nothing else: charging, further, that whosoever came to him should, in anywise, immediately be set by him. Well, John Bolton was, thereupon, carried again to the gaol and put into the dungeon, or under prison, where he was before; which is under the ground about twelve feet deep, compassed about with most thick walls, without any light saving only that which cometh down at the entry; but (which is the best), both above the head and under foot, it is boarded. And alas! to no purpose (poor John Bolton might say), for he was not suffered to walk any part therein, but was most cruelly stocked and chained, as hereafter followeth. In the same dungeon is a marvellous evil scent or odour, and the whole proportion most terrible to see. In the midst thereof is a huge pair of stocks, of a great height, wherein they did put both his hands and his feet; on the other side of the stocks, his legs were tied with a great chain of iron, being surely fastened to a great and mighty block unmovable. And hanging on this sort by the hands and feet, sometimes for a day and a night together (his body not touching any part of the ground), the gaoler often would ease him and loose his hands sometimes at night, but his feet he would keep in the stocks still, three or four whole days together. And, being in this woful and most miserable case, the gaoler and his family would wickedly, in the night season, to trouble the good poor man, oftentimes cast squibs of fire into the dungeon, whereby his

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 1017.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1554.

empty and careful head might be troubled with vain and fond fantasies; which came to pass, as hereafter shall be showed.

Now his honest good neighbours, hearing of his perplexity, were not a little careful for him and sent their benevolence liberally to him; such as wholesome meats and drinks to comfort his weak body, which always were either eaten up by the gaoler and his household, or else brought to the grate of the prison, and there given to dogs before his face: so cruel and unmerciful was this wicked gaoler. Whereby the said poor John Bolton was enforced (alas! the pity) to eat what cannot be named for hunger; some think for the space of six days, some think more, some less; but although how *long* the time is uncertain, yet, that he *did* it, is most true.

Thus was he in the lower prison just twelve months and ten weeks, having sometimes his hand and feet in the stocks; sometimes his feet only, sometimes neither; sometimes having checks, taunts, scornings, threatenings, and mockings; otherwhiles having meat; otherwhiles, in loathsome extremity: until at last, with terrible torments, solitary sighings, lack of liberty, meat, drink, with such like, and also with eating that which nature most abhorreth, and what never was heard of before in any tyrant's days, he began, I say, at the last, to be full of ravings and strange fantasies, in such sort, that men took him as one without reason and distracted of mind. This being once known to sir Francis Englefield, he, with his blood-thirsty brother the parson of Englefield, thought good to rid the prison of him; and so he was discharged.

It is not to be forgotten, amongst so many troubles, that in prison was laid awhile, for fornication, a collar-maker by his science; who, being of nature very tender, and feeling not one quarter of John Bolton's troubles and miserable torments, fell mad. And, through friendship of them that were more mad than he, liberty was given him to sit at the grate of the dungeon, to work for his living and to have the benefit of the light; which is (as prisoners say) no small benefit. This madman having his tools, that is to say an awl and a stretcher, and his liberty therewith, used the same almost to the destruction of his own wife and the said John Bolton. For she, coming to visit him, being great with child and thinking of no danger (poor woman) towards her, the wretched madman, ungraciously, thrust his awl in her body, and slew the little babe within her. And, yet, not content therewith, but to increase his mischief more and more, he also with the same instrument did, in divers places, hurt the said John Bolton sitting in the stocks, to the great peril of his life, and no less danger of the same continually, while the said collar-maker remained in prison; as it appeareth evidently at this present upon his body, for them that list to see.

By such cruelty, and so greatly, was truth handled and whoredom maintained by this wicked gaoler, that the evil person could have liberty to do his mischief when he would, while the poor simple John Bolton (laid in for conscience' sake to Godward) might not once have so much favour as to be free from the stocks, and to walk a little for his comfort. This is the truth of this story, approved by sufficient and credible testimonies, as well of the inhabitants of the said town of Reading (whose letters, at this present, for the certification thereof

we have to show, dated to us the twelfth day of May), as also by the confirmation of the party himself on whom this cruelty was showed, being although, through the same their extreme handling, weak and feeble, yet, God be praised! a man alive.*

Mary. A.D. 1554.

On the Sunday the 2d of December, the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor of England, preached at Paul's Cross, at which sermon was present the king and cardinal Pole. He took for his theme this part of the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans,[1] "This also we know, the season, brethren, that we should now awake out of sleep; for now is our salvation nearer, than when we believed," etc. Some notes thereof as they came to my hands, faithfully gathered (as it appeareth by sundry copies), I have here thought good to set forth.

Paul's Cross.

Notes of a Sermon of the Bishop of Winchester, preached at Paul's Cross.

First, he showed how the saying of St. Paul was verified upon the Gentiles, who had a long time slept in dark ignorance, not knowing God: "Therefore St. Paul," quoth he, "to stir up their heavy dulness, willed them to awake out of their long sleep, because their salvation was nearer, than when they believed."

In amplifying this matter, and comparing our times with theirs, he took occasion to declare what difference the Jewish sacraments had from those of the Christians, wherein he used these words:

Even as the sacrament of the Jews did declare Christ to come, so do our sacraments declare Christ to be already come: but Christ to come, and Christ to be come, is not all one. For now that he is come, the Jews' sacraments be done away, and ours only remain, which declare that he is already come, and is nearer us, than he was to the fathers of the old law: for they had him but in signs, but we have him in the sacrament of the altar, even his very body. Wherefore now, also, it is time that we awake out of our sleep, who have slept, or rather dreamed, these twenty years past; as shall more easily appear by declaring at large some of the properties and effects of a sleep or a dream. And first, as men intending to sleep do separate themselves from company, and desire to be alone; even so have we separated ourselves from the see apostolic of Rome: and have been alone, no realm in Christendom like us.

Secondly, as in sleep men dream sometimes of killing, sometimes of maiming, sometimes of drowning or burning, sometimes of such beastliness as I dare not name, but will spare your ears: so we have in this our sleep not only dreamed of beastliness, but we have done it indeed. For in this our sleep hath not one brother destroyed another? hath not half our money been wiped away at one time?—And again, those that would defend their conscience, were slain, and others also otherwise troubled; besides infinite other things, which you all know as well as I, whereof I report me to your own consciences. Further, in a man's sleep all his senses are stopped, so that he can neither see, smell, nor hear: even so, whereas the ceremonies of the church were instituted to move and stir up our senses, they being taken away, were not our senses (as ye would say) stopped, and we fast asleep? Moreover, when a man would gladly sleep, he will put out the candle,[2] lest peradventure it may let his sleep, and awake him: so of late all such writers as did hold any thing with the apostolic see, were condemned, and forbidden to be read; and images (which were laymen's books[3]) were cast down and broken.

Winchester very expert (as appeareth) in ghostly dreams.

This sleep hath continued with us these twenty years, and we all that while without a head: for when king Henry did first take upon him to be head of the church, it was then no church at all. After whose death, king Edward

(1) Chap. xiii.
(2) Who putteth out the candle, but they which extinguish God's word, and forbid the Scriptures that should give us light?
(3) They forbid laymen's books; but you, forbid the book of God.

Mary. A. D. 1554.

(having over him governors and protectors which ruled as them listed) could not be head of the church, but was only a shadow or sign of a head: and, at length, it came to pass that we had no head at all; no, not so much as our two archbishops. For on the one side, the queen, being a woman, could not be head of the church; and on the other side, they both were convicted of one crime, and so deposed. Thus, while we desired to have a supreme head among us, it came to pass that we had no head at all.[1] When the tumult was in the north, in the time of king Henry VIII., I am sure the king was determined to have given over the supremacy again to the pope: but the hour was not then come, and therefore it went not forward, lest some would have said, that he did it for fear.

After this, master Knevet and I were sent ambassadors unto the emperor, to desire him that he would be a mean between the pope's holiness and the king, to bring the king to the obedience of the see of Rome: but the time was not yet come; for it might have been said, that it had been done for a civil policy. Again, in the beginning of king Edward's reign the matter was moved, but the time was not yet; for it would have been said, that the king (being but a child) had been bought and sold. Neither in the beginning of the queen's reign was the hour come; for it would have been said, that it was done in a time of weakness. Likewise when the king first came, if it had been done, they might have said it had been by force and violence. But now, even now, "hora est,"[2] the hour is come, when nothing can be objected, but that it is the mere mercy and providence of God. Now hath the pope's holiness, pope Julius III., sent unto us this most reverend father, cardinal Pole, an ambassador from his side. What to do? Not to revenge the injuries done by us against his holiness, "sed benedicere maledicentibus," to give his benediction to those that defamed and persecuted him.

Gardiner claweth the cardinal.

And that we may be the more meet to receive the said benediction, I shall desire you that we may alway acknowledge ourselves offenders against his holiness—I do not exclude myself forth of the number. I will[3] "Weep with them that weep, and rejoice with them that rejoice." And I shall desire you that we may defer the matter no longer; for now, "hora est," the hour is come. The king and queen's majesties have already restored our holy father the pope to his supremacy, and the three estates assembled in the parliament, representing the whole body of the realm, have also submitted themselves to his holiness, and his successors for ever;[4] wherefore let us not any longer stay. And even as St. Paul said to the Corinthians, that he was their father,[5] so may the pope say, that he is our father: for we received our doctrine first from Rome—therefore he may challenge us as his own. We have all cause to rejoice, for his holiness hath sent hither and prevented us, before we sought him: such care hath he for us. Therefore let us say, "Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et lætemur in ea:" Rejoice in this day, which is of the Lord's working, that such a noble birth is come, yea, such a holy father (I mean, my lord cardinal Pole), which can speak unto us as unto brethren, and not as unto strangers; who hath a long time been absent. And let us now awake, which so long have slept, and in our sleep have done so much naughtiness against the sacraments of Christ, denying the blessed sacrament of the altar, and pulled down the altar,[6] which thing Luther himself would not do, but rather reproved them that did, examining them of their belief in Christ.

Winchester a false prophet.

This was the sum of his sermon before his prayers, wherein he prayed first for the pope, pope Julius III., with all his college of cardinals; the bishop of London with the rest of that order. Then for the king and queen, and the nobility of this realm; and last, for the commons of the same, with the souls departed, lying in the pains

(1) Then, belike, Christ is no head at all, to give life to his church, unless the pope's head also be clapt on the church's shoulders.

(2) Imo, "potestas tenebrarum!" (3) "Flere cum flentibus, et gaudere cum gaudentibus."

(4) Note how the meaning of St. Paul's words are here applied, "for ever."

(5) St. Paul, though he were the father of many churches in Christ Jesus, yet was he never so arrogant to take upon him to be supreme head of any church, but left that solely to Christ, and laboured to bring all under him.

(6) "So Hezekiah pulled down the hill-altars, which Manasseh afterwards did set up: and yet we commend the doings of Hezekiah, and disprove the fact of the other."

of purgatory. This ended, the time being late, they began in Paul's to ring for their evening song, whereby the preacher could not be well heard, which caused him to make a short end of his clerkly sermon.

About this very time a post or messenger was sent from the whole parliament to the pope, to desire him to confirm and establish the sale of abbey-lands and chantry-lands;[1] for the lords and the parliament would grant nothing in the pope's behalf, before their purchases were fully confirmed.

The chapter of Paul's absolved by the cardinal.

On the Thursday following, being the 6th of December, and St. Nicholas's day, all the whole convocation, both bishops and others, were sent for to Lambeth to the cardinal, who the same day forgave them all their perjurations, schisms, and heresies, and they all there kneeled down and received his absolution; and after an exhortation and gratulation for their conversion to the catholic church made by the cardinal, they departed.

The questmen of Throgmorton delivered.

On Wednesday, the 12th of December, five of the eight men which lay in the Fleet, that were of master Throgmorton's quest, were discharged, and set at liberty upon their fine paid, which was two hundred and twenty pounds apiece; and the other three put up a supplication, therein declaring, that their goods did not amount to the sum that they were appointed to pay; and so, upon that declaration paying forty pounds apiece, they were delivered out of prison upon St. Thomas's day before Christmas, being the 21st of December.

On the Saturday following, being the 22d of December, all the whole parliament had strict commandment, that none of them should depart into their country this Christmas, nor before the parliament were ended: which commandment was wonderful contrary to their expectations; for as well many of the lords, as also many of the inferior sort, had sent for their horses, and had them brought hither.

On the Friday following, being the 28th of December, and Childermas-day, the prince of Piedmont came to the court at Westminster.

MASTER ROSE WITH THIRTY PERSONS TAKEN AT A COMMUNION IN BOW-CHURCHYARD. ANNO 1555.

On new-year's day at night following, certain honest men and women of the city, to the number of thirty, and a minister with them named master Rose, were taken as they were in a house in Bow-churchyard at the communion, and the same night they were all committed to prison. And on the Thursday following, being the 3d of January, master Rose was before the bishop of Winchester, being lord chancellor; and from thence the same day he was committed to the Tower, after certain communication had between the bishop and him.

(1) "To establish the sale of abbey-lands." [Strype writes under the year 1555: "Notwithstanding the law that was made in the parliament last year, confirming church lands to the present owners, yet so cautious was sir W. Petre, one of the principal secretaries of state, that he thought it not sure enough to rely upon it, and therefore obtained a bull this year from the pope, for the ratification of the manors and lands, that he had purchased of king Henry VIII., which had formerly belonged to monasteries, &c. This bull is extant in Dugdale's Monasticon, where it is specified, that sir W. Petre was ready to assign and demise the said lands to spiritual uses. The original bull was in the keeping of William Lord Petre (descended from the said secretary) anno 1672." Chap. xxxiv. p. 465.]

Mary. A. D. 1555.

The same day the act of supremacy passed in the parliament. Also the same day at night was a great tumult between Spaniards and Englishmen at Westminster, whereof was like to have ensued great mischief through a Spanish friar, who got into the church and rung alarum. The occasion was about two loose women which were in the cloister of Westminster, with a sort of Spaniards, whereof, whilst some played the knaves with them, others did keep the entry of the cloister with dags, in harness. In the mean time certain of the dean's men came into the cloister, and the Spaniards discharged their dags at them, and hurt some of them. By and by the noise of this doing came into the streets, so that the whole town was up almost; but never a stroke was stricken. Notwithstanding the noise of this doing with the dean's men, and also the ringing of the alarum, made much ado; and a great number also to be sore afraid.

The act of supremacy passed in the parliament. A stir between the Spaniards and English at Westminster.

Ye heard a little before the council's letter sent to bishop Bonner, signifying the good news of queen Mary to be not only conceived, but also quick with child, which was in the month of November, the 28th day. Of this child great talk began at this time to rise in every man's mouth, with busy preparation, and much ado, especially amongst such as seemed in England to carry Spanish hearts in English bodies. In number of whom is here not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his condign commendation for his worthy affection toward his prince and her issue, one sir Richard Southwell, who, being the same time in the parliament-house, when the lords were occupied in other affairs and matters of importance, suddenly starting up, for fulness of joy burst out in these words following: "Tush my masters," quoth he, "what talk ye of these matters? I would have you take some order for our young master that is now coming into the world apace, lest he find us unprovided," etc. By the which words both of him, and also by the aforesaid letters of the council, and the common talk abroad, it may appear what an assured opinion was then conceived in men's heads of queen Mary to be conceived and quick with child: insomuch that at the same time, and in the same parliament there was eftsoons a bill exhibited, and an act made upon the same, the words whereof, for the more evidence, I thought good here to exemplify, as followeth.

The words of Southwell in the parliament-house.

Extract of an Act for the Government of Queen Mary's Issue.

Albeit we, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, have firm hope and confidence in the goodness of Almighty God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculously preserved the queen's majesty from many great imminent perils and dangers; even so he will, of his infinite goodness, give her highness strength, the rather by our continual prayers, to pass well the danger of deliverance of child, wherewith it hath pleased him (to all our great comforts) to bless her: yet forasmuch as all things of this world be uncertain, and having before our eyes the dolorous experience of the inconstant government, during the time of the reign of the late king Edward the Sixth, do plainly see the manifold inconveniences, great dangers and perils, that may ensue in this whole realm, if foresight be not used to prevent all evil chances, if they should happen: for the eschewing hereof, we, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, for and in consideration of a most special trust and confidence that we

The judgment of the parliament deceived in God's blessing.

(1) Ex stat. an. 1 & 2. Phil. and Mar. cap. 10.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

have and repose in the king's majesty, for and concerning the politic government, order, and administration of this realm in the time of the young years of the issue or issues of her majesty's body to be born (if it should please God to call the queen's highness out of this present life, during the tender years of such issue or issues; which God forbid)—according to such order and manner, as hereafter, in this present act, his highness's most gracious pleasure is, should be declared and set forth, have made our humble suit, by the assent of the queen's highness, that his majesty would vouchsafe to accept and take upon him the rule, order, education, and government of the said issue or issues to be born, as is aforesaid: upon which our suit being of his said majesty most graciously accepted, it hath pleased his highness not only to declare, that like as for the most part his majesty verily trusteth that Almighty God (who hath hitherto preserved the queen's majesty, to give this realm so good a hope of certain succession in the blood royal of the same realm) will assist her highness with his graces and benedictions, to see the fruit of her body well brought forth, live, and able to govern (whereof neither all this realm, nay all the world besides, should or could receive more comfort than his majesty should and would), yet, if such chance should happen, his majesty at our humble desires is pleased and contented, not only to accept and take upon him the cure and charge of the education, rule, order, and government of such issues as of this most happy marriage shall be born between the queen's highness and him; but also, during the time of such government, would, by all ways and means, study, travail, and employ himself to advance the weal both public and private of this realm and dominion thereunto belonging, according to the said trust in his majesty reposed, with no less good-will and affection, than if his highness had been naturally born amongst us. In consideration whereof, be it enacted by the king and the queen's most excellent majesties, by the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, etc.[1]

Order taken by parliament for queen Mary's child.

Trust disappointed.

Thus much out of the act and statute I thought to rehearse, to the intent the reader may understand, not so much how parliaments may sometimes be deceived (as by this child of queen Mary may appear), as rather what cause we Englishmen have to render most earnest thanks unto Almighty God, who so mercifully, against the opinion, expectation, and working of our adversaries, hath helped and delivered us in this case; which otherwise might have opened such a window to the Spaniards, to have entered and replenished this land, that peradventure, by this time, Englishmen should have enjoyed no great quiet in their own country. The Lord therefore make us perpetually mindful of his benefits! Amen.

Thus we see then how man doth purpose, but God disposeth as pleaseth him. For all this great labour, provision, and order taken in the parliament-house for their young master long looked for, coming so surely into the world, in the end appeared neither young master, nor young mistress, that any man yet to this day can hear of. Furthermore, as the labour of the lay sort was herein deluded; so no less ridiculous it was to behold, what little effect the prayers of the pope's churchmen had with Almighty God, who travailed no less with their processions, masses, and collects, for the happy deliverance of this young master to come, as here followeth to be seen.

The prayers of the papists, of what little effect they are with God.

(1) As it is to be seen in the act more at large ratified and confirmed at the same parliament, to the same intent and purpose

Mary. A. D. 1555.

A Prayer made by Dr. Weston, Dean of Westminster, daily to be said for the Queen's Deliverance.—Out of Latin into English.[1]

O most righteous Lord God, which, for the offence of the first woman, has threatened unto all women, a common, sharp, and inevitable malediction, and hath enjoined them that they should conceive in sin, and, being conceived, should be subject to many and grievous torments; and finally, be delivered with the danger and jeopardy of their lives: we beseech thee for thine exceeding great goodness and bottomless mercy, to mitigate the strictness of that law. Assuage thine anger for a while, and cherish in the bosom of thy favour and mercy our most gracious queen Mary, being now at the point to be delivered. So help her, that without danger of her life she may overcome the sorrow, and in due season bring forth a child, in body beautiful and comely, in mind noble and valiant. So that afterward, she, forgetting the trouble, may with joy, laud and praise the bountifulness of thy mercy, and, together with us, praise and bless both thee and thy holy name, world without end. This, O Lord, we desire thee, we beseech thee, and most heartily crave of thee. Hear us, O Lord, and grant us our petition: let not the enemies of thy faith. and of thy church say, "Where is their God?"

A solemn Prayer made for King Philip and Queen Mary's Child, that it may be a Male-Child, well-favoured, and witty, etc.

A devout prayer made by the catholics.

O most mighty Lord God, which regardest the prayer of the humble, and despisest not their request; bow down from thine high habitation of the heavens, the eyes of thy mercy unto us wretched sinners, bowing the knees of our hearts, and with many and deep sighs bewailing our sins and offences; humbly, with eyes intent and hands displayed, praying and beseeching thee, with the shield of thy protection, to defend Mary thy servant, and our queen, who hath none other helper but thee, and whom, through thy grace, thou hast willed to be conceived with child: and at the time of her travail graciously, with the help of thy right hand, deliver her; and from all danger, with the child in her conceived, mercifully preserve.

It hath seemed good in thy sight, merciful Father, by thy servant Mary, to work these wonders; that is to say, in her hands to vanquish and overthrow the stout enemy, and to deliver us, thy people, out of the hands of heretics, infidels, enemies[2] to thee and to the cross of thy beloved Son Jesus Christ; that of thy servant thou mightest speak in far countries. Therefore, for these wonderful works which thou dost to thy servants, thou art magnified, Lord God, for ever; and we thy people bless thee, the God of heaven, which hath wrought upon us this great mercy, and hath excluded from us the heretic, the enemy of truth, the persecutor of thy church. We know, we know, that we have grievously, Lord, sinned; that we have been deceived by vanity, and that we have forsaken thee our God. Our iniquities be multiplied on our head, and our sins be increased up to heaven: and we ourselves, having offended, and our princes and our priests, for these our sins have deserved a hypocrite to our prince; our sins have deserved a tyrant to our governor, that should bring our life to a bitterness. We be not worthy to have so gentle and merciful a queen, so godly a ruler, and finally, so virtuous a prince; at the very beginning of whose reign, a new light, as it were, of God's religion seemed to us for to spring and rise. The Jews did bless the widow Judith with one voice, saying, "Thou art the glory of Jerusalem, thou art the joy of Israel, thou art the honour of our people, for that thou hast loved chastity; and thou shalt be blessed for ever."

Mary compared of the papists to Judith.

(1) The prayer in Latin, with the following inscription, is given in the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments, p. 1015.

A Prayer made by Doctor Weston, Dean of Westminster; and delivered to the Children of the Queen's Majesty's Grammar-school there; and said by them daily, Morning and Evening, for her Majesty.—"Juste Domine Deus, qui, propter primæ mulieris piaculum, communem omnibus fœminis severam et inevitabilem maledictionem denunciasti et imposuisti:—nempe ut in peccatis conciperent, et, gravidæ, multis et magnis cruciatibus subjacerent, et, tandem, cum vitæ periculo parerent:—quæsumus, pro tuâ immensâ bonitate proque inexhaustâ misericordiâ, hujus legis edictum mitiga. Quiescat, paululum, ira tua, et reginam nostram Mariam, jam partum enitentem, tuæ gratiæ sinu fove. Adjuva eam ut, sine periculo vitæ, dolorem superare; prolem corpore elegantem, animo nobilem, justo tempore valeat parere; quò pòst, angustiæ oblita, cum gaudio miserationis tuæ gratiam celebret, teque tuumque nomen nobiscum benedicat in secula seculorum! Audi Domine et exhaudi, ne dicant fidei et ecclesiæ tuæ hostes, 'Ubi est Deus eorum?'"—Ed.

(2) The papists call the protestants heretics and enemies to the cross of Christ, even as Ahab called Elias the disturber of Israel, when he was only the disturber himself.

Mary.

A. D. 1555.

And we, the English people, with one agreeable consent do cry: "Thou Mary art the glory of England," our joy, the honour of thy people; for that thou hast embraced chastity. Thine heart is strengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, and therefore thou shalt be blessed for ever.[1] But bow down, O most merciful Father, thine ear, and open thine eyes, and behold our affliction, and our humble confession. Thou knowest, Lord, that against Philip (not by human, but by thy ordinance, our king), and against thy servant Mary (by thy providence our queen), the restorers and maintainers of thy testament of the faith, and most constant defenders of thy church: thou knowest, I say, that against these, our two governors, the enemies of thy holy Testament, and of the church thy spouse,[2] be most rank rebels and spiteful murmurers, walking after their lusts; whose mouth speaketh words of pride, to the end they may set up the kingdom of heretics and schismatics. By the power of their hands they would change thy promises,[3] and destroy thine inheritance, and stop and shut up the mouths of them that praise thee, and extinguish the glory of thy catholic church and altar.

It is manifest and plain, how many contentions, how many conspiracies and seditions, how great wars, what tumults, how many and how great troublesome vexations, how many heresies and schisms (for these be the most ready devices, and evident tokens of heretics) for our sins do hang over us, if thy servant be taken from this life: for we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath pitched his dwelling-place in the midst of his people, to the intent to deliver us out of the hands of our enemies. Turn therefore thy countenance unto us, show unto us, O Lord, thy face. Punish us for our sins according to thy will and pleasure; only now deliver us. We, bowing the knees of our heart, beseech thee, that thou wilt not reserve unto us punishment for ever; and we shall praise thee all the days of our life. Hear our cry, and the prayer of thy people, and open to them the treasure of thy mercy, thy gracious favour, the spring of lively water. Thou that hast begun, make in the hand of thy servant a perfect work.[4] Suffer not, we pray thee, the faithless rebels to say of thy servant and her councillors, that they have devised matters which they cannot perform. And grant unto thy servant a happy and an easy travail: for it is not impossible to thy power, nor indecent to thy justice, nor unwonted to thy mercy.

The Lord gave a promise to Sarah and Elizabeth: so did he *not* to queen Mary.

It is well known unto us, how marvellously thou didst work in Sarah of the age of ninety years, and in Elizabeth, the barren, and also far stricken in age: for thy counsel is not in the power of men. Thou Lord, that art the searcher of hearts and thoughts, thou knowest that thy servant never lusted after man, never gave herself to wanton company, nor made herself partaker with them that walk in lightness: but she consented to take a husband with thy fear, and not with her lust. Thou knowest that thy servant took a husband not for carnal pleasure, but only for the desire and love of posterity, wherein thy name might be blessed for ever and ever.

Give therefore unto thy servants Philip our king and Mary our queen, a male issue, which may sit in the seat of thy kingdom. Give unto our queen thy servant a little infant, in fashion and body comely and beautiful, in pregnant wit notable and excellent. Grant the same to be in obedience like Abraham,[5] in hospitality like Lot, in chastity and brotherly love like Joseph, in meekness and mildness like Moses, in strength and valour like Samson. Let him be found faithful as David after thy heart. Let him be wise among kings as the most wise Solomon. Let him be like Job, a simple and an upright man, fearing God, and eschewing evil. Let him, finally, be garnished with the comeliness of all virtuous conditions, and in the same let him wax old and live, that he may see his children's children to the third and fourth generation. And give unto our sovereign lord and lady, king Philip and queen Mary, thy blessings and long life upon earth; and grant that of them may come kings and queens, which may steadfastly continue in faith, love, and holiness. And blessed be

(1) Mark how, forgetting his prayer, he falleth to the praising of queen Mary.
(2) The Testament setteth up only the glory of Christ.
(3) If the changing of God's promises, destroying his inheritance, stopping the mouths of God's people; if contentions, wars, and schisms, be tokens of heretics, who so great heretics as the papists?
(4) Cry up louder, you priests! peradventure your god is asleep.
(5) It is not best such a one to be granted unto you; for being like Abraham, Joseph, Moses, and Solomon, he may chance to smell out your corrupt doctrine, and to detest your bloody tyranny, etc.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

their seed of our God, that all nations may know, thou art only God in all the earth, which art blessed for ever and ever: Amen!

Another Prayer for Queen Mary, and her conceived Child.[1]

O Almighty Father, which didst sanctify the blessed Virgin and mother Mary in her conception, and in the birth of Christ our Saviour thine only Son; also, by thine omnipotent power, didst safely deliver the prophet Jonas out of the whale's belly: defend, O Lord, we beseech thee, thy servant Mary, our queen, with child conceived; and so visit her in and with thy godly gift of health, that not only the child thy creature, within her contained, may joyfully come from her into this world, and receive the blessed sacraments of baptism and confirmation, enjoying therewith daily increase of all princely and gracious gifts both of body and soul; but that also she (the mother), through thy special grace and mercy, may in time of her travail avoid all excessive dolour and pain, and abide perfect and sure from all peril and danger of death, with long and prosperous life, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

It followeth now further, in process of the story, that upon the Tuesday, being the 10th of January, nineteen of the lower house of the parliament, with the speaker, came to Whitehall to the king, and offered him the government of the realm and of the issue, if the queen should fail, which was confirmed by act of parliament within ten days after.

The pope's supremacy established by parliament. Also other matters.

On Wednesday following, being the 16th of January, the parliament was clean dissolved. In this parliament, amongst other tidings, the bishop of Rome was established, and all such laws as were made against him since the twentieth year of king Henry VIII. were repealed, and also cardinal Pole, bishop Pates, Lilly, and others were restored to their blood. Also there was an act made for speaking of words; that whoever should speak any thing against the king or queen, or that might move any sedition or rebellion, at the first time to have one of his ears cut off, or to forfeit a hundred marks; and at the second time to have both his ears cut off, or else to forfeit a hundred pounds; and whosoever should write, cipher, or print any of the premises, to have their right hand cut off.

Three statutes against heretics revived.

Also in this parliament three statutes were revived for trial of heresy; one made in the fifth year of Richard II.: another in the second year of Henry IV.: and the third in the second year of Henry V. Also the doing of master Rose, and the others that were with him, was communed of in this parliament; and upon that occasion an act was made, that certain evil prayers should be treason against the queen's highness. The prayers of these men were thus: "God turn the heart of queen Mary from idolatry; or else shorten her days."[2]

As touching the taking of master Rose and his fellows, word was brought thereof to that godly man and dear martyr of God, master Hooper, being then in the Fleet, in words as followeth.[3]

(1) In the First Edition, page 1016, this prayer is entitled "A short Prayer for Queen Mary, set forth in English by Thomas Smith, servant to her Majesty, to be daily and hourly prayed and said of good subjects."—Ed.

(2) Hereof read the statute an. 1 & 2, reg. Phil. et Mar. cap. 9.

(3) This letter, with the two following, are printed at the end of a work entitled "An Apologye made by the Reuerende Father and constante martyr of Chryste, John Hooper, etc., that he should be a maintainer and encorager of suche as cursed the Queene's highnes," etc. Lond. printed by W. Tisdale, 1562, 8vo.—Ed

*A Letter[1] sent to Master Hooper, concerning the taking of a godly Company in Bow-Churchyard, at their Prayer.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

My duty humbly remembered:—You hear, I know, of a godly company imprisoned, which were taken upon new-year night. Yet notwithstanding, forasmuch, perhaps, as you know not perfectly how nor wherefore, you shall understand that being upon their knees in ending of prayer (wherein they gave God thanks, prayed for the magistrates and estates of the realm, and required things necessary at his bountiful hands), two of my lord chancellor's men, as I am informed, came first into the chamber where they were, in Bow-churchyard; and, immediately afterwards, followed master sheriff with others, who commanded them all to stay, in the king's and queen's majesty's names: whereunto they humbly obeyed. For they came not thither weaponed, to conspire or make any tumult, but only like Christians, christianly to pray, and to be instructed, in the vulgar tongue, by the reading and hearing of God's word; as their conscience did enforce them, without the displeasure of God, to do.

For, as you well know, there is nothing so grievous to the patient in this world, as the gnawing and biting worm of a troubled conscience; being accused by God's law for the wilful transgression of the same. This, by experience, we know by judge Hales:[2] who, contrary to the knowledge of God's word, consented to the wicked traditions of the papists, who, although in name they would be of the holy church and preachers of the gospel of Christ, yet, in fact and deed, do dissent from the same, and most detest that godly society; as by the cruel handling of the Christians by the prelates, at this present time, it doth evidently appear. Therefore, I say, that they might, without the offence of God, quietly pray together, as they be taught by his word, there assembled a godly company together, to the number of thirty: divided and sent to both the compters, where, at commandment, they yet remain. And with master Chambers, master Monger, and the rest in the Compter at Bread-street, I was yesterday; who (God be thanked!) be strong, and do rejoice that for well doing they are imprisoned: not doubting, but that as God hath vouchsafed to accept them worthy to sustain imprisonment for his sake, so he will strengthen them, rather to suffer death than to deny his truth; as the Lord knoweth, who assist you with his holy Spirit, that unto the end you may persevere in his truth: unto whose tuition, in my poor prayer, I humbly commend you. January 3d, 1555. Master Chamber, master Monger, master Sh***, and the rest of the Compter do pray for you, and, in Christ, salute you most heartily.*

Whereupon the said master Hooper sendeth answer again, with a letter also of consolation sent to the said prisoners: the copy whereof I thought here not to overpass.

The Answer of Master Hooper to a Letter sent unto him concerning certain Prisoners taken in Bow-Churchyard.

The grace of God be with you, Amen. I perceive by your letter, how that upon new-year's day at night, there were taken a godly company of Christians, whilst they were praying. I do rejoice in that men can be so well occupied in this perilous time, and flee unto God for remedy by prayer, as well for their own lacks and necessities, as also charitably to pray for them that persecute them. So doth the word of God command all men to pray charitably for them that hate them, and not to revile any magistrate with words, or to mean him evil by force or violence. They also may rejoice, that in well-doing they were taken to the prison. Wherefore I have thought it good to send them this little writing of consolation; praying God to send them patience, charity, and constancy in the truth of his most holy word. Thus fare you well, and pray God to send his true word into this realm again amongst us, which the ungodly bishops have now banished.

January 4, A.D. 1555.

(1) This letter is inserted from the First Edition, page 1020: the genuine piety, combined with the perfect simplicity which it displays, cannot fail to interest the reader.—Ed.

(2) The history of Judge Hales may be found on a subsequent page of this volume.—Ed.

Mary.
A. D. 1555.

A Letter of Consolation sent from Master Hooper, to the godly Brethren taken in Bow-Churchyard in Prayer, and laid in the Compter in Bread-street.

A letter full of most heavenly consolation.

The grace, favour, consolation, and aid of the Holy Ghost, be with you now and ever. So be it.

Dearly beloved in the Lord, ever since your imprisonment I have been marvellously moved with great affections and passions, as well of mirth and gladness, as of heaviness and sorrow. Of gladness in this, that I perceived how ye be bent and given to prayer and invocation of God's help in these dark and wicked proceedings of men against God's glory. I have been sorry to perceive the malice and wickedness of men to be so cruel, devilish, and tyrannical, to persecute the people of God for serving of God, saying and hearing of the holy Psalms, and the word of eternal life. These cruel doings do declare, that the papists' church is more bloody and tyrannical, than ever was the sword of the Ethnics and Gentiles.

When I heard of your taking, and what ye were doing, wherefore, and by whom ye were taken, I remembered how the Christians, in the primitive church, were used by the cruelty of unchristened heathens,[1] in the time of Trajan the emperor, about seventy-seven years after Christ's ascension into heaven; and how the Christians were persecuted very sore, as though they had been traitors and movers of sedition: whereupon the gentle emperor Trajan required to know the true cause of christian men's trouble. A great learned man, called Pliny, wrote unto him, and said, It was because the Christians said certain Psalms before day unto one called Christ, whom they worshipped for God. When Trajan the emperor understood it was for nothing but for conscience and religion, he caused by his commandments every where, that no man should be persecuted for serving of God. Lo! a gentile and heathen man would not have such as were of a contrary religion punished for serving of God: but the pope and his church hath cast you into prison, being taken even doing the work of God, and one of the excellentest works that is required of christian men: that is to wit, whilst ye were in prayer, and not in such wicked and superstitious prayers as the papists use, but in the same prayer that Christ hath taught you to pray. And in his name only, ye gave God thanks for that ye have received, and for his sake ye asked for such things as ye want. Oh! glad may ye be that ever ye were born, to be apprehended whilst ye were so virtuously occupied. Blessed be they that suffer for righteousness' sake: for if God had suffered them that took your bodies, then to have taken your life also, now had you been following the Lamb in perpetual joys, away from the company and assembly of wicked men. But the Lord would not have you suddenly so to depart, but reserveth you, gloriously to speak and maintain his truth to the world.

The pope worse than Trajan the heathen emperor.

Be ye not careful what ye shall say, for God will go out and in with you, and will be present in your hearts, and in your mouths to speak his wisdom, although it seemeth foolishness to the world. He that hath begun this good work in you, continue you in the same unto the end; and pray unto him that ye may fear him only, that hath power to kill both body and soul, and to cast them into hell-fire.[2] Be of good comfort. All the hairs of your head are numbered, and there is not one of them can perish, except your heavenly Father suffer it to perish.[3] Now ye be in the field, and placed in the fore-front of Christ's battle. Doubtless it is a singular favour of God, and a special love of him towards you, to give you this fore-ward and pre-eminence, as a sign that he trusteth you before others of his people. Wherefore, dear brethren and sisters, continually fight this fight of the Lord. Your cause is most just and godly; ye stand for the true Christ (who is after the flesh in heaven), and for his true religion and honour, which is amply, fully, sufficiently, and abundantly contained in the holy Testament, sealed with Christ's own blood. How much be ye bound to God, who puts you in trust with so holy and just a cause!

The first onset of this persecution given in Bow-churchyard.

Remember what lookers-on you have, to see and behold you in your fight: God and all his angels, who be ready always to take you up into heaven, if

(1) Of this persecution read before. [Vol. i. of this Edition.—Ed.]
(2) Matt. x. (3) Luke xii.

ye be slain in this fight. Also you have standing at your backs all the multitude of the faithful, who shall take courage, strength, and desire, to follow such noble and valiant Christians as you be. Be not afraid of your adversaries: for he that is in you, is stronger than he that is in them.[1] Shrink not, although it be pain to you: your pains be not now so great, as hereafter your joys shall be. Read the comfortable eighth, tenth, and fifteenth chapters to the Romans, and the eleventh and twelfth to the Hebrews. And upon your knees thank God that ever ye were accounted worthy to suffer any thing for his name's sake. Read the second chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, and there you shall see how the shepherds that watched upon their sheep all night, as soon as they heard that Christ was born at Bethlehem, by and by went to see him. They did not reason nor debate with themselves, who should keep the wolf from the sheep in the meantime, but did as they were commanded, and committed their sheep unto him, whose pleasure they obeyed. So let us do, now we be called; commit all other things to him that calleth us. He will take heed that all things shall be well. He will help the husband, he will comfort the wife, he will guide the servants, he will keep the house, he will preserve the goods; yea, rather than it should be undone, he will wash the dishes, and rock the cradle. Cast therefore all your care upon God, for he careth for you.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Comfort taken out of the Scriptures.

True obedience putteth no doubts.

All carefulness to be cast upon the Lord.

Besides this, you may perceive by your imprisonment, that your adversaries' weapons against you be nothing but flesh, blood, and tyranny. For if they were able, they would maintain their wicked religion by God's word: but, for lack of that, they would violently compel us, as they cannot by holy Scripture persuade; because the holy word of God, and all Christ's doings be contrary unto them. I pray you, pray for me; and I will pray for you. And although we be asunder after the world, yet in Christ (I trust) for ever joining in the Spirit and so shall meet in the palace of the heavenly joys, after this short and transitory life is ended. God's peace be with you. Amen.

All the strength of the pope's religion standeth in outward force.

The 14th of January, 1555.

On the Friday following, being the 18th of January, all the council went unto the Tower, and there the same day discharged and set at liberty all the prisoners of the Tower, or the most part of them, namely, the late duke of Northumberland's sons, Ambrose, Robert, and Henry; sir Andrew Dudley, sir John Rogers, sir James Crofts, sir Nicholas Throgmorton, sir Nicholas Arnold, sir George Harper, sir Edward Warner, sir William Sentlow, sir Gawin Carew, master Gibbs, Cuthbert Vaughan, with many others.

Gentlemen delivered out of the Tower.

On the Tuesday following, being the 22d of January, all the preachers that were in prison were called before the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, and certain others, at the bishop's house at St. Mary Overy's; from whence (after communication, being asked whether they would convert and enjoy the queen's pardon, or else stand to that they had taught; they all answering, that they would stand to that they had taught) they were committed to straiter prison than before they were, with charge that none should speak with them.

The preachers called before Gardiner.

Among this number of prisoners, one James George the same time died in prison, being there in bands for religion and righteousness' sake; who therefore was exempted to be buried in the popish churchyard, and was buried in the fields.

James George dieth in prison, and is buried in the fields.

On the Wednesday following, being the 23d of January, all the bishops with the rest of the Convocation-house were before the cardinal at Lambeth, where he willed them to repair every man where his cure and charge lay, exhorting them to entreat the people and their flock with all gentleness, and to endeavour themselves, to

(1) 1 John iv.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

win the people rather by gentleness, than by extremity and rigour: and so let them depart.

General procession for joy of the realm's conversion.

On the Friday following, being the 25th of January, and the day of the conversion of St. Paul, there was a general and solemn procession through London, to give God thanks for their conversion to the catholic church: wherein (to set out their glorious pomp) there were fourscore and ten crosses, and one hundred and sixty priests and clerks, who had every one of them copes upon their backs, singing very lustily. There followed also, for the better estimation of the sight, eight bishops; and, last of all, came Bonner, the bishop of London, carrying the popish pix under a canopy.

Besides, there was also present the mayor, aldermen, and all the livery of every occupation. Moreover, the king also himself, and the cardinal, came to Paul's church the same day. From whence, after mass, they returned to Westminster again. As the king was entered the church at the steps going up to the choir, all the gentlemen that of late were set at liberty out of the Tower, kneeled before the king, and offered unto him themselves and their services.

After the procession there was also commandment given to make bonfires at night; whereupon did rise among the people a doubtful talk, why all this was done. Some said it was that the queen, being (as they said) with child, might have a safe delivery. Others thought that it was for joy that the realm was joined again to the see of Rome; which opinion, of both, seemed most true.

Commission from the cardinal to sit upon the persecuted preachers for religion.

On the Monday following, being the 28th of January, the bishop of Winchester and the other bishops had commission from the cardinal to sit upon, and order, according to the laws, all such preachers and heretics (as they termed them) as were in prison; and according to this commission, the same day the bishop of Winchester and the other bishops, with certain of the council, sat in St. Mary Overy's church, and called before them these three, master Hooper, master Rogers, and master Cardmaker, who were brought thither by the sheriffs; from whence after communication they were committed to prison till the next day, but Cardmaker this day submitted himself unto them.

Hooper and Rogers condemned.

On the Tuesday, being the 29th of January, Hooper, Rogers, Dr. Taylor, and Bradford were brought before them; where sentence of excommunication and judgment ecclesiastical was pronounced upon master Hooper and master Rogers, by the bishop of Winchester, who sat as judge in Caiaphas's seat; who drave them out of the church, according to their law and order. Dr. Taylor and Bradford were committed to prison till the next day.

Ferrar, Taylor, and Saunders condemned.

On the Wednesday, being the 30th of January, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Crome, master Bradford, master Saunders, and Dr. Ferrar, sometime bishop of St. David's, were before the said bishops; where three of them, that is to say, Dr. Taylor, master Saunders, and master Bradford, were likewise excommunicated, and sentence pronounced upon them; and so committed to the sheriffs. Dr. Crome desired two months' respite,[1] and it was granted him; and master Ferrar was again committed to prison till another time. All these men showed

(1) According to Strype only *one* month was granted him. See Memorials under Mary: chap. xi. page 170, Edit. 1816. Strype has collected a few additional notes respecting Dr. Crome.—Ed.

themselves to be learned, as indeed they were no less: but what availeth either learning, reason, or truth itself, where *will* beareth rule? *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

After the examination and condemnation of these good men and preachers above recited, commissions and inquisitors were sent abroad likewise into all parts of the realm: by reason whereof, a great number of most godly and true Christians out of all the quarters of the realm (but especially Kent, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk), were apprehended, brought up to London, cast into prison; and afterwards, most of them, either consumed cruelly by fire, or else through evil handling died in the prisons, and were buried on the dunghills abroad in the fields, or in some backside of the prison. Of all which matters, concerning the tragical handling of the blessed martyrs and witnesses of Jesus Christ—of all the bloody persecution of this time—now followeth (the Lord so granting) severally and more particularly in this next book in order to be declared: after that I shall first recite a general supplication, given up in the name of the preachers aforesaid lying in prison, unto the king and queen, during the time of the parliament, as followeth.

A Supplication of the persecuted Preachers to the King and Queen.

Unto the king and queen's most excellent majesties, and to their most honourable and high court of parliament.

In most humble and lamentable wise complain unto your majesties, and to your high court of parliament, your poor desolate and obedient subjects, H. F. T. B., P. R. S., &c. That whereas your said subjects, living under the laws of God and of this realm, in the days of the late most noble king Edward the Sixth, did in all things show themselves true, faithful, and diligent subjects, according to their vocation, as well in the sincere ministering of God's most holy word, as in due obedience to the higher powers, and in the daily practice of such virtues and good demeanour, as the laws of God at all times, and the statutes of the realm did then, allow: your said subjects nevertheless, contrary to all laws of justice, equity, and right, are in very extreme manner not only cast into prison (where they have remained now these fifteen or sixteen months), but their livings also, their houses and possessions, their goods and books taken from them, and they slandered to be most heinous heretics, their enemies themselves being both witnesses, accusers, and judges; belying, slandering, and misreporting your said subjects at their pleasure, whereas your said subjects, being straitly kept in prison, cannot yet be suffered to come forth, and make answer accordingly. The long imprisonment of the christian preachers.

In consideration whereof, may it please your most excellent majesties, and this your high court of parliament, graciously to tender the present calamity of your said poor subjects, and to call them before your presence, granting them liberty, either by mouth or writing, in the plain English tongue, to answer before you, or before indifferent arbiters to be appointed by your majesties, unto such articles of controversy in religion as their said adversaries have already condemned them of, as of heinous heresies: provided that all things may be done with such moderation and quiet behaviour, as becometh subjects and children of peace, and that your said subjects may have the free use of all their own books, and conference together among themselves. Request of the preachers, to stand to the trial of their doctrine before indifferent judges.

Which thing being granted, your said subjects doubt not but it shall plainly appear, that your said subjects are true and faithful Christians, and neither heretics, neither teachers of heresy, nor cut off from the true catholic universal church of Christ: yea, that rather their adversaries themselves be unto your majesties as were the charmers of Egypt to Pharaoh, Zedechias and his adherents unto the king of Israel, and Bar-Jesu to the proconsul Sergius Paulus.[1]

(1) Acts xiii.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

And if your said subjects be not able, by the testimony of Christ, his prophets, apostles, and godly fathers of his church, to prove, that the doctrine of the church, homilies, and service taught and set forth in the time of our late most godly prince and king, Edward the Sixth, is the true doctrine of Christ's catholic church, and most agreeable to the articles of the christian faith; your said subjects offer themselves then to the most heavy punishment that it shall please your majesties to appoint.

Wherefore, for the tender mercy of God in Christ (which you look for at the day of judgment), your said poor subjects in bonds most humbly beseech your most excellent majesties, and this your high court of parliament, benignly and graciously to hear and grant this their petition, tending so greatly to the glory of God, to the edifying of his church, to the honour of your majesties, to the commendation and maintenance of justice, right, and equity both before God and man. And your said subjects, according to their bounden duty, shall not cease to pray unto Almighty God for the gracious preservation of your most excellent majesties long to endure.

END OF BOOK THE TENTH.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK XI.

WHEREIN

IS DISCOURSED THE BLOODY MURDERING OF GOD'S SAINTS, WITH THE PARTICULAR PROCESSES AND NAMES OF SUCH GOOD MARTYRS, BOTH MEN AND WOMEN, AS, IN THIS TIME OF QUEEN MARY, WERE PUT TO DEATH.[1]

The Story, Life, and Martyrdom of Master John Rogers.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

THE 4th of February suffered the constant martyr of God, master John Rogers, concerning whose life, examinations, and suffering, here followeth in order set forth. And first touching his life and bringing up.

Rogers chaplain to the merchant adventurers at Antwerp, brought to the gospel by Tyndale and Coverdale.

John Rogers, brought up in the university of Cambridge, where he profitably travailed in good learning, at length was chosen and called by the merchant adventurers to be their chaplain at Antwerp in Brabant, whom he served to their good contentation many years. It chanced him there to fall in company with that worthy servant and martyr of God William Tyndale, and with Miles Coverdale, who both, for the hatred they bare to popish superstition and idolatry, and love to true religion, had forsaken their native country. In conferring with them the Scriptures, he came to great knowledge in the gospel of God, insomuch that he cast off the heavy yoke of popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy idolatry, and joined himself with them two in that painful and most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English tongue, which is entitled, "The Translation of Thomas Matthewe."[2] He, knowing by the Scriptures, that unlawful vows may lawfully be broken, and that matrimony is both honest and honourable among all men, joined himself in lawful matrimony, and so went to Wittenberg in Saxony, where he, with much soberness of living, did not only greatly increase in all good and godly learning, but also so much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch tongue,

Rogers goeth to Wittenberg.

(1) See Edition 1559, p. 366. Ed. 1563, p. 1022. Ed. 1570, p. 1656. Ed. 1576, p. 1413. Ed. 1583, p. 1484. Ed. 1597, p. 1348. Ed. 1684, vol. iii. p. 98.—ED.

(2) Of master Rogers's doing in this translation, read afore, vol. v. p. 412.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

that the charge of a congregation was orderly committed to his cure.[1]

Rogers returneth into England.

In which ministry he diligently and faithfully served many years, until such time as it pleased God, by the faithful travail of his chosen and dear servant, king Edward the Sixth, utterly to banish all popery forth of England, and to receive in true religion, setting God's gospel at liberty. He then, being orderly called, having both a conscience, and a ready good will to help forward the work of the Lord in his native country, left such honest and certain conditions as he had in Saxony, and came into England to preach the gospel, without certainty of any condition. In which office, after he had a space diligently and faithfully travailed, Nicholas Ridley, then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in the cathedral church of Paul; and the dean and the chapter chose him to be the reader of the divinity-lesson there; wherein he diligently travailed, until such time as queen Mary, obtaining the crown, banished the gospel and true religion, and brought in the Antichrist of Rome, with his idolatry and superstition.

Rogers a reader and prebendary in Paul's.

After the queen was come to the Tower of London, he, being orderly called thereunto, made a godly and vehement sermon at Paul's Cross, confirming such true doctrine as he and others had there taught in king Edward's days, exhorting the people constantly to remain in the same, and to beware of all pestilent popery, idolatry, and superstition. The council, being then overmatched with popish and bloody bishops, called him to account for his sermon: to whom he made a stout, witty, and godly answer; and yet in such sort handled himself, that at that time he was clearly dismissed. But after that proclamation was set forth by the queen to prohibit true preaching, he was called again before the council; for the bishops thirsted after his blood. The council quarrelled with him concerning his doctrine, and in conclusion commanded him as prisoner to keep his own house; and so he did; although by flying, he might easily have escaped their cruel hands, and many things there were which might have moved him thereunto. He did see the recovery of religion in England, for that present, desperate; he knew he could not want a living in Germany; and he could not forget his wife and ten children, and to seek means to succour them. But all these things set apart, after he was called to answer in Christ's cause, he would not depart, but stoutly stood in defence of the same, and for the trial of that truth, was content to hazard his life.

Called to account for his sermon at Paul's Cross.

Again called before the council.

Thus he remained in his own house as prisoner a long time, till at

(1) We can hardly suppose that Rogers preached Dutch to the poor Saxons, of which language they understood nothing. This error has occurred before, and has been briefly noticed; but it may be as well to endeavour to account for its origin. The adjective which means "German," is, in the German tongue, "Deutsch," and this has been translated "Dutch," instead of "German;" for it is not probable that there should have been a congregation of Hollanders in an inland town like Wittenberg. The German word for a native of Holland is "Holländer," and the adjective expressing our word "Dutch," is "Holländisch." It would seem that, in early times, German and Dutch were called respectively "High Dutch" and "Low Dutch;" but the word "Dutch," without an accompanying adjective, has always meant in our tongue "a Hollander," or that which belongs to Holland. A reference to the Latin Edition of the Acts and Monuments (Basle, 1559, page 266), confirms the above observations: "Profectus ilicò Vuittenbergam, adeò in Germanicâ discendâ linguâ celeres fecit progressus," etc. The town of Wittenberg, it may be added, can scarcely *now*, with propriety, be said to be in Saxony, as it is in the dominions of Prussia; although our best English gazetteer, published in 1822, calls it Wittemberg, and says that it belongs to the *electorate of Saxony*, which electorate in 1822 had long ceased to exist, and Wittenberg belonged to Prussia. The Prussians still call the province in which Wittenberg is situated, the "Provinz Sachse," because it did formerly make a part of the electorate of Saxony.—Ed.

Mary.

A.D. 1555.

length, through the uncharitable procurement of Bonner bishop of London, who could not abide such honest neighbours to dwell by him, he was removed from his own house to the prison called Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers for a great space; during which time, what business he had with the adversaries of Christ, all is not known, neither yet any certainty of his examinations, further than he himself did leave in writing; which God would not to be lost, but to remain for a perpetual testimony in the cause of God's truth, as here followeth recorded and testified by his own writing.

Rogers sent to Newgate.

The Examination and Answer of John Rogers, made to the Lord Chancellor,[1] and to the rest of the Council, the 22d of January, A.D. 1555.[2]

First the lord chancellor said unto me thus: "Sir, ye have heard the state of the realm, in which it standeth now."

Rogers:—"No, my lord, I have been kept in close prison, and except there have been some general thing said at the table when I was at dinner or supper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing whereupon any special thing might be grounded."

Then said the lord chancellor, "General things, general things," mockingly. "Ye have heard of my lord cardinal's coming, and that the parliament hath received his blessing, not one resisting unto it, but one man which did speak against it. Such a unity, and such a miracle, hath not been seen. And all they (of which there are eight score in one house, said one that was by, whose name I know not), have, with one assent and consent,[3] received pardon of their offences, for the schism that we have had in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be head of the catholic church. How say ye? Are ye content to unite and knit yourself to the faith of the catholic church with us, in the state in which it is now in England? Will ye do that?"

Rogers:—"The catholic church I never did nor will dissent from."

L. Chan.:—"Nay, but I speak of the state of the catholic church, in that wise in which we stand now in England, having received the pope to be supreme head."

Rogers:—"I know none other head but Christ of his catholic church, neither will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authority than any other bishop hath by the word of God, and by the doctrine of the old and pure catholic church four hundred years after Christ."

No head of the church but Christ.

L. Chan.:—"Why didst thou then acknowledge king Henry the Eighth to be the supreme head of the church, if Christ be the only head?"

Supremacy of king Henry VIII.

Rogers:—I never granted him to have any supremacy in spiritual things, as are the forgiveness of sins, giving of the Holy Ghost, authority to be a judge above the word of God."

L. Chan. etc.:—"Yea," said the lord chancellor, and Tonstal bishop of Durham,[4] and N**** bishop of Worcester, "if thou hadst said so in his days,"—and they nodded the head at me with a laughter—"thou hadst not been alive now." Which thing I denied, and would have told how he was said and meant to be supreme head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a business, that I was constrained to let it pass. There lieth also no great weight thereupon; for all the world knoweth what the meaning was. The lord chancellor, also, said to the lord William Howard, that there was no inconvenience therein, to have Christ to be supreme head and the bishop of Rome also: and when I was ready to have answered that there could

Why he was tituled supreme head.

(1) Stephen Gardiner.—Ed. (2) See Harleian MSS. Number 421, art. 20.—Ed.
(3) Full sore against their wills, if they could otherwise have chosen.
(4) Allusion is here made to a sermon from whence Foxe has made large extracts (see vol. v. pp. 30 to 36 of this Edition). It is entitled "A Sermon of Cuthbert, Byshop of Duresme, made upon Palme Sondaye laste past, before our Soverayne Kynge Henry the VIII. &c.:" printed by T. Berthelet, London, 1529. It was reprinted by Mr. Rod of Newport-street, in 1823.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

not be two heads of one church, and have more plainly declared the vanity of that his reason, the lord chancellor said, "What sayest thou? Make us a direct answer whether thou wilt be one of this catholic church or not, with us in that state in which we are now?"

The bishops contrary to their former doings and writings.

Rogers:—"My lord, without fail I cannot believe, that ye yourselves do think in your hearts that he is supreme head in forgiving of sin, etc. (as is before said), seeing you, and all the bishops of the realm have now twenty years long preached, and some of you also written to the contrary, and the parliament hath so long agone condescended unto it." And there he interrupted me thus:

L. Chan.:—"Tush! that parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the primacy from the bishop of Rome."

Rogers:—"With cruelty? why then I perceive that you take a wrong way, with cruelty to persuade men's consciences. For it should appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then used hath not persuaded your consciences. How would you then have our consciences persuaded with cruelty?"

L. Chan.:—"I talk to thee of no cruelty, but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that parliament, to let the act go forward; yea, and even with force driven thereunto: whereas, in this parliament, it was so uniformly received, as is aforesaid."

Truth goeth not by number, nor by the greater part.

Here my lord Paget told me more plainly, what my lord chancellor meant; unto whom I answered: "My lord, what will ye conclude thereby; that the first parliament was of less authority, because but few condescended unto it? and this last parliament of great authority, because more condescended unto it? It goeth not, my lord, by more or lesser part; but by the wiser, truer, and godlier part:" and I would have said more, but the lord chancellor interrupted me with his question, willing me once again to answer him: "For," said he, "we have more to speak with than thou, which must come in after thee."—

Ten prisoners out of Newgate convented before Gardiner.

And so there were indeed ten persons more out of Newgate, besides two that were not called: of which ten, one was a citizen of London, which granted unto them; and nine were contrary, which all came to prison again, and refused the cardinal's blessing, and the authority of his holy father's church, saving that one of these nine was not asked the question, otherwise than thus: Whether he would be an honest man as his father was before him, and he answering yea, was so discharged by the friendship of my lord William Howard, as I have understood.—He bade me tell him what I would do; whether I would enter into the one church with the whole realm as it is now, or not? "No," said I, "I will first see it proved by the Scriptures. Let me have pen, ink, and books, etc., and I shall take upon me plainly to set out the matter, so that the contrary shall be proved to be true; and let any man that will, confer with me by writing."

Gardiner refuseth to have the truth to be tried by learning.

L. Chan.:—"Nay, that shall not be permitted thee. Thou shalt never have so much proffered thee as thou hast now, if thou refuse it, and will not now condescend and agree to the catholic church. Here are two things, mercy and justice: if thou refuse the queen's mercy now, then shalt thou have justice ministered unto thee."

Rogers:—"I never offended, nor was disobedient unto her grace, and yet I will not refuse her mercy. But if this shall be denied me, to confer by writing and to try out the truth, then it is not well, but too far out of the way. Ye yourselves (all the bishops of the realm) brought me to the knowledge of the pretended primacy of the bishop of Rome, when I was a young man twenty years past: and will ye now, without collation, have me to say and do the contrary? I cannot be so persuaded."[1]

L. Chan.:—"If thou wilt not receive the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the catholic church, then thou shalt never have her mercy, thou mayest be sure. And as touching conferring and trial, I am forbidden by the Scriptures to use any conferring and trial with thee.[2] For St. Paul teacheth me, that I should shun and eschew a heretic after one or two monitions, knowing that such a one is overthrown, and is faulty, insomuch as he is condemned by his own judgment."

(1) The bishops neither will stand by their assertion, nor yet will suffer other men so to do.
(2) A fair pretence to excuse your ignorance!

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Rogers:—"My lord, I deny that I am a heretic: prove ye that first, and then allege the aforesaid text."—But still the lord chancellor played on one string, saying:

L. Chan.:—"If thou wilt enter into our church with us, etc., tell us that; or else thou shalt never have so much proffered thee again as thou hast now."

Compels to that which he cannot teach to be true.

Rogers:—"I will find it first in the Scripture, and see it tried thereby, before I receive him to be supreme head."

Worcester:—"Why! do ye not know what is in your creed: 'Credo ecclesiam sanctam catholicam,' 'I believe the holy catholic church?'"

The pope's church not catholic.

Rogers:—"I find not the bishop of Rome there. For 'catholic' signifieth not the Romish church: it signifieth the consent of all true teaching churches of all times, and all ages. But how should the bishop of Rome's church be one of them, which teacheth so many doctrines that are plainly and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the catholic church that doth so? that is not possible."

L. Chan.:—"Show me one of them; one, let me hear one!"

I remembered myself, that amongst so many I were best to show one, and said, "I will show you one."

L. Chan:—"Let me hear that; let me hear that."

Latin service.

Rogers:—"The bishop of Rome and his church, say, read, and sing, all that they do in their congregations, in Latin, which is directly and plainly against 1 Cor. xiv."

L. Chan.:—"I deny that; I deny that it is against the word of God. Let me see you prove that. How prove you that?"

Speaking in a strange tongue against St. Paul.

Thus I began to say the text from the beginning of the chapter, "Qui loquitur lingua," etc., "To speak with tongue," said I, "is to speak with a strange tongue, as Latin or Greek," etc., and so to speak, is not to speak unto men, but to God. But ye speak in Latin, which is a strange tongue; wherefore ye speak not unto men, but unto God,"[1] (meaning God only at the most.) This he granted, that they spake not unto men, but unto God.

L. Chan.:—"Well, then it is in vain unto men."

Rogers:—"No, not in vain. For one man speaketh in one tongue, and another in another tongue, and all well."

L. Chan.:—"Nay, I will prove then, that he speaketh neither to God nor to man, but into the wind."

To speak to God only; to God and man; neither to God nor man, but to the wind.

I was willing to have declared how and after what sort these two texts do agree (for they must agree; they be both the sayings of the Holy Ghost, spoken by the apostle Paul), as to wit, "to speak not to men, but unto God,"[2] and, "to speak into the wind:" and so to have gone forward with the proof of my matter begun, but here arose a noise and a confusion.—Then said the lord chancellor.

L. Chan.:—"To speak unto God, and not unto God, were impossible."

Rogers:—"I will prove them possible."

"No," said my lord William Howard to my lord chancellor. "Now will I bear you witness, that he is out of the way; for he granted first, that they which speak in a strange speech speak unto God—and now he saith the contrary, that they speak neither to God nor to man."

Rogers:—"I have not granted nor said," turning me to my lord Howard, as you report. I have alleged the one text, and now I am come to the other. They must agree, and I can make them to agree. But as for you, you understand not the matter."

Lord Howard:—"I understand so much, that that is not possible."

Secretary Bourn.

"This is a point of sophistry," quoth secretary Bourn.

Then the lord chancellor began to tell the lord Howard, that when he was in High Dutchland, they at Halle, which had before prayed and used their service all in Dutch, began then to turn part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

Worcester:—"Yea, and at Wittenberg too."

Rogers:—"Yea," but I could not be heard for the noise, "in a university, where men for the most part understand the Latin, and yet not all in Latin."—

(1) [Some] imperfection [in the original MS.—Ed.]

(2) 1 Cor. xiv.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

And I would have told the order, and have gone forward both to have answered my lord, and to have proved the thing that I had taken in hand: but, perceiving their talk and noise to be too noisome, I was fain to think this in my heart, suffering them in the meanwhile to talk one of them one thing, and another another: "Alas! neither will these men hear me if I speak, neither yet will they suffer me to write. There is no remedy, but to let them alone, and commit the matter to God."—Yet I began to go forward, and said, that I would make the texts to agree, and to prove my purpose well enough.

L. Chan.:—"No, no, thou canst prove nothing by the Scripture. The Scripture is dead: it must have a lively expositor."

Rogers:—"No, the Scripture is alive. But let me go forward with my purpose."

Worcester:—"All heretics have alleged the Scriptures for them; and therefore we must have a lively expositor for them."

Rogers:—"Yea, all heretics have alleged the Scriptures for them: but they were confuted by the Scriptures, and by none other expositor."

Worcester:—"But they would not confess that they were overcome by the Scriptures, I am sure of that."

Confused talk without order.

Rogers:—"I believe that: and yet were they overcome by them, and in all councils they were disputed with and overthrown by the Scriptures."—And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in these days, and so have come again to my purpose, but it was impossible: for one asked one thing, another said another, so that I was fain to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my proof, the lord chancellor bade to prison with me again: "And away, away," said he; "we have more to talk withal:" If I would not be reformed (so he termed it) "away, away!" Then up I stood, for I had kneeled all the while.

Sir Richard Southwell speaketh.

Then sir Richard Southwell, who stood in a window by, said to me, "Thou wilt not burn in this gear when it cometh to the purpose, I know well that."

Rogers:—"Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust in my Lord God, yes;"—lifting up mine eyes unto heaven.

The bishop of Ely.

Then my lord of Ely told me much of the queen's majesty's pleasure and meaning, and set it out with large words, saying, that she took them that would not receive the bishop of Rome's supremacy, to be unworthy to have her mercy, etc. I said I would not refuse her mercy, and yet I never offended her in all my life: and that I besought her grace, and all their honours, to be good to me, reserving my conscience.

Divers speak at once.

Divers spake at once:—"No," quoth they then, a great sort of them, and specially secretary Bourn: "A married priest, and have not offended the law!"

Rogers:—"I said I had not broken the queen's law, nor yet any point of the law of the realm therein: for I married where it was lawful."

Divers at once:—"Where was that?" said they, thinking that to be unlawful in all places.

Rogers brought children with him into England.

Rogers:—"In Dutchland. And if ye had not here in England made an open law that priests might have had wives, I would never have come home again; for I brought a wife and eight children with me: which thing ye might be sure that I would not have done, if the laws of the realm had not permitted it before."

Then there was a great noise, some saying, that I was come too soon with such a sort: I should find a sore coming of it; and some one thing, and some another. And one said (I could not well perceive who), that there was never a catholic man or country, that ever granted that a priest might have a wife.

I said, "The catholic church never denied marriage to priests, nor yet to any other man;" and therewith was I going out of the chamber, the sergeant which brought me thither having me by the arm.

Rogers had away to prison.

Then the bishop of Worcester turned his face towards me, and said that I wist not where that church was or is.

Rogers:—I said, yes, that I could tell where it was;—but therewith went the sergeant with me out of the door.

This was the very true effect of all that was spoken unto me, and of all that I answered thereunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect answer to all the former objections, as also a due proof of that which I had taken in hand: but at this present I was informed that I should to-morrow come to further answer. Wherefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would most gladly have done, desiring here the hearty and unfeigned help of the prayers of all Christ's true members, the true imps of the true unfeigned catholic church, that the Lord God of all consolation will now be my comfort, aid, strength, buckler, and shield: as also of all my brethren that are in the same case and distress, that I and they all may despise all manner of threats and cruelty, and even the bitter burning fire, and the dreadful dart of death; and stick like true soldiers to our dear and loving captain, Christ, our only Redeemer and Saviour, and also the only true head of the church, that doth all, in us all; which is the very property of a head (and is a thing that all the bishops of Rome cannot do): and that we do not traitorously run out of his tents, or out of the plain field from him, in the most jeopardy of the battle; but that we may persevere in the fight (if he will not otherwise deliver us), till we be most cruelly slain of his enemies. For this I most heartily, and, at this present, with weeping tears most instantly and earnestly, desire and beseech you all to pray: and also, if I die, to be good to my poor and most honest wife, being a poor stranger, and all my little souls, hers and my children; whom, with all the whole faithful and true catholic congregation of Christ, the Lord of life and death save, keep, and defend, in all the troubles and assaults of this vain world, and bring at the last to everlasting salvation—the true and sure inheritance of all crossed Christians. Amen, Amen.

His careful prayer for his wife and children.

The 27th day of January, at night.

The Second Confession of John Rogers, made, and that should have been made (if it might have been heard), the 28th and 29th day of January, 1555.

First, being asked again by the lord chancellor, whether I would come into one church with the bishops and whole realm, as now was concluded by parliament (in the which all the realm was converted to the catholic church of Rome), and so receive the mercy before proffered me, arising again with the whole realm out of the schism and error in which we had long been, with recantation of my errors:—I answered, that before I could not tell what his mercy meant; but now, I understand that it was a mercy of the antichristian church of Rome, which I utterly refused; and that the rising which he spake of, was a very fall into error and false doctrine. Also, that I had and would be able, by God's grace, to prove that all the doctrine which I had ever taught was true and catholic, and that by the Scriptures and the authority of the fathers that lived four hundred years after Christ's death. He answered, That should not, might not, nor ought not, to be granted me: for I was but a private man, and might not be heard against the determination of the whole realm. "Should," quoth he, "when a parliament hath concluded a thing, one or any private person have authority to discuss, whether they had done right or wrong? No, that may not be."[1]

Winchester's mercy, what it meaneth.

To rise to the pope, is to fall from Christ.

I answered shortly, that all the laws of men might not, neither could, rule the word of God; but that they all must be discussed and judged thereby, and obey thereto; and neither my conscience, nor any christian man's, could be satisfied with such laws as disagreed from that word: and so was willing to have said much more. But the lord chancellor began a long tale to very small purpose, concerning mine answer, to have defaced me; that there was nothing in me wherefore I should be heard, but arrogancy, pride, and vainglory.—I also granted mine ignorance to be greater than I could express, or than he took it: but yet that I feared not, by God's assistance and strength, to be able by writing to perform my word; neither was I (I thanked God) so utterly ignorant as he would make me; but all was of God, to whom be thanks rendered therefore. Proud man was I never, nor yet vain-glorious. All the

(1) Whatsoever is once concluded in a parliament, ought not to be reformed afterward by doctrine, nor the word of God; by the bishop of Winchester's divinity.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

world knew well, where and on which side pride, arrogancy, and vain-glory, was. It was a poor pride, that was or is in us, God it knoweth.

Then said he, that I at the first dash condemned the queen and the whole realm to be of the church of Antichrist; and burdened me highly therewithal. I answered, that the queen's majesty (God save her grace) would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counsel. He said, the queen went before him, and it was her own motion. I said, without fail I neither could, nor would I, ever believe it.

Aldrich witnesseth with Winchester.

Then said Dr. Aldrich, the bishop of Carlisle, that they (the bishops) would bear him witness. "Yea," quoth I, "that I believe well:" and with that the people laughed; for that day there were many, but on the morrow they kept the doors shut, and would let none in, but the bishops' adherents and servants in a manner; yea, and the first day the thousandth man came not in. Then master comptroller and secretary Bourn would have stood up also, to bear witness, and did.

I said, it was no great matter: and, to say the truth, I thought that they were good helpers thereunto themselves; but I ceased to say any more therein, knowing that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they should be believed before me; yea, and before our Saviour Christ, and all his prophets and apostles too, in these days.

The opinion of Rogers, touching the sacrament, required.

Then, after many words, he asked me what I thought concerning the blessed sacrament; and stood up, and put off his cap, and all his fellow bishops (of which there were a great sort new men, of whom I knew few)—whether I believed in the sacrament to be the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary and hanged on the cross, really and substantially.

I answered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no meddler; and therefore suspected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. "Notwithstanding, even as the most part of your doctrine in other points is false, and the defence thereof only by force and cruelty: so in this matter I think it to be as false as the rest. For I cannot understand 'really and substantially' to signify otherwise than corporally: but corporally Christ is only in heaven, and so cannot Christ be corporally also in your sacrament." And here I somewhat set out his charity after this sort: "My lord," quoth I, "ye have dealt with me most cruelly; for ye have put me in prison without law, and kept me there now almost a year and a half. For I was almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate at great costs and charges, having a wife and ten children to find; and I had never a penny of my livings—which was against the law."

Cruelty showed without cause. Rogers a year and a half in durance.

Gardiner calleth Edward a usurper.

He answered, that Dr. Ridley which had given them me, was a usurper, and therefore I was the unjust possessor of them.

"Was the king, then, a usurper," quoth I, "which gave Dr. Ridley the bishopric?"

"Yea," quoth he; and began to set out the wrongs that the king had done to the bishop of London, and to himself also:—"But yet I do misuse my terms," quoth he, "to call the king usurper." But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before; and I think that he was not very sorry for it in heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

I asked him, wherefore he put me in prison. He said, because I preached against the queen.

I answered that it was not true: and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the law, that no man should be able to disprove it, and thereupon would set my life. "I preached," quoth I, "a sermon at the Cross, after the queen came to the Tower; but therein was nothing said against the queen, I take witness of all the audience; which was not small." I alleged also, that he had, after examination, let me go at liberty after the preaching of that sermon.

"Yea, but thou didst read thy lectures after," quoth he, "against the commandment of the council."

Rogers imprisoned against all law.

"That did I not," quoth I, "let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus have you now against the law of God and man handled me, and never sent for me, never conferred with me, never spoke of any learning, till now that ye have

gotten a whip to whip me with, and a sword to cut off my neck, if I will not condescend to your mind. This charity doth all the world understand."

Mary. A. D. 1555.

I might and would have added, if I could have been suffered to speak, that it had been time enough to take away men's livings, and thereto to have imprisoned them, after that they had offended laws: for they be good citizens that break not laws, and worthy of praise, and not of punishment. But their purpose is to keep men in prison, so long until they may catch them in their laws; and so kill them. I could and would have added the example of Daniel, which, by a crafty devised law, was cast into the lions' den. Item, I might have declared, that I most humbly desired to be set at liberty, sending my wife to him with a supplication, being great with child, and with her eight honest women, or thereabouts, to Richmond, at Christmas was a twelvemonth, while I was yet in my house.

Punished before any law was broken.

Item, I wrote two supplications to him out of Newgate, and sent my wife many times to him. Master Gosnold also, that worthy man who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and so did divers other worthy men also take pains in the matter. These things declare my lord chancellor's antichristian charity, which is, that he hath and doth seek my blood, and the destruction of my poor wife and my ten children.

Master Gosnold laboured for Rogers.

This is a short sum of the words which were spoken on the 28th day of January at afternoon, after that master Hooper had been the first, and master Cardmaker the second in examination before me. The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause, till we be smitten down together, if the Lord's will be so to permit it. For there shall not a hair of our heads perish against his will, but with his will. Whereunto the same Lord grant us to be obedient unto the end; and in the end, Amen, sweet, mighty, and merciful Lord Jesus, the Son of David and of God! Amen, Amen! let every true Christian say and pray.

Then the clock being, as I guessed, about four, the lord chancellor said, that he and the church must yet use charity with me (what manner of charity it is, all true Christians do well understand,—as to wit, the same that the fox doth with the chickens, and the wolf with the lambs), and gave me respite till to-morrow, to see whether I would remember myself well to-morrow, and whether I would return to the catholic church (for so he calleth his antichristian false church) again, and repent, and they would receive me to mercy.

Great mercy of Winchester no less than of the fox to the chickens, or of the wolf to the lambs.

I said, that I was never out of the true catholic church, nor would be: but into *his* church would I, by God's grace, never come.

"Well," quoth he, "then is our church false and antichristian?"

"Yea," quoth I.

"And what is the doctrine of the sacrament?"

"False," quoth I;—and cast my hands abroad.

The pope's church is the church of Antichrist.

Then said one, that I was a player. To whom I answered not; for I passed not upon his mock.

"Come again," quoth the lord chancellor, "to-morrow between nine and ten."

"I am ready to come again, whensoever ye call," quoth I.

Rogers warned.

And thus was I brought up by the sheriffs to the Compter in Southwark, master Hooper going before me, and a great multitude of people being present, so that we had much to do to go in the streets. (Thus much was done the 28th day of January.)

The second day, which was the 29th of January, we were sent for in the morning about nine of the clock, and by the sheriffs fetched from the Compter in Southwark to the church again, as to wit, to St. Mary Overy's, where we were the day before in the afternoon, as is said. And when master Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterward, then sent they for me. Then my lord chancellor said unto me:

Rogers and master Hooper brought again before the lord chancellor.

"Rogers," quoth he, "here thou wast yesterday, and we gave thee liberty to remember thyself this night, whether thou wouldst come to the holy catholic church of Christ again or not. Tell us now what thou hast determined; whether thou wilt be repentant and sorry, and wilt return again and take mercy."

Gardiner's words to Rogers.

"My lord," quoth I, "I have remembered myself right well, what you yesterday said to me, and desire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I

Answer of Rogers.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

have to say thereunto; and, that done, I shall answer you to your demanded question.

Rogers not suffered here to defend himself by writing.

"When I yesterday desired that I might be suffered by the Scripture and authority of the first, best, and purest church, to defend my doctrine by writing (meaning not only of the primacy, but also of all the doctrine that ever I had preached), ye answered me, that it might not, nor ought not to be granted me, for I was a private person; and that the parliament was above the authority of all private persons, and therefore the sentence thereof might not be found faulty and valueless by me, being but a private person. And yet my lord," quoth I, "I am able to show examples, that one man hath come into a general council, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, some one man coming in afterward, hath, by the word of God, declared so pithily that the council had erred in decreeing the said article, that he caused the whole council to change and alter their act or article before determined. And of these examples," said I, "I am able to show two. I can also show the authority of St. Augustine;[1] that when he disputed with a heretic, he would neither himself, nor yet have the heretic, to lean unto the determination of two former councils, of the which the one made for him, and the other for the heretic that disputed against him; but said, that he would have the Scriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

Whole councils turned by private persons.

"Item, I could show," said I, "the authority of a learned lawyer Panormitane,[2] who saith, 'that unto a simple layman, that bringeth the word of God with him, there ought more credit to be given, than to a whole council gathered together. By these things will I prove that I ought not to be denied to say my mind, and to be heard against a whole parliament, bringing the word of God for me, and the authority of the old church four hundred years after Christ—albeit that every man in the parliament had willingly, and without respect of fear and favour, agreed thereunto, which thing I doubt not a little of—specially seeing the like had been permitted in that old church, even in general councils; yea, and that in one of the chiefest councils that ever was, unto which neither any acts of this parliament, nor yet any of the late general councils of the bishops of Rome, ought to be compared. For," said I, "if Henry the Eighth were alive, and should call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing (and here I would have alleged the example of the act of making the queen a bastard, and of making himself the superior head; but I could not, being interrupted by one whom God forgive[3]) then will ye (pointing to my chancellor) and ye, and ye, and so ye all (pointing to the rest of the bishops), say, Amen: yea, and it like your grace, it is meet that it be so enacted."

A case put to Winchester.

Rogers not suffered to speak.

Here my lord chancellor would suffer me to speak no more; but bade me sit down mockingly, saying, that I was sent for to be instructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their instructor.

"My lord," quoth I, "I stand, and sit not: shall I not be suffered to speak for my life?"

Mark here the spirit of this prelate.

"Shall we suffer thee to tell a tale, and to prate?" quoth he. And with that he stood up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant proud fashion; for he perceived that I was in a way to have touched them somewhat, which he thought to hinder by dashing me out of my tale, and so he did. For I could never be suffered to come to my tale again, no not to one word of it; but he had much like communication with me, as he had the day before, and as his manner is, taunt upon taunt, and check upon check. For in that case, being God's cause, I told him he should not make me afraid to speak."

The godly spirit of Rogers.

L. Chan.:—"See what a spirit this fellow hath," said he; "finding fault at mine accustomed earnestness, and hearty manner of speaking."

Rogers:—"I have a true spirit," quoth I, "agreeing and obeying the word

(1) Contra Maxent. lib. iii. c. 14.

(2) Panormitanus. Extrav. de Appel. cap. "Significasti." [The passage is quoted by Jewel in Defence of the Apology, part iv. chap. 12, divis. 2. On "the lawyer Panormitane" it may be observed that his name was Nicholaus Tudeschi, a Sicilian, called Panormitane because he was abbot of St. Benedict in Palermo, and was afterwards archbishop of that city. He was one of the most famous canonists, was present at the council of Basil (see vol. iii. p. 608), and participated in the opposition to pope Eugene. He died in 1445. See Dupin, Cent. xv. chap. 4, p. 87. He maintained the supremacy of the pope both in temporal and spiritual matters. See Bellarmine, De Pont. Rom. lib. v. p. 1.—Ed.]

(3) This was sir Anthony Browne.

Mary.

A. D. 1555.

of God:" and would further have said, that I was never the worse, but the better, to be earnest in a just and true cause, and in my master Christ's matters; but I could not be heard. And at length he proceeded towards his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had told him that his church of Rome was the church of Antichrist, meaning the false doctrine and tyrannical laws, with the maintenance thereof by cruel persecutions used by the bishops of the said church (of which the bishop of Winchester and the rest of his fellow bishops, that are now in England, are the chief members): "Of laws I mean," quoth I, "and not of all men and women which are in the pope's church." Likewise when I was said to have denied their sacrament (whereof he made his wonted reverent mention, more to maintain his kingdom thereby, than for the true reverence of Christ's institution; more for his own and his popish generations' sake, than for religion or God's sake), I told him after what order I did speak of it (for the manner of his speaking was not agreeing to my words, which are before recited in the communication that we had on the 28th of January); wherewith he was not contented, but he asked the audience whether I had not simply denied the sacrament. They would have said, and did, what he lusted; for the most of them were of his own servants at that day (the 29th of January, I mean). At the last I said, "I will never deny that I said; that is, that your doctrine of the sacrament is false; but yet I tell you after what order I said it."

The church of Rome the church of Antichrist.

How Winchester seeketh for blood.

To be short, he read my condemnation before me particularly, mentioning therein but two articles; first, that I affirmed the Romish catholic church to be the church of Antichrist, and that I denied the reality of their sacrament. He caused me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the laity; and so he gave me over into the sheriffs' hands, which were much better than his.

The copy of this his condemnation here, I thought good to put down in English, to the intent that the same, being here once expressed, may serve for all other sentences condemnatory, through the whole story to be referred unto.

The Sentence Condemnatory against Master Rogers.

In the name of God, Amen. We Stephen, by the permission of God bishop of Winchester, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour, by authority and virtue of our office, against thee John Rogers priest, alias called Matthew, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of heresy, having heard, seen, and understood, and with all diligent deliberation weighed, discussed, and considered, the merits of the cause, all things being observed, which by us in this behalf in order of law ought to be observed, sitting in our judgment-seat, the name of Christ being first called upon, and having only God before our eyes: because by the acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine own confession judicially made before us, we do find that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended, divers errors, heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, as namely these: That the catholic church of Rome is the church of Antichrist: item, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not substantially nor really the natural body and blood of Christ: the which aforesaid heresies and damnable opinions, being contrary to the law of God, and determination of the universal and apostolical church, thou hast arrogantly, stubbornly, and wittingly maintained, held, and affirmed, and also defended before us, as well in this judgment, as also otherwise; and with the like obstinacy, stubbornness, malice, and blindness of heart, both wittingly and willingly hast affirmed, that thou wilt believe, maintain and hold, affirm and declare, the same: we therefore, Stephen Winchester, bishop, ordinary, and diocesan aforesaid, by the consent and assent as well of our reverend brethren the lord bishops here present and assistant, as also by the counsel and judgment of divers worshipful lawyers and professors of divinity, with whom we have communicated in this behalf, do declare and pronounce thee, (the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew), through thy demerits, transgressions, obstinacies, and wilfulness (which, through manifold ways, thou hast incurred by thine own wicked and stubborn obstinacy), to have been and to be guilty of

His articles.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

the detestable, horrible, and wicked offences of heretical pravity and execrable doctrine, and that thou hast before us sundry times spoken, maintained, and wittingly and stubbornly defended, the said cursed and execrable doctrine in the sundry confessions, assertions, and recognitions here judicially before us oftentimes repeated, and yet still dost maintain, affirm and believe the same; and that thou hast been and art lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalf: we therefore, I say—albeit, following the example of Christ, "which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live," we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawful means that we could, and all wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again unto the true faith and unity of the universal catholic church: notwithstanding we have found thee obstinate and stiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to return again unto the true faith and unity of the holy mother church, and as the child of wickedness and darkness so to have hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy shepherd, which, with a fatherly affection, doth seek after thee; nor wilt be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions—we therefore (Stephen, the bishop aforesaid), not willing that thou which art wicked shouldest now become more wicked, and infect the Lord's flock with thine heresy (which we are greatly afraid of), with sorrow of mind and bitterness of heart[1] do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy mother church; and that thou hast been and art by law excommunicate, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate person. Also we pronounce and declare thee, being a heretic, to be cast out from the church, and left unto the judgment of the secular power, and now presently so do leave thee as an obstinate heretic, and a person wrapped in the sentence of the great curse, to be degraded worthily for thy demerits (requiring them, notwithstanding, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment worthily to be done upon thee, may so be moderated, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated; but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of the heretics, to the unity of the catholic faith) by this our sentence definitive which we here lay upon and against thee, and do with sorrow of heart promulgate in this form aforesaid!

Rogers and Hooper sent to Newgate.

After this sentence being read, he sent us (master Hooper I mean, and me) to the Clink, there to remain till night: and when it was dark, they carried us (master Hooper going before with the one sheriff, and I coming after with the other), with bills and weapons enow, out of the Clink, and led us through the bishop's house, and so through St. Mary Overy's churchyard; and so into Southwark, and over the bridge in procession to Newgate, through the city.

A vengeable thing to be in the pope's curse.

But I must show you this also, that when he had read the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curse; and what a vengeable dangerous matter it was, to eat and drink with us that were accursed, or to give us any thing: for all that so did, should be partakers of the same great curse.

Rogers's words to Winchester.

"Well my lord," quoth I, "here I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take him to witness, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any false doctrine; and therefore have I a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you: and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true member of the true catholic church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false church, ye need not to excommunicate me forth of it. I have not been in it these twenty years, the Lord be thanked there-for. But now ye have done what ye can, my lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing."

"What is that?" quoth he.

Rogers's request not granted.

"That my poor wife, being a stranger, may come and speak with me so long as I live. For she hath ten children that are hers and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her, what were best for her to do."

"No," quoth he, "she is not thy wife."

(1) These murderers pretend sorrow of heart, and yet they will not cease from murdering.

"Yes, my lord," quoth I, "and hath been these eighteen years."

"Should I grant her to be thy wife?" quoth he.

"Choose you," quoth I: "whether *ye* will or not, she shall be so nevertheless."

"She shall not come at thee," quoth he.

"Then I have tired out all your charity," said I. "You make yourself highly displeased with the matrimony of priests, but you maintain open whoredom; as in Wales," quoth I, "where every priest hath his whore openly dwelling with him, and lying by him: even as your holy father suffereth all the priests in Dutchland and in France to do the like."[1] Thereto he answered not, but looked as it were asquint at it: and thus I departed, and saw him last.

Other good matter there is besides, penned by master Rogers in the prison, which he thought and would have answered, if he might have been permitted: which matter hereunder followeth to be seen by his own setting-down.

Other godly Matter penned by Master Rogers, including his Admonitions, Sayings, and Prophesyings.

Hitherto, dearly beloved, ye have heard what was said. Now hear what I purposed the night before to have said, if I could have been permitted. Two things I purposed to have touched: the one, how it was lawful for a private man to reason and write against a wicked act of parliament, or ungodly council, which the lord chancellor the day before denied me: the other was to prove that prosperity was not always a token of God's love.

And this I purposed to speak of, because the lord chancellor boasted of himself, that he was delivered forth of prison as it were by miracle, and preserved of God to restore true religion, and to punish me and such others, whom he termed heretics. Concerning these two points, in this manner I purposed to have proceeded:—

"It is not unknown to you, that king Henry the Eighth, in his time, made his daughter, the queen that now is, a bastard; he abolished the authority of the bishop of Rome; he pulled down abbeys: and all this he did by the consent of parliament.

"King Edward the Sixth, in his time, made lawful the marriage of priests; turned the service into English; abolished the idolatrous mass, with all like superstitious trumpery; set up the holy communion: and all by consent of parliament.

"The queen that now is hath repealed the act that made her bastard; hath brought in the bishop of Rome, and set him in his old authority; beginneth to set up abbeys again; hath made the marriage of priests unlawful; hath turned the English service into Latin again; hath set up the mass again, with like baggage, and pulled down the holy communion: and all this is done by consent of parliament.

"If the acts of parliament, made in king Henry's time and in king Edward's, had their foundation upon God's word, whereupon all positive law ought to be grounded; then these which are stablished in the queen's time, being clean contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by God's word, so are they wicked, and therefore to be both spoken and written against of all men, as well of private as of public persons.

"If your acts, my lord chancellor, which you have lately coined (I call them yours, because ye only bear the swinge—devise, and decree what ye list, all other men are forced to follow), be good, and according to God's word, then the former acts were naught; which thing ye seem to say, in utterly taking of them away, and setting up of the contrary.—If the former were naught, why then did ye consent unto them, and confirm them to be good by your voluntary and advised writing, as it appeareth, and will do to the world's end, in your book

(1) "Turpissimum est quod et hos cum concubinis, pellicibus, et meretriculis cohabitare, liberosque procreare sinunt, accepto ab eis, atque adeo alicubi a continentibus, certo quotannis censu: habeant (aiunt) si velint." Claude D'Espence in Epist. ad Titum. cap. i. p. 67. Parisiis, 1568. See also Labbé, tom. xiii. c. 1339.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

'De vera Obedientia,' where you prove the queen a bastard, and the bishop of Rome to be a usurper, and to have no authority in the realm of England?

"Ye must needs confess, that the most part of your acts of parliament in these latter days have been according to the fantasies of a few. King Henry, in his time, established by parliament in a manner what he listed, and many things that might well have been amended.

"In king Edward's days the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland bare a great stroke in things, and did not all things sincerely. Even so, since the queen that now is came to the government of the realm, all things are ordered by your device and head, and the whole parliament-house is led as you list; by reason whereof they are compelled to condescend to things both contrary to God's manifest word, and also contrary to their own consciences: so great is your cruelty.

"For to bring your wicked purposes to pass, and to establish your antichristian kingdom (which, I trust, the Lord with the breath of his mouth will speedily blow over), ye have called three parliaments in one year and a half, that what ye could not compass by subtle persuasion, ye might bring to pass by tyrannical threatening: for, if ye had not used cruel force in your doings, ye had never brought to pass such things as this day ye have, to the utter defacing and abolishing of God's true religion, and to the casting away and destruction of your natural country, so much as in you lieth.

"And as it is most true, that acts of parliament have, in these latter days, been ruled by the fantasies of a few; and the whole parliament-house, contrary to their minds, was compelled to consent to such things as a few have conceived: so it must needs be granted, that the papists at all times were most ready to apply themselves to the present world, and, like men-pleasers, to follow the fantasies of such as were in authority, and turn with the state, which way soever it turned. Yea, if the state should change ten times in one year, they would ever be ready at hand to change with it, and so follow the cry; and rather utterly forsake God, and be of no religion, than that they would forego lust or living, for God or for religion.

"King Henry by parliament, according to God's word, put down the pope: the clergy consented, and all men openly by oath refused his usurped supremacy, knowing by God's word Christ to be head of the church, and every king in his realm to have, under and next unto Christ, the chief sovereignty.

"King Edward also, by parliament, according to God's word, set the marriage of priests at liberty, abolished the popish and idolatrous mass, changed the Latin service, and set up the holy communion: the whole clergy consented hereunto; many of them set it forth by their preaching; and all they by practising confirmed the same.

"Notwithstanding, now when the state is altered, and the laws changed, the papistical clergy, with other like worldlings, as men neither fearing God, neither flying worldly shame, neither yet regarding their consciences, oaths, or honesty, like wavering weathercocks, turn round about, and putting on harlots' foreheads, sing a new song, and cry with an impudent mouth, 'Come again, come again to the catholic church;' meaning the antichristian church of Rome, which is the synagogue of Satan, and the very sink of all superstition, heresy, and idolatry.

"Of what force, I pray you, may a man think these parliaments to be, which scantly can stand a year in strength? or what credit is to be given to these lawmakers, which are not ashamed to establish contrary laws, and to condemn that for evil, which before (the thing itself and the circumstances remaining all one) they affirmed and decreed to be good. Truly ye are so ready, contrary to all right, to change and turn for the pleasure of man, that at length, I fear, God will use you like changelings, and both turn you forth of his kingdom, and out of your own country.

"Ye charge the gospel preachers with the undoing of this realm: nay, it is the turning papists, which have not only set to sale their country like traitors, but also troubled the simple people, so that they cannot tell what they may believe. For that which they affirmed, and preached to be true doctrine in king Edward's days, now they cry against it, as it were most abominable heresy. This fault, I trust, ye shall never find at our hands.

"Therefore, to conclude that which I purposed, forsomuch as the acts of

parliament of these latter times are one contrary to another, and those which ye now have established in your time are contrary to God's most manifest word—as is the usurped supremacy of the bishop of Rome, the idolatrous mass, the Latin service, the prohibiting of lawful marriage (which St. Paul calleth 'the doctrine of devils') with many such others: I say, it is not only lawful for any private man, which bringeth God's word for him, and the authority of the primitive and best church, to speak and write against such unlawful laws; but it is his duty, and he is bound in very conscience to do it. Which thing I have proved by divers examples before, and now will add but one other, which is written in Acts v., where it appeareth that the high priests, the elders, scribes, and pharisees, decreed in their council, and gave the same commandments to the apostles, that they should not preach in the name of Christ, as ye have also forbidden us. Notwithstanding, when they were charged therewithal, they answered 'Obedire oportet Deo magis quàm hominibus:' that is, 'We ought more to obey God than man: even so we may, and do answer you—God is more to be obeyed than man; and your wicked laws cannot so tongue-tie us, but we will speak the truth.

"The apostles were beaten for their boldness, and they rejoiced that they suffered for Christ's cause. Ye have also provided rods for us, and bloody whips: yet when ye have done that which God's hand and council hath determined that ye shall do, be it life or death, I trust that God will so assist us by his holy Spirit and grace, that we shall patiently suffer it, and praise God for it. And whatsoever become of me and others, which now suffer for speaking and professing of the truth, yet be ye sure that God's word will prevail, and have the upper hand, when your bloody laws and wicked decrees, for want of sure foundation, shall fall in the dust. And that which I have spoken of your acts of parliament, the same may be said of the general councils of these latter days, which have been within these five hundred years, where the Antichrist of Rome, by reason of his usurped authority, ruled the roast, and decreed such things as made for his gain, not regarding God's glory: and therefore are they to be spoken, written, and cried out against, of all such as fear God and love his truth."

And thus much I purposed to have said concerning the first point.

Now touching the second point: That whereas my lord chancellor had the day before said his pleasure of them that ruled the realm while he was in prison, and also rejoiced as though God had made this alteration, even for his sake and his catholic church, as he called it, and to declare as it were by miracle, that we were before in a schism and heresy, and the realm was now brought unto a finity, and to a truth, and I cannot tell whereto: thereto was I fully purposed to have said:

"Secondly, my lord, whereas ye yesterday so highly dispraised the government of them that ruled in innocent king Edward's days, it may please your lordship to understand, that we poor preachers, whom ye so evil allow, did most boldly and plainly rebuke their evil governance in many things, specially their covetousness, and neglect and small regard to live after the gospel; as also their negligence to occasion others to live thereafter, with more things than I can now rehearse. This can all London testify with us."—I would also have told him, what I myself, for my part, did once at Paul's Cross, concerning the misuse of abbeys, and other church goods: and I am assured right well, that never a papist of them all, did ever so much therein as I did, I thank the Lord there-for: I was also, as is well known, fain to answer there-for before all the council, and many of my brethren did the like; so that we, for the not rebuking of their faults, shall not answer before God, nor be blameworthy before men. Therefore let the gentlemen and courtiers themselves, and all the citizens of London, testify what we did.

"But, my lord, you could not abide them, for that which they did unto you, and for that they were of a contrary religion unto you. Wherefore, in that you seem so infest against them, it is neither any just nor public cause, but it is your own private hate, that maketh you to report so evil of their governance. And ye may now say what ye list of them, when they be partly dead and gone, and partly by you put out of office.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

"But what shall be said of you when your fall shall follow, ye shall then hear. And I must say my conscience to you: I fear me, ye have and will, with your governance, bring England out of God's blessing into a warm sun. I pray God, you do not.

"I am an Englishman born, and, God knoweth, do naturally wish well to my country. And, my lord, I have often proved that the things, which I have much feared aforehand should come to pass, have indeed followed. I pray God I may fail of my guessing in this behalf: but truly, that will not be with expelling the true word of God out of the realm, and with the shedding of innocent blood.

"And as touching your rejoicing, as though God had set you aloft to punish us by miracle (for so you report and brag openly of yourself), and to minister justice, if we will not receive your holy father's mercy, and thereby do declare your church to be true, and ours false, to that I answer thus: God's works be wonderful, and are not to be comprehended and perceived by man's wisdom, nor by the wit of the most wise and prudent. Yea, they are soonest deceived, and do most easily judge amiss of God's wonderful works, that are most worldly-wise. God hath made all the wisdom of this world foolishness:[1] 'Dedit dilectam animam suam in manus inimicorum ejus.' Hierem. xii.; that is, 'He hath put his beloved and dear heart into the hands of the enemies thereof.'

"This thing doth God, which thing all wise men account to be the most foolish and unwise part that can be. Will the wise of the world, trow ye, put their most dear friends and tenderly beloved children into their enemies' hands, to kill, slay, burn, etc.: that is unto them a madness above all madness. And yet doth God use this order, and this is a high and singular wisdom in his sight, which the world taketh to be most extreme madness.

"Can the world show a cause why he suffered the great multitude of innocent children to be murdered of Herod of Ascalon, or why he put that most holy man, John Baptist, into the hands of Herod's son to be beheaded, and that in prison secretly, without open judgment, most tyrannously? Why he suffered his beloved apostle James to be beheaded of another Herod?[2] Why he suffered his beloved seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to be four hundred years in thraldom and bondage, and under Pharaoh? And all the stock of Judah, and Benjamin, his beloved children and church, to come under the power, sword, and tyranny of Nebuchadnezzar? No verily, but his true catholic church knoweth divers causes thereof, which are now too long to rehearse, and which I would right gladly show, if I had time.

"But this I am right sure of, that it was not because that the aforesaid godly men were in heresies, and subject to false gods' services, and idolatry, and that their adversaries were men of God, and beloved of God: the contrary was true: John Baptist was beloved of God, and Herod hated, and so forth of the rest: and John Baptist, the innocent children, James, the children of Israel in Egypt and in Babylon, were the catholic members and people of God: and their adversaries, into whose hands they were put and delivered, and that of God, by his good will and pleasure, were idolaters, and the people of the devil: but they would be called the chief members of God, and rejoiced that they had the true God, and that it was now declared by miracle, that the Israelites had but a false God, and a false religion, seeing they were delivered into the Babylonians' hands. And all the others (the Herods and Pharaoh, I mean) plainly determined, that if the men, which they killed and handled evil, had been God's people, God would never have suffered them to come into their hands, but rather have done the contrary; and have let John Baptist kill Herod, and the Israelites Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar. Even the like is now to be seen in us, and in our most cruel adversaries.

"They are not therefore the catholic church, because our merciful God hath at this present given our lives into their hands: neither are we therefore heretics, because we suffer punishment at their hands, as the lord chancellor by his rejoicing seemeth to gather. The contrary is hereby to be gathered, that we be the members of the true catholic church, because we suffer for the same doctrine which John Baptist, James, the Israelites, yea Christ and the apostles, did teach: of which none taught anything of our adversaries' doctrine; namely, that the rotten antichristian head of Rome should be the head of Christ's

(1) 1 Cor. ii. & iii. (2) Acts xii.

church: but they have manifestly taught the contrary, especially Paul,[1] John,[2] and Daniel;[3] which thing, if I might have life and books, I would so (by God's grace) set forth, that all the world should see it: and that our adversaries, with their antichristian head, are the members of the devil's church, as they undoubtedly are. And in like case, as the above-mentioned holy men, though they, in their days, were counted to be heretics, seditious, and disturbers of the whole world; for unto John Baptist it was said, 'Wherefore baptizest thou, if thou be not Elias, nor that prophet?'[4] etc.—as who should say, Thou hast no such authority to begin a new ceremony in the church; for we be in ordinary possession of the church: and of us thou hast received no such power: we abide by our circumcision. And the like could I declare of James, and of all the apostles and prophets, and of our Saviour Christ himself, that were all condemned as heretics, and blasphemers of God, and disturbers of the whole world. Paul and Silas[5] heard like words of the Philippians: These men trouble our city, seeing they are Jews, and preach institutions which are not lawful for us to receive, seeing we be Romans. And in Athens,[6] the wise men of this world, and such as gave their endeavour to wisdom, said by St. Paul, 'Quid vult spermo-logus hic dicere?' What will this prater (as my lord chancellor said to me, Shall we suffer this fellow to prate,—when I would fain have said that thing that I have here written), trifler, news-carrier, or bringer, that telleth whatsoever men will have him for gain and advantage? that will for a piece of bread say what ye will have him, etc. And another said in the same place, 'He seemeth to be a preacher of new devils,' etc.; and the Jews say by Paul,[7] laying hands on him, 'Help, O ye Israelites,' say they; 'this is the man that teacheth all men everywhere against the people (meaning the Jews), and the law of this place (meaning Jerusalem):' and yet was never a word of these true. And the same Jews said of Paul:[8] 'Out of the earth with that man,' or 'Away with him:' for it is not lawful for him to live,' or 'he is not worthy to live.' And how many more of these examples are to be found in the Bible? Although, I say, these men were in their days taken for heretics of them that were then in authority, and of the great multitude of the world, yet it is now well known (yea and very shortly after their deaths this was known, yea, and even in their lives also) unto the true catholic church, that they were not only the chief and special members of the true catholic church, but also the founders and builders thereof (notwithstanding the sinister judgment that the wise and mighty men, and the great multitude of the world had of them); and in their consciences they were always assuredly certified of the same. Even the same shall the world find true in us, shortly after our deaths, as also there be at this hour (the Lord be thanked therefor) not a few that already know it; as we ourselves also are by God's grace assuredly certified in our consciences—that we are not heretics, but members of the true catholic church; and that our adversaries the bishops and popish clergy, which will have that title, are the members of Satan's church, and their antichristian head of Rome with them.

"But here they will cry out, 'Lo! these men will be still like John Baptist, the apostles, and prophets,' etc.

"I answer, 'We make not ourselves like unto them, in the singular virtues and gifts of God given unto them; as of doing miracles, and of many other things.' The similitude and likeness of them and us consisteth not in all things, but only in this; that is, that we be like them in doctrine, and in the suffering of persecution and infamy for the same.

"We have preached their very doctrine, and none other thing: *that* we are able sufficiently to declare by their writings; and by writing, for my part, I have proffered to prove the same, as is now often said. And for this cause we suffer the like reproach, shame, and rebuke of the world, and the like persecution, losing of our lives and goods, forsaking (as our master Christ commandeth) father, mother, sisters, brethren, wives, children, and all that there is; being assured of a joyful resurrection, and to be crowned in glory with them, according to the infallible promises made unto us in Christ, our only and sufficient Mediator, Reconciler, Priest, and Sacrifice; which hath pleased the Father, and quieted and pacified his wrath against our sins, and made us without spot or wrinkle in his sight by imputation, although we, of and in ourselves, are bespotted, and be-blotted with many filthy sins, which, if the great mercy granted

(1) 2 Thes. ii. (2) Apocalypse. (3) Chap. xi. (4) John i.
(5) Acts xvi. (6) Acts xvii. (7) Acts xxi. (8) Acts xxii.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

in Christ did not put away, by not imputing them unto us of his measureless unspeakable mercy and love to save us, they would have brought us to everlasting damnation, and death perpetual: herein, and in no other, do we affirm ourselves to be like unto our head Christ, and all his apostles, prophets, martyrs, and saints. And herein ought all christian men to be like them; and herein are all true christian men and women like them every one, according to the measure of the faith that God hath dealt unto them, and to the diversity of the gifts of the Spirit given unto them.

"But let us now consider, that if it be God's good will and pleasure to give his own beloved heart (that is, his beloved church, and the members thereof), into the hands of their enemies, to chasten, try, and prove them, and to bring them to the true unfeigned acknowledging of their own natural stubbornness, and disobedience towards God and his commandment, as touching the love of God and of their brethren or neighbours, and their natural inclination, readiness, and desire to love creatures; to seek their own lusts, pleasures, and things forbidden of God; to obtain a true and earnest repentance, and sorrowfulness there-for, and to make them to sigh and cry for the forgiveness of the same, and for the aid of the Spirit daily to mortify and kill the said evil desires and lusts: yea, and often falling into gross outward sins, as did David, Peter, Magdalene, and others, to rise again also thereout with a mighty crying for mercy, with many other causes—let us also consider what he hereafter doth with the said enemies, into whose hands he hath given his tender beloved dearlings to be chastened and tried. Forsooth, whereas he but chasteneth his dearlings, and crosseth them for a small while, according to his good pleasure, as all fathers do with their children,[1] he utterly destroyeth, yea and everlastingly damneth, the unrepentant enemies. Let Herod tell me what he won by killing James, and persecuting Peter, and Christ's tender dearlings, and beloved spouse and wife, his church. Verily God thought him not worthy to have death ministered unto him by men or angels, or any worthy creatures, but those small, and yet most vile vermin, lice, and worms, must consume and kill his beastly, vile, and tyrannous body. Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, for all their pride and most mighty power, must at length let God's dearlings go freely away out of their land; yea out of their bands and tyranny. For when it could not be obtained at their hands that God's congregation might have true mercy ministered unto them, but the counterfeit mercy of these our days (that is to say, extreme cruelty, and even the very and that most horrible and cruel death), God arose and awoke out of his sleep, and destroyed those enemies of his flock with a mighty hand and stretched-out arm. Pharaoh did, with most great and intolerable labours and burdens, oppress and bring under the poor Israelites; and yet did the courtiers undoubtedly noise abroad, that the king was merciful unto them, to suffer them to live in the land, and to set them awork, that they might get them their livings. If he should thrust them out of his land, whither should they go, like a sort of vagabonds and runagates? This title and name of mercy would that tyrant have, and so did his flattering false courtiers spread his vain praise abroad. Have not we the like examples now-a-days? O that I had now time to write certain things pertaining to our Winchester's mercy! How merciful he hath been to me and to my good brethren I will not speak of, neither yet unto the duke of Suffolk's most innocent daughter, and to her as innocent husband. For, although their fathers were faulty, yet had their youth and lack of experience deserved a pardon by all true merciful men's judgments. O that I had time to paint out this matter aright! but there be many alive that can do it much better when I am dead. Pharaoh had his plagues, and his most flourishing land was, by counterfeit mercy, which was indeed right cruelty and abominable tyranny, utterly destroyed. And think ye that this bloody butcherly bishop of Winchester, and his most bloody brethren, shall escape? or that England shall, for their offences, and specially for the maintenance of their idolatry, and wilful following of them, not abide as great a brunt? —Yes, undoubtedly.

God's justice upon his enemies and persecutors.

Winchester's mercy.

"If God look not mercifully upon England, the seeds of utter destruction are sown in it already, by these hypocritical tyrants, and antichristian prelates, popish papists, and double traitors to their natural country. And yet they

(1) Heb. xii. Prov. iii.

speak of mercy, of blessing, of the catholic church, of unity, of power, and strengthening of the realm. This double dissimulation will show itself one day, when the plague cometh, which will undoubtedly light upon those crown-shorn captains, and that shortly; howsoever the godly and the poor realm suffer in the meanwhile, by God's good sufferance and will.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

"Spite of Nebuchadnezzar's beard, and maugre his heart, the captive, thralled, and miserable Jews must come home again, and have their city and temple builded up again by Zerubbabel, Esdras, and Nehemiah, etc. And the whole kingdom of Babylon must go to ruin, and be taken in of strangers, the Persians and the Medes. So shall the dispersed English flock of Christ be brought again into their former estate, or to a better, I trust in the Lord God, than it was in innocent king Edward's days, and our bloody Babylonical bishops; and the whole crown-shorn company brought to utter shame, rebuke, ruin, decay, and destruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly will not, suffer for ever their abominable lying false doctrine; their hypocrisy, bloodthirst, whoredom, idleness; their pestilent life, pampered in all kind of pleasure; their thrasonical boasting pride; their malicious, envious, and poisoned stomachs, which they bear towards his poor and miserable Christians. Peter truly warneth, that 'If judgment beginneth at the house of God, what shall be the end of them, that believe not the gospel? If the righteous shall scant be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinful appear?'[1] Some shall have their punishment here in this world, and in the world to come; and they that do escape in this world, shall not escape everlasting damnation. This shall be your sauce, O ye wicked papists; make ye merry here, as long as ye may!"

He meaneth here of the return of the exiles into England.

After that John Rogers, as ye have heard, had been long and straitly imprisoned, lodged in Newgate amongst thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably entreated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly by wicked Winchester condemned: the 4th of February, A.D. 1555, being Monday in the morning, he was warned suddenly, by the keeper's wife of Newgate, to prepare himself to the fire; who, being then found asleep, scarce with much shogging could be awaked. At length being raised and waked, and bid to make haste, "Then," said he, "if it be so, I need not tie my points:" and so was had down first to Bonner to be degraded. That done, he craved of Bonner but one petition. And Bonner asking what that should be: "Nothing," said he, "but that I might talk a few words with my wife before my burning." But that could not be obtained of him. "Then," said he, "you declare your charity, what it is." And so he was brought into Smithfield by master Chester, and master Woodroofe, then sheriffs of London, there to be burnt; where he showed most constant patience, not using many words, for he could not be permitted; but only exhorting the people constantly to remain in that faith and true doctrine which he before had taught, and they had learned, and for the confirmation whereof he was not only content patiently to suffer and bear all such bitterness and cruelty as had been showed him, but also most gladly to resign up his life, and to give his flesh to the consuming fire, for the testimony of the same.

Rogers warned to prepare for death.

Rogers degraded; could not be suffered of Bonner to speak to his wife before burning.

Briefly, and in few words to comprehend the whole order of his life, doings and martyrdom: first, this godly master Rogers was committed to prison, as is above said, and there continued a year and a half. In prison he was merry, and earnest in all he went about. He wrote much; his examinations he penned with his own hand, which else had never come to light: wherein is to be noted, by the way, a memorable working of God's providence. Ye heard a little

The copy of Rogers's examinations by God's providence preserved.

(1) 1 Pet. iv.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

above, how master Rogers craved of Bonner, going to his burning, that he might speak a few words before with his wife; which could not be granted. What these words were, which he had to say to his wife, it is for no man certainly to define. Likewise it may be supposed that his purpose was, amongst other things, to signify unto her of the book written of his examinations and answers, which he had privily hid in a secret corner of the prison where he lay. But where man's power lacketh, see how God's providence worketh. For notwithstanding that during the time of his imprisonment, strait search there was, to take away his letters and writings; yet, after his death, his wife and one of her sons called Daniel, coming into the place where he lay, to seek for his books and writings, and now ready to go away; it chanced her son aforenamed, casting his eye aside, to spy a black thing (for it had a black cover, belike because it should not be known) lying in a blind corner under a pair of stairs: who, willing his mother to see what it was, found it to be the book written with his own hand, containing these his examinations and answers, with other matter above specified. In the latter end whereof, was also contained, that which concerneth a prophetical forewarning of things pertaining to the church, and which, in the same his words as they be there written, may be seen in the end of his "Admonitions, Sayings, and Prophesyings."[1]

Rogers prophesieth of the return of the gospel.

Furthermore, amongst other words and sayings, which may seem prophetically to be spoken of him, this also may be added, and is notoriously to be marked, that he spake, being then in prison, to the printer of this present book,[2] who then also was laid up for like cause of religion: "Thou," said he, "shalt live to see the alteration of this religion, and the gospel to be freely preached again: and therefore have me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them be circumspect in displacing the papists, and putting good ministers into churches; or else their end will be worse than ours.

Rogers's counsel in placing good ministers.

And for lack of good ministers to furnish churches, his device was (master Hooper also agreeing to the same), that for every ten churches some one good and learned superintendent should be appointed, which should have under him faithful readers, such as might well be got; so that popish priests should clean be put out, and the bishop once a year to oversee the profiting of the parishes. And if the minister did not his duty, as well in profiting himself in his book, and his parishioners in good instructions, so that they may be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they do profit, then he to be expelled, and another put in his place; and the bishop to do the like with the superintendent. This was his counsel and request: showing moreover, and protesting in his commendations to his brethren by the printer aforesaid, that if they would not so do, their end, he said, would be worse than theirs.

A note touching priests' caps.

Over and besides divers things touching master Rogers, this is not to be forgotten, how in the days of king Edward the Sixth, there was a controversy among the bishops and clergy, for wearing of

(1) This prophetical forewarning commences at "If God look not mercifully upon England," and closes "O ye wicked papists! make ye merry here as long as ye may." See pp. 608 and 609.—Ed.

(2) John Daye, who may be called the printer of the English Reformation. In the reign of Edward VI. he printed many writings of the Reformers. Consult "Ames' Typographical Antiquities," by Dibdin, vol. iv. for the best account of his publications. See also "British Reformers," p. 35.—Ed.

THE BURNING OF MASTER JOHN ROGERS, VICAR OF ST. SEPULCHRE'S.

priests' caps, and other attire belonging to that order. Master Rogers, being one of that number which never went otherwise than in a round cap, during all the time of king Edward, affirmed that he would not agree to that decreement of uniformity, but upon this condition: that if they would needs have such a uniformity of wearing the cap, tippet, etc., then it should also be decreed withal, that the papists, for a difference betwixt them and others, should be constrained to wear upon their sleeves a chalice with a host upon it. Whereupon if they would consent, he would agree to the other: otherwise he would not, he said, consent to the setting forth of the same, nor ever wear the cap; as indeed he never did.

Provision by Rogers for the prisoners.

Alexander, gaoler of Newgate, and Alexander the coppersmith.

To proceed now further in describing the doings of this man, during the time while he remained prisoner in Newgate, he was to the prisoners beneficial and liberal; for whom he had thus devised: that he with his fellows should have but one meal a day, they paying notwithstanding for the charges of the whole; the other meal should be given to them that lacked on the other side of the prison. But Alexander Andrew their keeper, a strait man, and a right Alexander, a coppersmith indeed, of whose doing more shall be said, God willing, hereafter, would in no case suffer that.

The Sunday before he suffered, he drank to master Hooper, being then underneath him, and bade them commend him unto him, and tell him, "There was never little fellow better would stick to a man, than he would stick to him;" presupposing they should both be burned together, although it happened otherwise; for master Rogers was burnt alone. And thus much briefly concerning the life and such acts of master Rogers, as I thought worthy noting.

The words of Woodroofe to Rogers.

Now when the time came, that he, being delivered to the sheriffs, should be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, the place of his execution, first came to him master Woodroofe, one of the aforesaid sheriffs, and calling master Rogers unto him, asked him if he would revoke his abominable doctrine, and his evil opinion of the sacrament of the altar. Master Rogers answered and said, "That which I have preached I will seal with my blood." "Then," quoth master Woodroofe, "thou art a heretic." "That shall be known," quoth Rogers, "at the day of judgment." "Well," quoth master Woodroofe, "I will never pray for thee." "But I will pray for *you*," quoth master Rogers; and so was brought the same day, which was Monday the 4th of February, by the sheriffs toward Smithfield, saying the psalm "Miserere" by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his constancy, with great praises and thanks to God for the same. And there, in the presence of master Rochester, comptroller of the queen's household, sir Richard Southwell, both the sheriffs, and a wonderful number of people, *the[1] fire was put unto him; and when it had taken hold both upon his legs and shoulders, he, as one feeling no smart, washed his hands in the flame, as though it had been in cold water. And, after lifting up his hands unto heaven, not removing the same until such time as the devouring fire had consumed them—most mildly this happy martyr yielded up his spirit into the hands of his heavenly Father.*

Rogers refuseth his pardon.

A little before his burning at the stake, his pardon was brought, if he would have recanted, but he utterly

(1) See Edition 1563, page 1036.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

refused. He was the first proto-martyr of all the blessed company that suffered in queen Mary's time, that gave the first adventure upon the fire. His wife and children, being eleven in number, and ten able to go, and one sucking on her breast, met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield. This sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could nothing move him; but that he constantly and cheerfully took his death, with wonderful patience, in the defence and quarrel of Christ's gospel.

The History and Martyrdom of Laurence Saunders, burned for the Defence of the Gospel, at Coventry.

After that queen Mary, by public proclamation in the first year of her reign, had inhibited the sincere preaching of God's holy word, as is before declared, divers godly ministers of the word, which had the cure and charge of souls committed to them, did, notwithstanding, according to their bounden duty, feed their flock faithfully, not as preachers authorized by public authority (as the godly order of the realm was in the happy days of blessed king Edward), but as the private pastors of particular flocks; among whom Laurence Saunders was one, a man of worshipful parentage. His bringing up was in learning from his youth, in places meet for that purpose, as namely in the school of Eton; from whence (according to the manner there used) he was chosen to go to the King's-college in Cambridge, where he continued scholar of the college three whole years, and there profited in knowledge and learning very much for that time. Shortly after that, he did forsake the university, and went to his parents, upon whose advice he minded to become a merchant, for that his mother, who was a gentlewoman of good estimation, being left a widow, and having a good portion for him among his other brethren, she thought to set him up wealthily; and so he, coming up to London, was bound apprentice with a merchant, named sir William Chester, who afterward chanced to be sheriff of London the same year that Saunders was burned at Coventry. Thus, by the mind of his friends, Laurence should needs have been a merchant; but Almighty God, who hath his secret working in all things, saw better for his servant, as it fell out in the end. For although that Saunders was bound by fast indenture to play the merchant, yet the Lord so wrought inwardly in his heart, that he could find no liking in that vocation: so that when his other fellows were busily occupied about that kind of trade, he would secretly withdraw himself into some privy corner, and there fall into his solitary lamentations; as one not liking that kind and trade of life.

Scholars out of Eton-college to the King's-college, Cambridge.

Saunders first bound apprentice with master Chester.

It happened that his master, being a good man, and hearing his apprentice thus in his secret prayers inwardly to mourn by himself, called him unto him, to know what the cause was, of that his solitariness and lamentation; who then, perceiving his mind nothing to fancy that kind of life (for so Saunders declared unto him), and perceiving also his whole purpose to be bent to the study of his book, and spiritual contemplation, like a good man directed his letters incontinently unto his friends, and, giving him his indenture, so set him free. And thus Laurence Saunders, being ravished with the

Saunders, appointed to the trade of merchandise, could not away with that kind of life.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

love of learning, and especially with the reading of God's word, tarried not long time in the traffic of merchandise, but shortly returned to Cambridge again to his study; where he began to couple to the knowledge of the Latin, the study of the Greek tongue, wherein he profited in small time very much. Therewith, also, he joined the study of the Hebrew. Then gave he himself wholly to the study of the holy Scripture, to furnish himself to the office of a preacher. In study he was diligent and painful; in godly life he declared the fruits of a well exercised conscience; he prayed often and with great fervour; and in his prayers, as also at other times, he had his part of spiritual exercises, which his hearty sighing to God declared, in which when any special assault did come, by prayer he felt present relief. Then was his company marvellous comfortable; for as his exercises were special teachings, so in the end they proved singular consolations: wherein he became so expert, that within short space he was able to comfort others who were in any affliction, by the consolation wherewith the Lord did comfort him. Thus continued he in the university, till he proceeded master of arts, and a long space after.

From merchandise he returneth to his study.

In the beginning of king Edward's reign, when God's true religion was begun to be restored, after license obtained, he began to preach; and was so well liked of them which then had authority, that they appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college at Fotheringay, where, by doctrine and life he edified the godly, drew many ignorant to God's true knowledge, and stopped the mouth of the adversaries. He married about that time, and in the married estate led a life unblamable before all men. The college of Fotheringay being dissolved, he was placed to be reader in the minster at Lichfield; where he so behaved himself in teaching and living, that the very adversaries did give him a full report as well of learning, as of much godliness. After a certain space, he departed from Lichfield to a benefice in Leicestershire, called Church-Langton, whereupon he, keeping residence, taught diligently, and kept a liberal house. From thence he was orderly called to take a benefice in the city of London, named Allhallows in Bread-street. Then minded he to give over his cure in the country: and therefore, after he had taken possession of his benefice in London, he departed from London into the country, clearly to discharge himself thereof. And even at that time began the broil about the claim that queen Mary made to the crown, by reason whereof he could not accomplish his purpose.

Reader in the college of Fothringay.

Afterwards at Lichfield.

In this trouble, and even among the beginners of it (such I mean as were for the queen), he preached at Northampton, nothing meddling with the state, but boldly uttered his conscience against popish doctrine and Antichrist's damnable errors, which were like to spring up again in England, as a just plague for the little love which the English nation did bear to the blessed word of God, which had been so plentifully offered unto them. The queen's men, which were there and heard him, were highly displeased with him for his sermon, and for it kept him among them as prisoner: but, partly for love of his brethren and friends, who were chief doers for the queen among them, partly because there was no law broken by his preaching, they dismissed him. He, seeing the dreadful days at hand,

His constant purpose.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

inflamed with the fire of godly zeal, preached with diligence at both those benefices, as time could serve him; seeing he could resign neither of them now, but into the hand of a papist.

Thus passed he to and fro preaching, until that proclamation was put forth, of which mention is made in the beginning. At that time he was at his benefice in the country, where he (notwithstanding the proclamation aforesaid) taught diligently God's truth, confirming the people therein, and arming them against false doctrine, until he was not only commanded to cease, but also with force resisted, so that he could not proceed there in preaching. Some of his friends, perceiving such fearful menacing, counselled him to fly out of the realm, which he refused to do. But seeing he was with violence kept from doing good in that place, he returned towards London to visit the flock, of which he had there the charge.

Refuseth to fly the realm.

On Saturday, the 14th of October, as he was coming nigh to the city of London, sir John Mordant, a councillor to queen Mary, did overtake him, and asked him, whither he went. "I have," said Saunders, "a cure in London; and now I go to instruct my people according to my duty." "If you will follow my counsel," quoth master Mordant, "let them alone, and come not at them." To this Saunders answered: "How shall I then be discharged before God, if any be sick, and desire consolation? if any want good counsel, and need instruction? or if any should slip into error, and receive false doctrine?" "Did you not," quoth Mordant, "preach such a day (and named a day) in Bread-street, London?" "Yes verily," said Saunders: "that same is my cure." "I heard you myself," quoth master Mordant; "and will you preach now there again?" "If it please you," said Saunders, "to-morrow you may hear me again in that same place; where I will confirm, by the authority of God's word, all that I said then, and whatsoever before that time I taught them." "I would counsel you," quoth the other, "not to preach." "If you can and will forbid me by lawful authority, then must I obey," said Saunders. "Nay," quoth he, "I will not forbid you; but I do give you counsel." And thus entered they both the city, and departed each from other. Master Mordant, of an uncharitable mind, went to give warning to Bonner bishop of London, that Saunders would preach in his cure the next day. Saunders resorted to his lodging, with a mind bent to do his duty: where, because he seemed to be somewhat troubled, one who was there about him, asked him how he did. "In very deed," saith he, "I am in prison, till I be in prison:" meaning that there his mind was unquiet until he had preached; and that he should have quietness of mind, though he were put in prison.

Mordant dissuadeth Saunders from preaching.

Saunders "in prison till he was in prison."

His sermon at Allhallows.

The next day, which was Sunday in the forenoon, he made a sermon in his parish, entreating on that place which Paul writeth to the Corinthians:[1] "I have coupled you to one man, that ye should make yourselves a chaste virgin unto Christ. But I fear lest it come to pass, that as the serpent beguiled Eve, even so your wits should be corrupt from the singleness which ye had towards Christ." He recited a sum of that true christian doctrine, through which they were coupled to Christ, to receive of him free justification through

(1) 2 Cor. xi.

faith in his blood. The papistical doctrine he compared to the serpent's deceiving: and, lest they should be deceived by it, he made a comparison between the voice of God, and the voice of the popish serpent; descending to more particular declaration thereof, as it were to let them plainly see the difference that is between the order of the church service set forth by king Edward in the English tongue, and comparing it with the popish service then used in the Latin tongue. The first he said was good, because it was according to the word of God,[1] and the order of the primitive church. The other he said was evil, and though in that evil be intermingled some good Latin words; yet was it but as a little honey or milk mingled with a great deal of poison, to make them drink up all. This was the sum of his sermon. In the afternoon he was ready in his church to have given another exhortation to his people. But the bishop of London interrupted him, by sending an officer for him. This officer charged him, upon the pain of disobedience and contumacy, forthwith to come to the bishop his master. Thus, as the apostles were brought out of the temple, where they were teaching, unto the rulers of the priests; so was Laurence Saunders brought before this bishop in his palace of London, who had in his company the aforenamed sir John Mordant, and some of his chaplains. The bishop laid no more to Laurence Saunders's charge, but treason for breaking the queen's proclamation; heresy and sedition for his sermon.

Saunders apprehended by Bonner at his sermon, Mordant accuseth him.

The treason and sedition his charity was content to let slip, until another time; but a heretic he would now prove him, and all those, he said, who did teach and believe that the administration of the sacraments and all orders of the church are most pure, which do come most nigh to the order of the primitive church. For the church was then but in her infancy, and could not abide that perfection which was afterward to be furnished with ceremonies. And for this cause Christ himself, and after him the apostles, did in many things bear with the rudeness of that church. To this Laurence Saunders answered with the authority of St. Augustine—that ceremonies were, even from the beginning, invented and ordained for the rude infancy and weak infirmity of man; and therefore it was a token of the more perfection of the primitive church, that it had few ceremonies, and of the rudeness of the church papistical, because it had so many ceremonies, partly blasphemous, partly unsavoury and unprofitable.

Preaching of God's word made treason with Bonner.

Ceremonies invented only for weak infirmity.

After much talk had concerning this matter, the bishop willed him to write what he believed of transubstantiation. Laurence Saunders did so, saying, "My lord, ye do seek my blood, and ye shall have it. I pray God that ye may be so baptized in it, that ye may thereafter loath blood-sucking, and become a better man." This writing the bishop kept for his purpose—even to cut the writer's throat; as shall appear hereafter. The bishop, when he had his will, sent Laurence Saunders to the lord chancellor, as Annas sent Christ to Caiaphas: and like favour found Saunders as Christ his master did before him. But the chancellor being not at home, Saunders was constrained to tarry for him by the space of four hours, in the outer chamber, where he found a chaplain of the bishop's very merrily disposed, with certain gentlemen playing at the tables, with divers

Bonner seeketh the blood of Saunders.

Saunders sent from Annas to Caiaphas.

(1) 1 Cor. xiv.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

others of the same family or house occupied there in the same exercise.

All this time Saunders stood very modestly and soberly at the screen or cupboard bare-headed, sir John Mordant his guide or leader, walking up and down by him; who, as I said before, was then one of the council. At last the bishop returned from the court, whom, as soon as he was entered, a great many suiters met and received: so that before he could get out of one house into another, half an hour was passed. At last he came into the chamber where Saunders was, and went through into another chamber: where, in the meanway, Saunders's leader gave him a writing, containing the cause, or rather the accusation, of the said Saunders; which when he had perused, "Where is the man?" said the bishop. Then Saunders, being brought forth to the place of examination, first most lowly and meekly kneeled down, and made courtesy before the table where the bishop did sit; unto whom the bishop spake on this wise:

Winchester's talk with Saunders.

"How happeneth it," said he, "that, notwithstanding the queen's proclamation to the contrary, you have enterprised to preach?"

His answer to Winchester.

Saunders denied not that he did preach; saying, that forsomuch as he saw the perilous times now at hand, he did but according as he was admonished, and warned by Ezekiel the prophet—exhort his flock and parishioners to persevere and stand steadfastly in the doctrine which they had learned: saying also, that he was moved and pricked forward thereunto by the place of the apostle, wherein he was commanded rather to obey God than man; and moreover, that nothing more moved or stirred him thereunto, than his own conscience.

Winchester.

"A goodly conscience surely," said the bishop. "This your conscience could make our queen a bastard, or misbegotten: would it not, I pray you?"

Saunders.

Then said Saunders, "We," said he, "do not declare or say, that the queen is base, or misbegotten, neither go about any such matter. But for that, let them care whose writings are yet in the hands of men, witnessing the same, not without the great reproach and shame of the author:" privily taunting the bishop himself, who had before (to get the favour of Henry the Eighth) written and set forth in print a book of "True Obedience," wherein he had openly declared queen Mary to be a bastard. Now master Saunders, going forwards in his purpose, said, "We do only profess and teach the sincerity and purity of the word; the which, albeit it be now forbidden us to preach with our mouths, yet notwithstanding, I do not doubt, but that our blood hereafter shall manifest the same." The bishop, being in this sort prettily nipped and touched, said, "Carry away this frenzy-fool to prison."[1] Unto whom master Saunders answered, that he did give God thanks, which had given him at last a place of rest and quietness, where he might pray for the bishop's conversion.

A privy nip to Winchester.

A notable example of the Lord comforting his servants in their troubles.

Furthermore, he that did lie with him afterwards in prison, in the same bed, reported that he heard him say, that even in the time of his examination he was wonderfully comforted; insomuch as not only in spirit, but also in body, he received a certain taste of that holy communion of saints, whilst a most pleasant refreshing did issue from

(1) Note how Winchester confuteth Saunders.

every part and member of the body unto the seat and place of the heart, and from thence did ebb and flow to and fro unto all the parts again.

Saunders in prison a year and three months.

This Saunders continued in prison a whole year and three months; in all which space he sent divers letters to divers men: as one to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; another to his wife, and also to others; certifying them both of the public calamity of the time, and also of his private afflictions, and of sundry his conflicts with his adversaries—as, in writing to his friend, he speaketh of Weston conferring with him in prison, whereof ye shall hear anon (by the leave of the Lord), as followeth in the story. In the mean time the chancellor, after this little talk with master Saunders (as is aforesaid), sent him to the prison of the Marshalsea, etc. For the Caiaphas (Winchester, I mean) did nothing but bait him with some of his currish eloquence; and so committed him to the prison of the Marshalsea, where he was kept prisoner one whole year and a quarter. But of his cause and estate, thou shalt now see what Laurence Saunders himself did write.

A Parcel of a Letter of Laurence Saunders, sent to the Bishop of Winchester, as an Answer to certain things wherewith he had before charged him.

Touching the cause of my imprisonment, I doubt whether I have broken any law or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not, forasmuch as at that time it was permitted by the proclamation to use, according to our consciences, such service as was then established. My doctrine was then agreeable unto my conscience and the service then used. The act which I did[1] was such as, being indifferently weighed, sounded to no breaking of the proclamation,[2] or at the least no wilful breaking of it; forasmuch as I caused no bell to be rung, neither occupied I any place in the pulpit, after the order of sermons or lectures. But be it that I did break the proclamation, this long time of continuance in prison may be thought to be more than a sufficient punishment for such a fault.

A good testimony of a good conscience.

Touching the charging of me with my religion, I say with St. Paul:[3] "This I confess, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my forefathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets, and have hope towards God," etc. And herein study I to have always a clear conscience towards God and towards men: so that (God I call to witness) I have a conscience. And this my conscience is not grounded upon vain fantasy, but upon the infallible verity of God's word, with the witnessing of his chosen church agreeable unto the same.

How the wolf is known from the true shepherd.

It is an easy thing for them which take Christ for their true pastor, and be the very sheep of his pasture, to discern the voice of their true Shepherd, from the voice of wolves, hirelings, and strangers: forasmuch as Christ saith, "My sheep hear my voice."[4] Yea, and thereby they shall have the gift to know the right voice of the true Shepherd, and so to follow him, and to avoid the contrary, as he also saith: "The sheep follow the shepherd, for they know his voice: a stranger they will not follow, but will fly from him; for they know not the voice of a stranger." Such inward inspiration doth the Holy Ghost put into the children of God; being indeed taught of God, but otherwise unable to understand the true way of their salvation. And albeit that the wolf (as Christ saith) cometh in sheep's clothing; yet he saith, "By their fruits ye shall know them."[5] For there be certain fruits whereby the wolf is bewrayed, notwith-

(1) He meaneth public teaching of God's word in his own parish, called Allhallows, in Bread-street in the city of London.

(2) He meaneth the proclamation, of which mention is made before: "Satis peccavit, qui resistere non potuit."

(3) Acts xxiv. (4) John x. (5) Matt. vii.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

standing that otherwise, in sundry sorts of devout holiness in outward show, he seemeth never so simple a sheep.

That the Romish religion is ravening and wolfish, it is apparent in three principal points:—

Inconvenience of the Romish religion in three points.

First, it robbeth God of his due and only honour.

Secondly, it taketh away the true comfort of conscience, in obscuring, or rather burying, of Christ and his office of salvation.

Thirdly, it spoileth God of his true worship and service in spirit and truth, appointed in his prescript commandments, and driveth men unto that inconvenience, against the which Christ, with the prophet Isaiah, doth speak sharply: "This people honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me. They worship me in vain, teaching the doctrine and precepts of men."[1] And in another place: "Ye cast aside the commandments of God, to maintain your own traditions."[2]

Wherefore I,—in conscience weighing the Romish religion, and, by indifferent discussing thereof, finding the foundation unsteadfast, and the building thereupon but vain: and, on the other side, having my conscience framed after a right and uncorrupt religion, ratified and fully established by the word of God, and the consent of his true church,—I neither may, nor do intend, by God's gracious assistance, to be pulled one jot from the same; no, though an angel out of heaven should preach another gospel than that which I have received of the Lord.

And although that for lack either of such deep knowledge and profound judgment, or of expedite uttering of that I do know and judge, as is required in an excellent clerk, I shall not be able sufficiently to answer, for the convincing of the gainsayer: yet nevertheless this my protestation shall be of me premised; that, for the respect of the grounds and causes before considered, albeit I cannot "explicita fide,"[3] as they call it, conceive all that is to be conceived, neither can discuss all that is to be discussed, nor can effectually express all that can be expressed, in the discourse of the doctrine of this most true religion, whereunto I am professed: yet do I bind myself, as by my humble simplicity, so by my "fidem implicitam;"[4] that is, by faith in generality (as they call it), to wrap my belief in the credit of the same, that no authority of that Romish religion repugnant thereunto, shall by any means remove me from the same, though it may hap that our adversaries will labour to beguile us with enticing words, and seek to spoil us through philosophy and deceitful vanity, after the traditions of men, and after the ordinances of the world, and not after Christ, etc.

And thus much of master Saunders's letter, so much as remained thereof. The residue, because it was rent away, I could not adjoin thereunto. Notwithstanding, by this already expressed, it is sufficient to understand, how good was the cause and state of this blessed child of God, being prisoner for Christ's cause. For the defence whereof he wholly bestowed and resigned himself, in such sort, as he forbade his wife to sue for his delivery; and, when others of his friends had by suit almost obtained it, he discouraged them, so that they did not follow their suit, as by his letter following may appear.

A Letter of Master Saunders, to his Wife.

Grace, mercy, and peace in Christ our Lord:—Entirely beloved wife, even as unto mine own soul and body, so do I daily in my hearty prayer wish unto you; for I do daily, twice at the least, in this sort remember you. And I do not doubt, dear wife, but that both I and you, as we be written in the book of life, so we shall together enjoy the same everlastingly, through the grace and mercy of God our dear Father, in his Son our Christ. And for this present

(1) Matt. xv. (2) Matt. xxv.

(3) "Explicita fides," is when a man hath to answer to every point of his faith by sufficient ground and learning.

(4) "Implicita fides," is when a man without instruction in himself, groundeth only upon the faith of the church, not able to render any reason of that which he believeth.

life, let us wholly appoint ourselves to the will of our good God, to glorify him either by life or by death; and even that same merciful Lord make us worthy to honour him either way as pleaseth him! Amen.

I am merry, I thank my God and my Christ, in whom and through whom I shall, I know, be able to fight a good fight, and finish a good course, and then receive the crown which is laid up in store for me,[1] and all the true soldiers of Christ. Wherefore, wife, let us, in the name of our God, fight lustily to overcome the flesh, the devil, and the world. What our harness and weapons be in this kind of fight, look in Ephesians vi.; and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no suit for me in any wise. Thank you know whom, for her most sweet and comfortable putting me in remembrance of my journey whither I am passing. God send us all good speed, and a joyful meeting. I have too few such friends to further me in that journey, which is indeed the greatest friendship. The blessing of God be with you all, Amen.

Saunders would have no suit made for him.

A prisoner in the Lord,
Laurence Saunders.

This his constancy is sufficiently commended and declared by his valiant buckling with two mighty enemies, Antichrist and death. To neither of these did he give place; but, by suffering their malice, got the victory over them both. One of the conflicts which he had with Antichrist and his members, I have gathered out of a letter of his own handwriting. It was with Dr. Weston, a man, whom though I should praise, yet would all good and godly men worthily dispraise. Of this the said Laurence Saunders thus writeth in a letter which he sent to one of his friends, who wrote to him to know what Dr. Weston did at the Marshalsea: whereunto he thus answereth.

Antichrist and death two enemies.

Part of a Letter of Master Saunders to a Friend.

Master Weston came to confer with master Grimoald.[2] What he hath concluded with him I know not: I wish it may be to God's glory, Amen, Amen. Master Weston of his gentleness visited me, and offered me friendship in his worldly wily sort, etc. I had not so much good manners, as to take it at his hand; for I said, that I was well enough, and ready cheerfully to abide the extremity, to keep thereby a good conscience. "Ye be asleep in sin," said he. "I would awake," quoth I, "and do not forget 'Vigilate et orate,' i. e. 'Watch and pray.'" "What church was there, thirty years past?" "What church was there," quoth I, "in Elias's time?" "Joan of Kent," said he, "was of your church." "No," quoth I; "we did condemn her as a heretic."

"Who was of your church," said he, "thirty years past?" "Such," quoth I, "as the Romish Antichrist, and his rabble, have reputed and condemned as heretics." "Wickliff," said he, "Thorpe, Oldcastle," etc. "Yea," quoth I, "with many more, as stories do tell."

"The bishop of Rome hath," said he, "long time played a part in your railing sermons: but, now, be ye sure, he must play another manner of part." "The more pity," quoth I, "and yet some comfort it is to see how that the best learned, wisest, and holiest of you all, have heretofore had him to play a part likewise in your sermons and writings;[3] though now, to please the world, you do turn with the weathercock." "Did you ever," said he, "hear me preach against the bishop of Rome?" "No," quoth I, "for I never heard you preach. But I trow you have been no wiser than others," etc.—with more about the sacrament. Pray, pray. God keep your family, and bless it.

What a blessed taste this good man had of God's holy Spirit, by divers and sundry his letters may right well appear to him that is

(1) 1 Tim. iv.
(2) This Dr. Weston and master Grimoald died both about the coronation of queen Elizabeth.
(3) Winchester's book "De vera Obedientia."

Mary. A.D. 1555.

disposed to peruse the same: whereof certain we have here thought good, the Lord willing, to express; first beginning with that which he wrote out of the Marshalsea to Drs. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, prisoners for the like cause of Christ in Oxford.

To the Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and Master Latimer, being imprisoned in Oxford.

What a blessed taste Saunders had of Christ's comforts.

In my most humble wise I salute you, most reverend fathers in Christ Jesus our Lord.—Immortal thanks and everlasting praises be given unto that our Father of mercies, "which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of saints in light; which hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his beloved Son; by whom we have redemption through his blood,"[1] etc. O most happy estate! that, in an unspeakable wise, our life is hid with Christ in God: but whensoever Christ, which is our life, shall show himself, then shall we also appear with him in glory.[2] In the mean season as our sight is but in a glass,[3] even in a dark speaking, so we walk in faith, not after outward appearance: the which faith, although, for want of outward appearance, reason reputeth but as vain, yet the chosen of God do know the effect thereof to bring a more substantial state and lively fruition of very felicity and perfect blessedness than reason can reach, or senses receive. By this faith we have in our possession all good things, yea even them "which the eye hath not seen, and the ear hath not heard, neither hath entered the heart of man,"[4] etc. Then if hereby we do enjoy all good things, it followeth that we must needs possess, have and enjoy you, most reverend fathers, who be no small part of our joy, and good things given us of God.

We, heretofore, have had the fruition of you by bodily presence to our inexplicable benefit; praised be that our most gracious God there-for! And now in spirit we have the experience of unspeakable comfort by your reverend fatherhoods; for that in this so glorious sort ye become a town set upon a hill, a candle upon a candlestick,[5] a spectacle unto the world, both to the angels and unto men. So that, as we to our great comfort do feel, you also may assuredly say, with St. Paul,[6] that the things which happen unto us, do chance unto the great furtherance of the gospel; so that our bonds in Christ are manifest,[7] not only throughout all the judgment-hall, but in all whole Europe; insomuch that many of the brethren in the Lord, being encouraged through our bonds, dare more boldly speak the word without fear. And herein as you have with St. Paul greatly to rejoice, so we rejoice with you, and we do indeed, with you, give thanks for this excellent worthy favour of our God towards you, that Christ is thus magnified in you; yea, and hereafter shall be magnified in your bodies, whether it be through life or death:[8] of which thing truly we are assured in our prayers for you, and ministering of the Spirit. And although, for your own parts, Christ is unto you in life and death advantage, and that your desire is (as indeed it were better for you) to be loosed and to be with Christ,[9] yet, for the church of Christ, were it much more necessary, that ye should abide in the flesh. Yea, that merciful God, even for his Christ's sake, grant that ye may abide and continue for the furtherance of the church, and rejoicing of faith, that the rejoicing thereof may be the more abundant, through Christ, by your restoring! Amen, Amen.

But if it seem better otherwise, unto the Divine wisdom, that by speedy death he hath appointed you to glorify him, the Lord's will be done. Yea, even as we do rejoice both on your behalfs, and also on our own, that God is magnified by life, and should be more abundantly glad for the continuance thereof; so we shall no less rejoice to have the same wrought by death. We shall give thanks for this honour given unto you, rejoicing that ye are accounted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ, and that "it is given to you of God, not only that ye should believe in him, but also that ye should suffer for his sake." And herein we shall have to rejoice in the behalf of the church of Christ, whose faith may be the faster fixed upon God's verity, being confirmed with three such worthy witnesses. O thanks be to God for this his unspeakable gift!

And now, most reverend fathers, that you may understand the truth of us

(1) Col. i. (2) Col. iii. (3) 1 Cor. xiii. (4) 1 Cor. ii. (5) Matt. v.
(6) 2 Cor. iv (7) Phil. i. (8) Phil. ii. (9) Phil. i.

and our estate, how we stand in the Lord, I do assure your reverences, partly by that I perceive by such of our brethren as be here in bonds with me, partly by that I hear of them which be in other places, and partly by that inward experience, which I, most unworthy, have of God's good comfort (more abundance whereof I know there is in others), you may be assured, I say, by God's grace, that you shall not be frustrate of your hope of our constant continuance in the cheerful confession of God's everlasting verity. For even as we have received the word of truth, even the gospel of our salvation, wherein we, believing, are sealed with the holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance,[1] (the which Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the children of God, and therefore God hath sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, "Abba," "Father,"[2]): so, after such portion as God measureth unto us, we, with the whole church of Christ, and with you reverend fathers, receiving the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written; "I believed, and therefore I have spoken;"[3] we also believe, and therefore speak. For the which we, in this dangerous bondage and other afflictions, having even such a fight as we have seen in you, and have heard of you, are in no wise afraid of our adversaries.[4]

The constant mind of a christian soldier.

And forasmuch as we have such an office, even as God hath had mercy on us, we go not out of kind, but even with you, after our little power, we labour to maintain the faith of the gospel, knowing most certainly, that though "we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of this power might be God's, and not ours;"[5] yet shall we not be dashed in pieces, for the Lord will put his hand under us. When "we are troubled on every side, yet are we not without shift:" when "we are in poverty, we are not utterly without something:" when "we suffer persecution, we are not forsaken therein:" when "we are cast down, yet we shall not perish:"[6] but to communicate with our sweet Saviour Christ in bearing the cross, it is appointed unto us, that even with him also we shall be glorified: For it is a true saying, "If we be dead with him, we shall also live with him: if we be patient, we shall also reign with him: if we deny him, he shall also deny us."[7] Wherefore we be of good cheer, "always bearing about in our body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus might appear also in our body. For we know, that he which raised up the Lord Jesus, shall raise up us also by the means of Jesus, and shall join us to himself together with you. Wherefore we are not wearied; but though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day. For our tribulation, which is momentary and light, prepareth an exceeding and eternal weight of glory unto us, while we look not on the things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen. For the things which are seen, are temporal; but the things which are not seen, are eternal.[8]

We testify unto you, reverend fathers, that we draw these matters with joy out of the wells of the Saviour. And I trust we shall continually, with you, bless the Lord, and give thanks unto the Lord out of the wells of Israel.[9] We trust to be merry together at that great supper of the Lamb, whose spouse we are by faith, and there to sing that song of everlasting Hallelujah, Amen. Yea, come Lord Jesus! The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen.

Another letter written to his wife, wherein is to be seen how this worthy warrior prepared himself even as it were against himself,[10] to the appointed fight, and to keep his standing in Christ's camp.

A Letter of Laurence Saunders to his Wife.

Grace and comfort in Christ Jesus, our only comfort in all extreme assaults, Amen.

Fain would this flesh make strange of that which the spirit doth embrace. O Lord! how loth is this loitering sluggard to pass forth in God's path! It phantasieth forsooth much fear of fray-bugs: and were it not for the force of faith

(1) Ephes. i. (2) Rom. viii. (3) Gal. iv.; 1 Cor. iv.; Ps. cxvi. (4) Phil. i.
(5) 2 Cor. iv. (6) Ibid. (7) 2 Tim. ii. (8) 2 Cor. iv.
(9) Isaiah xii. (10) See Edit. 1560, p. 1043.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

which pulleth it forward by the rein of God's most sweet promise, and of hope which pricketh on behind, great adventure there were of fainting by the way. But blessed, and everlastingly blessed, be that heavenly Father of ours, who, in his Christ, our sufficient Saviour, hath vouchsafed so to shine in our hearts, that he giveth us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ:[1] and having this treasure in our earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power might be God's and not ours, "we are (according to his good will) troubled on every side, yet are we not without shift; we are in poverty, but yet not without that is sufficient; we suffer persecution, but are not forsaken therein; we are cast down, nevertheless we perish not; we bear in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus might also appear in our body."[2] Wherefore, by the grace of our Christ, we shall not be wearied, neither be dismayed by this our probation through the fire of affliction, as though some strange thing had happened unto us: but by his power we shall rejoice, inasmuch as we are partakers of Christ's passion, that when he doth appear, we may be merry and glad, knowing that "our tribulation, which is momentary and light, prepareth an exceeding and an eternal weight of glory unto us, while we look not on the things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen."[3] "They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy." "For he that goeth on his way weeping, and scattering his good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring his whole sheaves with him."[4] Then, then, shall the Lord wipe away all tears from our eyes. Then, then, shall be brought to pass that saying which is written, "Death is swallowed up in victory. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Yea, thanks be to God, which hath given us victory through our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen."[5]

In the mean season it remaineth for us to follow St. Peter's bidding: "Let them," saith he, "that are troubled according to the will of God, commit their souls to him with well doing, as a faithful Creator and Maker."[6] He is our Maker; we are his handiwork and creatures, whom now, when he hath made, he doth not leave and forsake, as the shipwright doth the ship; leaving it at all adventures to be tossed in the tempest; but he comforteth us his creatures. And in him we live, move, and have our being.[7] Yea, not only that, but now that he hath in his dear Christ repaired us, being before utterly decayed, and redeemed us, purging us unto himself as a peculiar people by the blood of his Son, he hath put on a most tender goodwill and fatherly affection towards us, never to forget us: unto whom by such promises he hath plighted such faith, that though it were possible that the mother could forget her infant, and not be tender-hearted to the child of her womb, yet may not it be, that his faithful believers should be forgotten of him.[8] He biddeth us to cast our care on him, and saith, that assuredly he careth for us.[9] And what though for a season he doth suffer us to be turmoiled in the troublous tempests of temptation, and seemeth, as in much anger, to have given us over and forgotten us? Let not us, for all that, leave off to put our trust in him; but let us with godly Job conclude in ourselves and say, "Even though he kill me, yet will I put my trust in him."[10] Let us, with the blessed Abraham, in hope, even contrary to hope, by belief lean unto that our loving Lord, who, though for our probation he suffereth us to be afflicted, yet "will he not be always chiding, neither keepeth he his anger for ever: for he knoweth whereof we be made; he remembereth that we are but dust."[11] Wherefore, look how high the heaven is in comparison of the earth: so great is his mercy towards them which fear him. Look how wide the east is from the west: so far hath he set our sins from us. Yea, like as a father pitieth his own children, even so is the Lord merciful unto them that fear him." Oh! what great cause of rejoicing have we in our most gracious God. We cannot but burst forth in the praising of such a bountiful benefactor, and say with the same Psalmist, "Praise the Lord, O my soul! and all that is within me praise his holy name. Praise the Lord, O my soul! and forget not all his benefits."

God's promise firm and sure.

Trust upon God's promise.

Dear wife, riches I have none to leave behind me, wherewith to endow you after the worldly manner: but that treasure of tasting how sweet Christ is unto hungry consciences (whereof, I thank my Christ, I do feel part, and would feel more), *that* I bequeath unto you, and to the rest of my beloved in Christ, to

Saunders's godly bequest to his wife.

(1) 2 Cor. iv. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Psalm cxxvi. (5) 1 Cor. xv. (6) 1 Pet. iv.
(7) Acts xvii. (8) 1 Pet. ix. (9) Isa. xlix. (10) Job xiii. (11) Psalm ciii.

retain the same in sense of heart always. Pray, pray. I am merry, and I trust I shall be merry, maugre the teeth of all the devils in hell. I utterly refuse myself, and resign myself unto my Christ, in whom I know I shall be strong, as he seeth needful. Pray, pray, pray!

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Laurence Saunders.

*He[1] wrote many other letters, full of godly instruction and consolation, which cannot all in such large sort be added, as I have done these; therefore thou shalt now, good reader, be content with some such short things as are gathered out of his writings. Being in prison he was, to his fellow-prisoners, a profitable prisoner, to whom, as he faithfully disposed the bread of life, so left he record thereof in this English metre following.

Experience of the comforts of Christ in prison.

Laurence Saunders to his Fellow-Prisoners in the Prison of the Marshalsea.

The grace of God declared is, in Christ, his Son most dear,
And teacheth us, in holiness, to live in his true fear;
Whoso then, in that heavenly birth, a child is rightly born,
His Father's will he followeth, and thereunto is sworn.

Children, of love, their father's will do lovingly embrace;
Servants, of fear, their master's will to do, do somewhat pass:
To children and to servants both, the rod doth ofttimes reach;
The children and the servants both, the rod doth penance teach.

All ye, therefore, which in this place in strait bondage now be,
Be servants unto righteousness, from sin be loose and free;
Be mindful of all duty, due unto the Lord above,
Be thankful for his benefits, the pledges of his love.
Consider with yourselves, I say, to sanctify the Lord,
In every place, and that alway, by thought, deed, and by word.

Laurence Saunders.

Of the Communion of Saints, the true taste whereof he learned and felt even in prison, thus he wrote in a letter which he sent to a gentlewoman, speaking of such friendship as she had showed unto him.

A Letter of Laurence Saunders on the Communion of Saints.

Herein do I take occasion of much rejoicing in our gracious God and heavenly Father; who, as he hath in his unmeasurable mercies, by faith, handfasted us his chosen children unto his dear Son our Christ, as the spiritual espouse of such a heavenly husband, so he linketh us by love one to another; being by that bond compacted together, with such charitable readiness to do good one to another, that, first, to the glory of God and his Christ; then, to our own joying in the testimony of a good conscience; last of all, to the stopping of the mouths and confounding of our adversaries, we bear that badge, as the right espouse of Christ, which he himself noteth in this saying, "Herein shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another."[2] Then, further, by this bond of mutual love, is set forth the fatherly providence of God towards us his children; that, though it be he that careth for us, in whom we live, move, and have our being,[3] who feedeth all flesh with bodily sustenance, yet hath he appointed us, in these present necessities, to stand in his stead one unto another; wherein is not only set forth our dignity, but also that unspeakable accord and unity among us, the many members of this mystical body. And though that, either for lack of ability, or else for distance of place, power, and opportunity of present helping one another by bodily presence do fail, yet

(1) The English metre, and the portions of three letters following, are from the Edition of 1563, pp. 1044 and 1045.—Ed.
(2) John xiii. (3) Acts xvii.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

wonderful is the working of God's children through the Spirit of prayer, as thereby they fetch all heavenly influence from Christ their celestial head, by his Spirit to be measured severally as may serve to the maintenance of the whole body. Thus doth our faithful prayer one for another, scatter God's bountiful blessings, both ghostly and bodily, when ordinary ability lacketh, and the arm cannot reach such God's riches, etc.

Another Letter, of true Taste of God's Love by Faith; with the Fruits thereof.

The love of our most gracious God and heavenly Father, bestowed upon us in the merits of his Christ our Saviour, who may, by conceit of mind, comprehend? passing indeed all understanding! Much less can the same by any means be expressly uttered. And, as such heavenly blessings which, by faith, we fetch from above, be inexplicable, so, hard it is to utter (when the faithful are set on fire by love), their readiness to reach forth by charity, to scatter and give, as by faith they have received. But, alas, "we carry this treasure in earthly vessels."[1] Many times faith is feeble, and love loseth her fervour: pray we, therefore, "Lord, increase our faith," and love forthwith will be on fire. And immortal thanks be given unto our God, who, in our Christ, hath bestowed upon us the first fruits of his Spirit, which crieth in our hearts, "Abba," "Father."[2] And, as St. Paul saith, "Seeing we have the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written, I believed and therefore have I spoken, we also believe and therefore we speak;"[3] yea, God knoweth, this Spirit putteth us in mind to speak, but in attempting thereof we are driven to say with Moses, "O Lord! I am slow-mouthed;"[4] and with Jeremiah, "O Lord! I cannot speak,"[5] etc.

In this letter he doth, with most tender affection, commend his wife and child to the christian care of that same his dear friend to whom he did write; which doth declare, that, as he had learned to forsake both wife, child, and life, for Christ's sake, so did he thereby retain that godly care over them which becometh a true Christian.

This affection is most lively set forth in another letter, which he did write to his wife; in which (after he had admonished her that she should not resort much to the prison where he was, for danger of trouble that might ensue), he saith:

Laurence Saunders to his Wife.

You shall, I think, shortly come far enough into danger, by keeping of faith and a good conscience; which, dear wife, I trust you do not slack to make reckoning and account upon, by exercising your inward man in the meditation of God's most holy word, which is the sustenance of the soul; and also by going yourself to humble prayer: for these two things be the very means by which the members of Christ are made daily more meet to inherit his kingdom. Wherefore do this, dear wife, in earnest, without leaving off, and so shall we two, with our Christ and all his chosen children, enjoy the merry world in that everlasting immortality; whereas, here, will nothing else be found but extreme misery, even of them which most greedily seek this worldly wealth; and so, if we two continue God's children grafted into our Christ, the same God's blessing which we receive, shall also settle upon our Samuel. Though we do shortly depart hence, and leave the poor infant (as it seemeth) at all adventures, yet shall he have our gracious God to be his God: for so hath He said which cannot lie, "I will be thy God and the God of thy seed." Yea, if you being called of God to do his will, either to die for the confession of Christ, or to do any work of obedience, should be compelled to leave him in the wild wilderness, destitute of all help, that God which heard the cry of that poor little infant of Hagar, Sarah's handmaid, and did succour it, will do the like to this

(1) 2 Cor. iv. 7. (2) Rom. viii. 5. (3) 2 Cor. iv. 13.
(4) Exodus iv. 10. (5) Jer. i. 6.

our child, and to the child of any other which feareth God and putteth his trust in him. If we lack faith to believe this (as many times we do indeed), let us call for it, and we shall have both the increase of it, and of any other good grace needful for us. Be merry in God, dear wife, for I am very merry. Oh Lord! what great cause have we for rejoicing, when we think upon that kingdom which God vouchsafeth, for his Christ's sake, freely to give unto us, forsaking ourselves and following him. Dear wife, this is truly to follow him, even to "take up our cross and follow him." Then, as we suffer with him, so shall we reign with him everlastingly. Amen; shortly, shortly, etc.

To the commendation of a true fatherly affection doth this also make not a little.*

Saunders's wife not suffered to speak with him in prison.

As the said master Saunders was in prison, strait charge was given to the keeper that no person should speak with him. His wife yet came to the prison gate with her young child in her arms, to visit her husband. The keeper, though for his charge he durst not suffer her to come into the prison, yet did he take the little babe out of her arms, and brought him unto his father. Laurence Saunders seeing him, rejoiced greatly, saying, that he rejoiced more to have such a boy, than he should if two thousand pounds were given him. And unto the standers-by, which praised the goodliness of the child, he said, "What man, fearing God, would not lose this life present, rather than by prolonging it here, he should adjudge this boy to be a bastard, his wife a whore, and himself a whoremonger? Yea, if there were no other cause, for which a man of my estate should lose his life, yet who would not give it, to avouch this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy?"

I do, good reader, recite this saying, not only to let thee see what be thought of priests' marriage; but chiefly to let all married couples and parents learn to bear in their bosom true affections—natural, but yet seasoned with the true salt of the Spirit—unfeignedly and thoroughly mortified to do the natural works and offices of married couples and parents, so long as with their doing they may keep Christ with a free confessing faith in a conscience unsoiled. Otherwise, both they and their own lives are so to be forsaken, as Christ required them to be denied, and given in his cause.

Saunders brought to examination.

And now to come to the examination of this good man: after that the bishops had kept him one whole year and a quarter in prison, at length they called him, as they did the rest of his fellows, openly to be examined. Of the which his first examination the effect and purport thus followeth.

The First Examination of Laurence Saunders.

Praised be our gracious God who preserveth his from evil, and doth give them grace to avoid all such offences as might hinder his honour, or hurt his church, Amen.

Being convented before the queen's most honourable council, sundry bishops being present, the lord chancellor began to speak in such form as followeth:

Lord Chancellor:—"It is not unknown, that you have been a prisoner for such abominable heresies and false doctrine as hath been sown by you; and now it is thought good that mercy be showed to such as seek for it. Wherefore if now you will show yourself conformable, and come home again, mercy is ready. We must say, that we have fallen in manner all; but now we be risen

Mary. A. D. 1555.

again, and returned to the catholic church: you must rise with us, and come home unto it.—Give us forthwith a direct answer."

Saunders:—"My lord, and my lords all, may it please your honours to give me leave to answer with deliberation."

L. Chan.:—"Leave off your painting and pride of speech: for such is the fashion of you all, to please yourselves in your glorious words. Answer yea, or nay."

Saunders standeth upon his conscience.

Saunders:—"My lord, it is no time for me now to paint: and as for pride, there is no great cause why it should be in me. My learning, I confess, to be but small; and as for riches or worldly wealth I have none at all. Notwithstanding, it standeth me in hand to answer to your demand circumspectly, considering that one of these two extreme perils is like to fall upon me: the losing of a good conscience, or the losing of this my body and life. And I tell you truth, I love both life and liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my conscience."

L. Chan.:—"Conscience! You have none at all, but pride and arrogancy, dividing[1] yourselves by singularity from the church."

Conscience ought never to stand upon things uncertain.

Saunders:—"The Lord is the knower of all men's consciences. And whereas your lordship layeth to my charge this dividing myself from the church[2] (as you do mean, and is now among you concluded upon, and I do understand), I do assure you, that I live in the faith wherein I have been brought up since I was fourteen years old: being taught that the power of the bishop of Rome is but usurped, with many other abuses springing thereof. Yea, this I have received even at your hands that are here present, as a thing agreed upon by the catholic church and public authority."

L. Chan.:—"Yea marry; but, I pray you, have you received by consent and authority[3] all your heresies of the blessed sacrament of the altar?"

Saunders:—"My lord, it is less offence to cut off an arm, hand, or joint of a man, than to cut off the head: for the man may live, though he do lack an arm, hand, or joint; and so he cannot without his head. But you, all the whole sort of you, have agreed to cut off the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom now you will have to be the head of your church again."

Bishop of London:—"And if it like your lordship, I have his hand against the blessed sacrament. How say you to that?"

Saunders:—"What I have written, that I have written; and further I will not accuse myself. Nothing have you to burden me withal, for breaking of your laws since they were in force."

L. Chan.:—"Well, you be obstinate, and refuse liberty."

A lawful request, but it could not be heard.

Saunders:—"My lord, I may not buy liberty at such a price: but I beseech your honours to be means to the queen's majesty for such a pardon for us, that we may live and keep our consciences unclogged, and we shall live as most obedient subjects. Otherwise, I must say for myself, that by God's grace I will abide the most extremity that man may do against me, rather than to do against my conscience."

L. Chan.:—"Ah sirrah! you will live as you list. The Donatists[4] did desire to live in singularity; but indeed they were not meet to live on earth.—No more be you, and that shall you understand within these seven days; and therefore away with him!"

Saunders:—"Welcome be it, whatsoever the will of God shall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of shedding of innocent blood. Truly it will cry. The Spirit of God rest upon all your honours! Amen."—This is the sum and form of my first examination. Pray, etc.

This examination being ended, the officers led him out of the place, and so stayed until the rest of his fellows were likewise handled, that they might have them altogether to prison. Laurence

(1) Of this dividing speaketh St. Paul, 2 Cor. vi., and Jeremiah, chap. i.
(2) "Come out and divide yourselves from them," &c.
(3) Time and authority be things of themselves always uncertain: ergo, conscience ought never to stand upon time and authority. "Si non insanit satis suâ sponte, instigat."
(4) To live as the Scripture leadeth us, is not to live as we list. The papists desire the pope, the protestants Christ only, to be their head. Now, which of these two be most like the Donatists?

Saunders, standing among the officers, seeing there a great multitude of people, opened his mouth and spake freely, warning them all of that, which, by their falling from Christ to Antichrist, they did deserve; and therefore exhorting them by repentance to rise again, and to embrace Christ with stronger faith, to confess him to the end, in the defiance of Antichrist, sin, death, and the devil: so should they retain the Lord's favour and blessing.

Saunders freely preacheth Christ.

The copies of his other examination and excommunication came to the hands of such as do keep them still in secret: but in them, as he defended Christ's cause stoutly, so warned he the pharisaical bishops and papists of their hypocrisy and tyranny freely, and cleared himself of their unjust quarrellings truly. After he was excommunicate and delivered to the secular power, he was brought by the sheriff of London to the prison called the Compter, in his own parish in Bread-street; whereat he rejoiced greatly, both because he found there a fellow-prisoner, master Cardmaker, with whom he had christian and comfortable conference, and also because out of prison, as before out of a pulpit, he might preach to his parishioners; as by his letter hereafter shall be declared.

The second examination here lacketh.

Saunders delivered to the secular power.

The 4th day of February, the bishop of London did come to the prison, where he was, to degrade him; which when he had done, Laurence Saunders said to him, "I thank God, I am none of your church."

Saunders degraded by Bonner.

The day following in the morning, the sheriff of London delivered him to certain of the queen's guard, which were appointed to carry him to the city of Coventry, there to be burned. The first night they came to St. Alban's, where master Grimoald (a man who had more store of good gifts than of great constancy) did speak with him.

Carried to Coventry.

After master Saunders had given him a lesson meet for his lightness, he took a cup in his hand, and asked him if he would pledge him of that cup, of which he would begin to him. Grimoald, by his shrugging and shrinking showing what he was, said, "Of that cup which is in your hand, I will pledge you: but of that other which you mean, I will not promise you." "Well," said master Saunders, "my dear Lord Jesus Christ hath begun to me[1] of a more bitter cup than mine shall be; and shall I not pledge my most sweet Saviour? Yes, I hope."

After they were come to Coventry, the same night a poor shoemaker, which was wont to serve him of shoes, came to him after this manner, and said, "O my good master! God strengthen and comfort you." "Gra-mercies good shoemaker," quoth master Saunders, "and I pray thee to pray for me; for I am the unmeetest man for this high office, that ever was appointed to it: but my gracious God and dear Father is able to make me strong enough." That same night he was put into the common gaol among other prisoners, where

A good shoemaker of Coventry.

Saunders put to the common gaol in Coventry.

(1) "Begun to me" seems to be equivalent to "hath challenged." Bishop Hall, in his Contemplations (The two Sons of Zebedee), writes, "O blessed Saviour, we pledge thee according to our weakness who hast *begun to us* in thy powerful sufferings;" and Herbert has "My flesh *began unto* my soul," page 94. Lond. 1824. See also Hanmer's Translation of Evagrius, book i. fol. 11. Bishop Reynolds, in his "Meditations on the Lord's Last Supper," (chap. 8.) furnishes another example of the same idiom; "Because he himself did *begin unto* us in a more bitter cup."—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

he slept little, but spent the night in prayer, and instructing of others.

Saunders brought to the place of execution.

The next day, which was the 8th of February, he was led to the place of execution in the park without the city, going in an old gown and a shirt, bare-footed, and ofttimes fell flat on the ground, and prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the officer appointed to see the execution done, said to master Saunders, that he was one of them which marred the queen's realm,[1] with false doctrine and heresy, "wherefore thou hast deserved death," quoth he; "but yet, if thou wilt revoke thine heresies, the queen hath pardoned thee: if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee." To whom master Saunders answered, "It is not I, nor my fellow-preachers of God's truth, that have hurt the queen's realm, but it is yourself, and such as you are, which have always resisted God's holy word; it is you which have and do mar the queen's realm. I do hold no heresies; but the doctrine of God, the blessed gospel of Christ, that hold I; that believe I; that have I taught; and that will I never revoke." With that, this tormentor cried, "Away with him." And away from him went master Saunders with a merry courage towards the fire. He fell to the ground, and prayed: he rose up again, and took the stake to which he should be chained, in his arms, and kissed it, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ! welcome everlasting life!" and being fastened to the stake, and fire put to him, full sweetly he slept in the Lord.

Comparison between Laurence Saunders and St. Laurence.

And thus have ye the full history of Laurence Saunders, whom I may well compare to St. Laurence, or any other of the old martyrs of Christ's church; both for the fervent zeal of the truth and gospel of Christ, and the most constant patience in his suffering, as also for the cruel torments that he, in his patient body, did sustain in the flame of fire. For so his cruel enemies handled him, that they burned him with green wood, and other smothering, rather than burning fuel, which put him to much more pain, but that the grace and most plentiful consolation of Christ, who never forsaketh his servants, and gave strength to St. Laurence, gave also patience to this Laurence, above all that his torments could work against; which well appeared by his quiet standing, and sweet sleeping in the fire, as is above declared.

Strength to stand in Christ, cometh not of ourselves, but it is the gift of God.

And to the intent to give the reader to understand the better, what the grace of Christ worketh in his servants; and again, how feeble and weak man is of himself without this grace given from above, though he seem otherwise never so stout in himself: here, therefore, have we added to the aforesaid story of Laurence Saunders, the communication which in the beginning of his trouble was between him and Dr. Pendleton, by the example whereof, such as stand, may learn to understand to take heed with due fear, and not to brag; to lean to the grace of the Lord, and not to presume in themselves.

A CERTAIN COMMUNICATION BETWEEN LAURENCE SAUNDERS AND DR. PENDLETON, IN THE BEGINNING OF QUEEN MARY'S TIME.

At the change of religion in this realm, and the beginning of queen Mary's reign, Dr. Pendleton and master Saunders, men known

(1) Ahab accuseth Elias for troubling Israel.

THE BURNING OF MASTER LAURENCE SAUNDERS, AT COVENTRY.

to the world, not only to be learned, but also earnest preachers of God's word in the time of blessed king Edward, met together in the country, where, by occasion, they were at that time, and, as the case required (by reason of the persecution that was then at hand), fell to debate what was best for them to do in so dangerous a season. Whereupon master Saunders, whether through very frailty of his weak flesh that was loth to taste the bitter cup, though his spirit were ready thereunto; or whether it were upon the mistrust of his own strength, that he might receive the greater power from above; or whether it were not for any one of the said causes alone, but for both together, or such like; seemed so fearful and feeble spirited, that he showed himself in appearance, like either to fall quite from God and his word, which he had taught, or at least to betake him to his heels, and to fly the land, rather than to stick to his profession, and abide by his tackle: so as Dr. Pendleton (who on the contrary side appeared not so big of body, but as bold in courage; nor so earnest before in pulpit, but as ready now to seal the same with his blood) took upon him to comfort master Saunders all that he might; admonishing him, as he could do it very well, not to forsake cowardly his flock when he had most need to defend them from the wolf; neither, having put his hand to God's plough, to start now aside and give it over; nor yet (that is worst of all), having once forsaken Antichrist, to fall either himself, or suffer others, by his example, to return to their vomit again.

Pendleton a stout preacher of the gospel in king Edward's time.

Saunders timorous in Christ's cause at first.

After which and such like persuasions bidding him be of good comfort, and to take a good heart unto him, "What, man!" quoth he, "there is a great deal more cause in me to be afraid than in you; forasmuch as you see, I carry a greater mass of flesh upon my back than you do, and being so laden with a heavier lump of this vile carcase, ought therefore of nature to be more frail than you: and yet," said he, "I will see the uttermost drop of this grease of mine molten away, and the last gobbet of this pampered flesh consumed to ashes, before I will forsake God and his truth." Whereunto the other, answering but little, and wishing that Almighty God would give him more strength than he presently felt in himself, acknowledging his own weakness, consented notwithstanding, though it were somewhat faintly, to join with him in the profession of the gospel, and so to go up to London, and set forth the same: whereupon they gave each other their hands.

The stout brags of Pendleton at the beginning.

Now when they were come to London, oh, what a great change was there between these two persons! The poor, feeble, faint-hearted Saunders, by the goodness of Almighty God taking heart of grace to him, seeking the same in humility, boldly and stoutly confirmed his flock out of the pulpit, where his charge lay, mightily beating down Antichrist, and lustily preaching Christ his master; for the which he afterward suffered most willingly, as is before declared. Whereas on the other side, Pendleton the proud (who, as it appeared by the sequel, had been more stout in words than constant in deeds, and a greater bragger than a good warrior) followed Peter so justly in cracks, howsoever he did in repentance (which God only knoweth), that he came not so soon to London but he changed his tippet, and played the "apostata;" preaching, instead of sound doctrine, nothing almost but errors and lies, advancing Antichrist, and overthrowing

God giveth strength where feebleness is.

Example how feeble man is of himself, without the Lord support him.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

poor Christ with all his main: so his former boldness came to nothing, unless it were a contrary key, becoming of a faithful pastor a false runagate, and of a true preacher a sworn enemy to God's everlasting testament; to the great offence of his brethren, the hurt of his flock, and the utter undoing, without God's greater mercy, of his own soul. Wherein are specially to be considered the deep and marvellous judgments of God, who, as he can and doth make strong whom it pleaseth him, when he seeth his time, and most commonly such as appear most feeble: even so, contrariwise, throweth he down others, seem they never so stout, stand they never so much in their own conceits. Wherefore, let him that standeth take heed he fall not; and let us pray continually to Almighty God, though we have faith, that he will help and increase our faith, that in him it may be made strong, which of itself is so weak, that it is soon overthrown.[1]

Saunders diligent in writing letters out of prison.

This blessed man of God, enduring long time in prison, did not pass all this time in unfruitful idleness, but still, from time to time, did visit his friends (as is said), and especially his wife, with many letters full of godly instruction and consolation. All which letters it shall not be greatly needful here to insert; partly, because they are to be found in "The Book of Letters,"[2] partly, because we intend also (if God will) to prosecute the same hereafter more at large. In the mean time it shall not be out of place here presently to comprehend certain of them, as in order followeth.

A Letter sent to Master Ferrar Bishop of St. David's, Doctor Taylor, Master Bradford, and Master Philpot.

Grace, mercy, and peace in Jesus Christ our Lord, etc. Good fathers, and dear brethren, be thankful unto our most gracious God, which hath preserved us, and shall, I doubt not, from blaspheming his blessed name: yea, not only that, but also[3] "Out of the mouths of very babes and sucklings, shall be set forth his praise." They offer us, forsooth, our liberty and pardon, so that we will rise with them into that faith, which we with them were fallen from. Yea, or no, must be answered in haste. They will not admit any needful circumstances, but all (as heretofore) most detestable and abominable. Rise with them we must unto the unity. A pardon, say I, of me must not so dearly be purchased. A pardon I desire, to live with an unclogged conscience. "The Donatists," say they, "sought for such singularity; but they were not meet to live in a commonwealth—no more be you, as you shall shortly understand. Wherefore away with him." (Yea the time was named—within this seven-night.) "There be twelve hours in the day.[4] Death shall be welcome," said I, "as being looked for long since: and yet do justice ye were best; for Abel's blood cried, ye wot what. The Spirit of God be upon you, and God save your honours." Thus departed I from them. Pray, pray. Ah, ah! "Puer sum, nescio loqui;" i. e. "I am a child, I cannot speak." My brother P. shall show you more herein. By him send me word what you have done. Fare ye well, and pray, pray. I would gladly meet with my good brother Bradford on the backside, about eleven of the clock. Before that time I cannot start out, we have such out-walkers; but then will they be at dinner.

Yours, as you know,

Laurence Saunders.

(1) "He that standeth, let him take heed he fall not." Rom. xiii.
(2) "The Book of Letters of the Martyrs." [This book was published by Miles Coverdale, in 1564; it has also been reprinted. London, 1837.—Ed.]
(3) "Ex ore infantium et lactantium perficiet laudem." Psalm viii.
(4) John xi.

A Letter which Laurence Saunders did write to his Wife, and others of the faithful Flock, after his Condemnation to the Fire; written the last of January, A.D. 1555, out of the Compter in Bread-street.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

The grace of Christ, with the consolation of the Holy Ghost, to the keeping of faith and a good conscience, confirm and keep you for ever vessels to God's glory. Amen.

Oh! what worthy thanks can be given to our gracious God for his unmeasurable mercies plentifully poured upon us? And I, most unworthy wretch, cannot but pour forth at this present, even from the bottom of my heart, the bewailing of my great ingratitude and unkindness towards so gracious and good a God and loving Father. I beseech you all, as for my other many sins, so specially for that sin of my unthankfulness, crave pardon for me in your earnest prayers, commending me to God's great mercies in Christ.

To number these mercies in particular, were to number the drops of water which are in the sea, the sands on the shore, the stars in the sky. O my dear wife, and ye the rest of my friends, rejoice with me, I say, rejoice with thanksgiving, for this my present promotion, in that I am made worthy to magnify my God, not only in my life, by my slow mouth and uncircumcised lips, bearing witness unto his truth, but also by my blood to seal the same, to the glory of my God, and confirming of his true church: and as yet I testify unto you, that the comfort of my sweet Christ doth drive from my fantasy the fear of death. But if my dear husband Christ doth, for my trial, leave me alone a little to myself, alas, I know in what case I shall be then: but if, for my proof, he do so, yet I am sure he will not be long or far from me. Though he stand behind the wall, and hide himself (as Solomon saith in his mystical ballet),[1] yet will he peep in by a crevice to see how I do. He is a very tender-hearted Joseph. Though he speak roughly to his brethren, and handle them hardly; yea, threaten grievous bondage to his best beloved brother Benjamin, yet can he not contain himself from weeping with us and upon us, with falling on our necks, and sweetly kissing us. Such, such a brother is our Christ unto us all. Wherefore hasten to go unto him, as Jacob did with his sons and family, leaving their country and acquaintance. Yea, this our Joseph hath obtained for us, that Pharaoh the infidel shall minister unto us chariots, wherein at ease we may be carried, to come unto him; as we have experience how our very adversaries do help us unto our everlasting bliss by their speedy despatch, yea, and how all things have been helpings hereunto, blessed be our God! Be not afraid of fray-bugs[2] which lie in the way. Fear rather the everlasting fire: fear the serpent which hath that deadly sting, of which by bodily death they shall be brought to taste, which are not grafted in Christ, wanting faith and a good conscience; and so are not acquainted with Christ the killer of death. But oh, my dear wife and friends! we, we whom God hath delivered from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son, by putting off the old man, and by faith putting on the new, even our Lord Jesus Christ, his wisdom, holiness, righteousness, and redemption; we, I say, have to triumph against the terrible spiteful serpent the devil, sin, hell, death, and damnation. For Christ, our brazen serpent, hath pulled away the sting of this serpent, so that now we may boldly, in beholding it spoiled of its sting, triumph; and with our Christ, and all his elect, say, "Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, who hath given (us) the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ!"[3]

The sweet comfort of Christ taketh away the fear of death from Saunders.

Joseph's handling of his brethren applied to Christ.

Christ a sweet brother unto us.

The sting of death plucked out.

Wherefore be merry, my dear wife, and all my dear fellow-heirs of the everlasting kingdom, always remember the Lord. Rejoice in hope, be patient in tribulation, continue in prayer; and pray for us now appointed to the slaughter, that we may be unto our heavenly Father a fat offering, and an acceptable sacrifice. I may hardly write to you: wherefore let these few words be a witness of my commendations to you and all them which love us in the faith; and namely, unto my flock,[4] among whom I am resident, by God's providence, but as a prisoner.

(1) Cant. xxii. (2) "Fray-bug," an imaginary monster.—Ed. (3) 1 Cor. xv.

(4) To this his flock, the parish of Allhallows in Bread-street, he wrote also a fruitful letter, exhorting and charging them to beware of the Romish religion, and constantly to stick to the truth which they had confessed.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

And although I am not so among them, as I have been, to preach to them out of a pulpit, yet doth God now preach unto them by me, by this my imprisonment and captivity which now I suffer among them for Christ's gospel's sake; bidding them to beware of the Romish antichristian religion and kingdom; requiring and charging them to abide in the truth of Christ, which is shortly to be sealed with the blood of their pastor, who, though he be unworthy of such a ministry, yet Christ their high Pastor is to be regarded, whose truth hath been taught them by me, is witnessed by my chains, and shall be by my death, through the power of that high Pastor.

Be not careful, good wife; cast your care upon the Lord, and commend me unto him in repentant prayer, as I do you and our Samuel; whom, even at the stake, I will offer as myself unto God. Fare ye well all in Christ, in hope to be joined with you in joy everlasting: this hope is put up in my bosom.—Amen, Amen, Amen! Pray, pray!

Another Letter to Mrs. Lucy Harrington, a godly Gentlewoman, and friendly to him in his Troubles.

Your most gentle commendations, whereof this messenger made remembrance unto me, was for two causes very comfortable: first, for that hereby I understood of the state of your health and bodily welfare, for the which I give thanks unto God, who grant the long continuance thereof to his honour and fatherly good will; whereunto I will daily say, Amen! And further, I was refreshed by the expressing of your mindful friendship towards me far unworthy thereof. Wherein I take occasion of much rejoicing in our so gracious a God and merciful Father, who, as he hath in his immeasurable mercy, by faith, hand-fasted us his chosen children unto his dear Son our Christ, as the spiritual spouse of such a heavenly husband; so he linketh us by love one unto another, being by that bond compact together with charitable readiness to do good one to another; so that first to the glory of our God and his Christ, then to our own joining in the testimony of a good conscience, and, last of all, to the stopping of the mouths and confusion of our adversaries, we bear the badge, as the right spouse of our Christ, which he himself noted in this saying: "Herein shall all men know that ye be my disciples, if ye love one another."[1] Then further, by this bond of mutual love is set forth the fatherly providence of God towards us his children; that though it be he that careth for us—in whom we live, move, and be—who feedeth all flesh with bodily sustenance—yet hath he appointed us, in these present necessities, to stand in his stead one unto another. Wherein is not only set forth our dignity, but also that unspeakable accord and unity among us, the many members of his mystical body. And though that either for lack of ability, or else through distance of place, power and opportunity of helping one another do fail: yet wonderful is the working of God's children through the Spirit of prayer, as whereby they fetch all heavenly influence from Christ their celestial head by his Spirit, to be measured severally, as may serve to the maintenance of the whole body.[2]

The true badge of Christ.

Prayer distributeth God's blessings from one to another.

Thus doth our faithful prayer, which we make one for another, distribute and scatter God's bountiful blessings, both ghostly and bodily, when ordinary ability lacketh, and when the arm may not reach forth such God's riches. According hereunto I well perceive and understand your readiness to do good unto all; and especially I have experience of your ready good-will towards me, in your hearty desire to stretch out your helping hand to relieve my lack: and of your help to be extended to me in the other spiritual sort, by your good prayer, I doubt not; as I also therein assure you of my help, being all that I may do, and yet the same not so much as I would do.

My need concerning bodily necessaries is as yet furnished by God's provision, so that I am not driven to any extremity, wherefore to be burdenous to you, as your gentle benevolence provoketh me: the Lord reward you there-for! If God make me worthy to be his witness at this present, in giving this corruptible body to burn for the testimony of his truth, it is enough for me to say to you, that I have a poor wife and child, whom I love in the Lord, and whom I know, for my sake, you will tender when I am departed hence, etc.

(1) John xiii. (2) John xv.

Mary.

A. D. 1555.

Another Letter to Mistress Lucy Harrington.

Grace and mercy, etc. It happeneth oftentimes that abundance of matter, bringing with it much vehemency of friendly affection, maketh men dumb; and even then chiefly, when there is most eager purpose of speaking, silence doth suppress, and causeth the party so affected imperfectly to express, that he goeth about to utter. Such impediment by much matter, mingled with fervency of affection, feel I sometimes in myself, letting the utterance, either by tongue or writing, of the abundance of the heart. The love of our most gracious God and heavenly Father, bestowed upon us in the merits of Christ our Saviour, who may, by conceit of mind, comprehend? passing indeed all understanding! much less may the same by any means be expressly uttered. And as such heavenly blessings, which by faith we fetch from above, be inexplicable, so is it hard to utter, when the faithful are set on fire by love, their readiness to reach forth and to give by charity, as by faith they have received. But (alas!) we carry this treasure in earthen vessels.[1] Many times faith is feeble, and then love loseth her fervor. Pray we therefore, "Lord increase our faith," and love forthwith will be on fire. And immortal thanks be given unto our God, who in our Christ hath bestowed upon us the first-fruits of his Spirit, who crieth in our hearts, "Abba, Father."[2] And (as St. Paul saith) "Seeing we have the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written; I believed, and therefore I have spoken: we also believe, and therefore we speak."[3] Yea, God knoweth, this Spirit putteth in us a mind to speak; but in attempting thereof we are driven with Moses to say, "O Lord! I am slow-mouthed, and of uncircumcised lips:"[4] and with Jeremiah, "O Lord, I cannot speak."[5]

Faith many times in us is feeble.

Albeit that this infancy restraineth the opening of such abundance of heart in my tender christian duty to be declared towards you, yet I beseech you, let this be settled in your understanding; that, as St. Paul expresseth unto his Corinthians, that they were in his heart either to live or to die, with many other such sayings uttered unto them and the Galatians, expressing his vehement affection towards them: so, in some part, I would be like affected towards all God's children, and especially towards you whom I know in Christ, and to whom I will not say how much I am indebted. I thank you for your great friendship and tender good-will towards my wife: yea, that good gracious God recompense you, which may worthily with the more countervail[6] the same, and fulfil that which lacketh of thankful duty in us. And because of that which heretofore I have conceived of you, and of your more than natural love towards me and mine; I make myself thus bold to lay this burden upon you, even the care and charge of my said poor wife; I mean, to be unto her a mother and mistress, to rule and direct her by your discreet council. I know she conceiveth of you the same that I do, and is thankful unto God with me for such a friend; and therefore I beseech you even for Christ's sake, put never from you this friendly charge over her, whether I live longer, or shortly depart. But to charge you otherwise, thanks be to God, neither I, neither she, have any such extreme need: if we had, I would be as bold with you as with mine own mother. I beseech you give my hearty salutations unto master Fitz-Williams, and my good lady; with thanks also for my poor wife and child. The Lord recompense them! Laurence Saunders.

Saunders commendeth the care of his wife to mistress Harrington.

Furthermore, as touching his fatherly care and affection to his wife and his little child, the same is lively set forth in another letter which he did write to his wife; wherein he admonished her that she would not resort much to the prison where he was, for danger of trouble that might ensue; the tenor of whose letter here followeth.

Another Letter to his Wife, with a certain Remembrance to Master Harrington and Master Hurland.

Grace and comfort, etc.—Wife, you shall do best not to come often unto the grate where the porter may see you. Put not yourself in danger where it needs

(1) 2 Cor. iv. (2) Rom. viii. (3) 2 Cor. iv. (4) Exod. viii. (5) Jer. i.
(6) "Who can suitably with more things reward." See "Letters of the Martyrs." 8vo. 1837. P. 147.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

not. You shall, I think, shortly come far enough into danger by keeping faith and a good conscience; which, dear wife, I trust you do not slack to make reckoning and account upon, by exercising your inward man in meditation of God's most holy word, being the sustenance of the soul, and also by giving yourself to humble prayer: for these two things be the very means how to be made members of our Christ, meet to inherit his kingdom.

Do this, dear wife, in earnest, and not leaving off; and so we two shall, with our Christ and all his chosen children, enjoy the merry world in that everlasting immortality; whereas here, will nothing else be found but extreme misery, even of them which most greedily seek this worldly wealth. And so, if we two continue God's children grafted in our Christ, the same God's blessing which we receive, shall also settle upon our Samuel. Though we do shortly depart hence, and leave the poor infant (to our seeming) at all adventures, yet shall he have our gracious God to be his God: for so hath he said, and he cannot lie, "I will be thy God," saith he, "and the God of thy seed." Yea, if you leave him in the wilderness, destitute of all help, being called of God to do his will, either to die for the confession of Christ, or any work of obedience; that God which heard the cry of the little poor infant of Hagar, Sarah's handmaiden, and did succour it, will do the like to the child of you, or any other fearing him, and putting your trust in him.

Care of children in time of necessity ought to be left to God, who will not see them forsaken.

And if we lack faith, as we do indeed many times, let us call for it, and we shall have the increase both of it, and also of any other good grace needful for us: and be merry in God, in whom also I am very merry and joyful. O Lord, what great cause of rejoicing have we, to think upon that kingdom, which he voucheth safe for his Christ's sake, freely to give us, forsaking ourselves and following him? Dear wife, this is truly to follow him; even to take up our cross and follow him: and then, as we suffer with him, so shall we reign with him everlastingly, shortly. Amen.

What it is to follow Christ.

Another Letter to his Wife, to Master Robert Harrington and Master Hurland, and other Friends.

Grace and comfort, etc.—Dear wife, rejoice in our gracious God, and his and our Christ; and give thanks most humbly and heartily to him for this day's work; that in any part I, most unworthy wretch, should be made worthy to bear witness unto his everlasting verity, which Antichrist, with his, by main force (I perceive) and by most impudent pride and boasting, will go about to suppress. Remember God alway, my dear wife; and so shall God's blessing light upon you and your Samuel. O remember always my words for Christ's sake; be merry, and grudge not against God; and pray, pray. We be all merry here, thanks be unto our God, who, in his Christ, hath given us great cause to be merry; by whom he hath prepared for us such a kingdom, and doth and will give unto us some little taste thereof, even in this life, and to all such as are desirous to take it. "Blessed," saith our Christ, "be they which hunger and thirst after righteousness, for such shall be satisfied."[1] Let us go, yea, let us run, to seek such treasure, and that with whole purpose of heart to cleave unto the Lord, to find such riches in his heavenly word through his Spirit obtained by prayer. My dear friends and brethren, master Harrington and master Hurland, pray, pray. "The spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak."[2] When I look upon myself,[3] being astonished and confounded, what have I else to say but those words of Peter, "Lord, go from me; for I am a sinful man."[4] But then feel I that sweet comfort, "The word of the Lord is a lanthorn unto my feet, and a light unto my paths,[5]" and "this is my comfort in my trouble."[6] Then wax I bold with the same Peter to say,[7] "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of everlasting life."[8] This comfort have I when the giver thereof doth give it. But I look for battles, which the root of unfaithfulness, the which I feel in me, will most eagerly give unto my conscience,

(1) Matt. v. 6. (2) "Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma."
(3) "Quid ego stupidus et attonitus habeo quod dicam, nisi illud Petri, Exi à me Domine, quia homo peccator sum?" (4) Luke v.
(5) "Lucerna pedibus meis verbum Domini, lumen semitis meis," et "Hæc mea est consolatio in humilitate mea." (6) Psalm cxix.
(7) "Domine, ad quem ibimus? verba vitæ æternæ habes." (8) John vi.

when we come once to the combat. We be (I ween) within the sound of the trump of our enemies. Play, ye that be abroad, the part of Moses,[1] "praying in all places, lifting up pure hands;" and God's people shall prevail: yea, our blood shall be their perdition who do most triumphantly spill it. And we then, being in the hands of our God, shall shine in his kingdom,[2] and shall stand in great steadfastness against them which have dealt extremely with us. And when these our enemies shall thus see us, they shall be vexed with horrible fear, and shall wonder at the hastiness of the sudden health; and shall say with themselves, having inward sorrow and mourning for very anguish of mind: "These are they whom we sometime had in derision, and jested upon. We fools thought their lives to be very madness, and their end to be without honour; but lo! how they are accounted among the children of God."[3]—The blessing of God be with you all, etc.

Laurence Saunders.

To his Wife a little before his Burning.

Grace and comfort in Christ, Amen.—Dear wife, be merry in the mercies of our Christ, and also ye, my dear friends. Pray, pray for us, everybody. We be shortly to be despatched hence unto our good Christ; Amen, Amen. Wife, I would you send me my shirt, which you know whereunto it is consecrated. Let it be sewed down on both the sides, and not open. O my heavenly Father, look upon me in the face of thy Christ, or else I shall not be able to abide thy countenance; such is my filthiness. He will do so; and therefore I will not be afraid what sin, death, hell, and damnation, can do against me. O wife! always remember the Lord. God bless you, yea, he will bless thee, good wife, and thy poor boy also. Only cleave thou unto him, and he will give thee all things. Pray, pray, pray!

He writeth for a shirt wherein he should be burnt.

Another Letter to Masters Robert and John Glover, written the same Morning that he was burnt.

Grace and consolation in our sweet Saviour Christ.—O my dear brethren, whom I love in the Lord, being loved of you also in the Lord, be merry and rejoice for me, now ready to go up to that mine inheritance, which I myself indeed am most unworthy of, but my dear Christ is worthy, who hath purchased the same for me with so dear a price. Make haste, my dear brethren, to come unto me, that we may be merry, with that joy which no man shall take from us.[4] O wretched sinner that I am; not thankful unto this my Father, who hath vouched me worthy to be a vessel unto his honour! But, O Lord, now accept my thanks, though they proceed out of a not-enough-circumcised heart. Salute my good sisters your wives; and, good sisters, fear the Lord. Salute all others that love us in the truth. God's blessing be with you always, Amen. Even now towards the offering of a burnt sacrifice. O my Christ, help, or else I perish!

Laurence Saunders.

After these godly letters of master Saunders diversely dispersed and sent abroad to divers of the faithful congregation of Christ, as is afore to be seen; now, in the latter end, we will adjoin two other letters, not written by master Saunders the martyr, but by master Edward Saunders the justice, his brother, sent to this our Saunders in prison, although containing no great matter worthy to be known, yet to this intent; that the reader may see in these two brethren, so joined in nature, and so divided in religion, that word of the Lord verified, truly saying, "Brother shall be against brother,"[5] etc., as by the contents of these two letters following may appear.

(1) "Orantes in omni loco, sustollentes puras manus." (2) 1 Tim. ii. Wisd. v.
(3) Wisd. v. (4) "Eo gaudio quod nemo tollet à nobis." (5) Matt. x.

Mary.

A. D. 1555.

A Letter of Justice Saunders to his Brother Laurence.

After my most hearty commendations: these be to ascertain you, that I have spoken with master Basset, who hath showed me, that four pound (all deductions being allowed) is the whole that hath come to his hands of the profit of the prebendary at York, the which you shall have, although, as he thinketh, it was not due unto you by reason of your deprivation; before, it was due. As concerning your conscience in religion, I beseech God it may be lightened by the Holy Ghost, and that you may also have the grace of the Holy Ghost to follow the counsel of St. Paul to Timothy ii.[1] "To handle rightly the word of truth;" wherein you, dissenting from many holy and catholic men, especially in the sacrament, it maketh me in my conscience to condemn yours. For although I have not hitherto fancied to read Peter Martyr, and other such, etc.;[2] yet have I had great desire to see Theophylact, and divers others of this sort and opinion, both notable and holy fathers (if any credit be to be given to the writings of our ancient fathers before us): and surely the sentences and judgments of two or three of them have more confirmed my conscience, than three hundred of the Zuinglians, or as many of the Lutherans, can or should do. Thus in haste, willing to relieve you, to the end you might convert. If you shall need towards your finding (if you shall require it of me), you shall unfeignedly find my money ready, as knoweth our Lord, who send us all things good for us.—Scribbled this Thursday, by your brother and petitioner to God,

Ed. Saunders.

Another Letter of Justice Saunders to his Brother, wherein he seeketh to win him to Popery.

Greeting with protestation.

As nature and brotherly love with godly charity require, I send you by these letters (quantum licet) most hearty commendation; being sorry for your fault, and your disobedient handling of yourself towards my lord chancellor, who, I assure you, mindeth your good and preservation, if you can so consider and take it. I would be glad to know, whether you have not had with you of late some learned men to talk with you by my lord chancellor's appointment, and how you can frame yourself to reform your error in the opinion of the most blessed, and our most comfortable, sacrament of the altar: wherein, I assure you, I was never in all my life better affected than I am at this present, using to my great comfort hearing of mass,[3] and, somewhat before the sacring time, the meditation of St. Bernard, set forth in the third leaf of this present book. The accustomable using whereof I am fully professed unto, during my life, and to give more faith unto that confession of holy Bernard, than to Luther, etc., or to Latimer, etc.; for that the antiquity, the universality of the open church, and the consent of all saints and doctors, do confirm the same: ascertaining you that I have been earnestly moved in mine own conscience these ten or twelve days past, and also between God and myself, to move you to the same; most earnestly desiring you, and as you tender my natural, godly, and friendly love towards you, that you would read over this book this holy time, at my request, although you have already seen it, and let me know wherein you cannot satisfy your own conscience. Thus fare you well for this time.

Meditations of Bernard were sent by justice Saunders to his brother.

By yours, from Serjeants' Inn,

Ed. Saunders.

The Story, Life, and Martyrdom of Master John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester;

BURNT FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE GOSPEL AT GLOUCESTER, FEBRUARY THE 9TH, A.D. 1555.

John Hooper, student and graduate in the university of Oxford, after the study of the sciences, wherein he had abundantly profited

(1) "Rectè tractare verbum veritatis." (2) Justice saith, "Audi alteram partem."
(3) He meaneth peradventure when the "Sanctus" is singing; for then the organs pipe merrily, and that may give some comfort.

and proceeded, through God's secret vocation was stirred with fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the Scriptures: in the reading and searching whereof, as there lacked in him no diligence joined with earnest prayer; so neither wanted unto him the grace of the Holy Ghost to satisfy his desire, and to open unto him the light of true divinity.

Thus master Hooper, growing more and more, by God's grace, in ripeness of spiritual understanding, and showing withal some sparkles of his fervent spirit, being then about the beginning of the Six Articles, in the time of king Henry the Eighth, fell eftsoons into displeasure and hatred of certain rabbins in Oxford, who, by and by, began to stir coals against him; whereby, and especially by the procurement of Dr. Smith, he was compelled to void the university; and so, removing from thence, was retained in the house of sir Thomas Arundel, and there was his steward, till the time that sir Thomas Arundel, having intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no case did favour, and yet exceedingly favouring the person and conditions of the man, found the means to send him in a message to the bishop of Winchester, writing his letter privily to the bishop, by conference of learning to do some good upon him; but in any case requiring him to send home his servant to him again.

Hooper sent to the bishop of Winchester.

Winchester, after long conference with master Hooper four or five days together, when he at length perceived that neither he could do that good which he thought to him, nor that he would take any good at his hand, according to master Arundel's request, he sent home his servant again; right well commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing in his breast a grudging stomach against master Hooper still.

It followed not long after this, as malice is always working mischief, that intelligence was given to master Hooper to provide for himself, for danger that was working against him. Whereupon master Hooper, leaving master Arundel's house, and borrowing a horse of a certain friend (whose life he had saved a little before from the gallows), took his journey to the sea-side to go to France, sending back the horse again by one, who indeed did not deliver him to the owner. Master Hooper being at Paris, tarried there not long, but in short time returned into England again, and was retained of master Sentlow, till the time that he was again molested and laid for; whereby he was compelled, under the pretence of being captain of a ship going to Ireland, to take the seas. And so escaped he (although not without extreme peril of drowning) through France, to the higher parts of Germany; where he, entering acquaintance with the learned men, was of them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at Basil, and especially at Zurich, of master Bullinger, being his singular friend. There also he married his wife who was a Burgonian, and applied very studiously to the Hebrew tongue.

Forced to avoid the house of sir Thomas Arundel, and flieth out of England.

Friendship between Bullinger and Hooper.

At length, when God saw it good to stay the bloody time of the Six Articles, and to give us king Edward to reign over this realm, with some peace and rest unto his gospel, amongst many other English exiles who then repaired homeward, master Hooper also, moved in conscience, thought not to absent himself; but, seeing such a time and occasion, offered to help forward the Lord's work, to the

Mary. A.D. 1555.

uttermost of his ability. And so, coming to master Bullinger, and other of his acquaintance in Zurich (as duty required), to give them thanks for their singular kindness and humanity toward him manifold ways declared, with like humanity again purposed to take his leave of them at his departing, and so did. Unto whom master Bullinger again (who had always a special favour to master Hooper) spake on this wise:

Bullinger's words to Hooper.

"Master Hooper," said he, "although we are sorry to part with your company for our own cause, yet much greater causes we have to rejoice, both for your sake, and especially for the cause of Christ's true religion, that you shall now return, out of long banishment, into your native country again; where not only you may enjoy your own private liberty, but also the cause and state of Christ's church, by you, may fare the better; as we doubt not but it shall.

"Another cause, moreover, why we rejoice with you and for you, is this: that you shall remove not only out of exile into liberty; but you shall leave here a barren, a sour and an unpleasant country, rude and savage; and shall go into a land flowing with milk and honey, replenished with all pleasure and fertility. Notwithstanding, with this our rejoicing one fear and care we have, lest you, being absent, and so far distant from us, or else coming to such abundance of wealth and felicity, in your new welfare and plenty of all things, and in your flourishing honours, where ye shall come, peradventure, to be a bishop, and where ye shall find so many new friends, you will forget us your old acquaintance and well-willers. Nevertheless, howsoever you shall forget and shake us off, yet this persuade yourself, that we will not forget our old friend and fellow master Hooper. And if you will please not to forget us again, then I pray you let us hear from you."

The answer of Hooper.

Whereunto master Hooper, answering again, first gave to master Bullinger and the rest right hearty thanks, for that their singular good-will, and undeserved affection, appearing not only now, but at all times towards him: declaring moreover, that as the principal cause of his removing to his country was the matter of religion; so, touching the unpleasantness and barrenness of that country of theirs, there was no cause therein why he could not find in his heart to continue his life there, as soon as in any place in the world, and rather than in his own native country; if there were nothing else in his conscience that moved him so to do. And as touching the forgetting of his old friends; although, said he, the remembrance of a man's country naturally doth delight him, neither could he deny, but God had blessed his country of England with many great commodities; yet, neither the nature of country, nor pleasure of commodities, nor newness of friends, should ever induce him to the oblivion of such friends and benefactors, whom he was so entirely bound unto: "and therefore you shall be sure," said he, "from time to time to hear from me, and I will write unto you, how it goeth with me. But the last news of all, I shall not be able to write: for there," said he (taking master Bullinger by the hand), "where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear of me to be burned to ashes. And that shall be the last news, which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall hear it of me," etc.

Hooper prophesieth of himself.

A note of arms, presignifying his martyrdom.

To this also may be added another like prophetical demonstration, foreshowing before the manner of his martyrdom wherewith he should glorify God, which was this: When master Hooper, being made bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, should have his arms given him

by the herald (as the manner is, here in England, every bishop to have his arms assigned unto him), whether by the appointment of master Hooper, or by the herald, I have not certainly to say; but the arms which were to him allotted were these: A lamb in a fiery bush, and the sun-beams from heaven descended down upon the lamb; rightly denoting, as it seemed, the order of his suffering, which afterward followed.

Hooper returneth to England.

But now to the purpose of our story again. Thus when master Hooper had taken his farewell of master Bullinger and his friends in Zurich, he made his repair again into England in the reign of king Edward the Sixth, where he, coming to London, used continually to preach, most times twice, at least once, every day; and never failed.

His notable diligence in preaching.

In his sermons, according to his accustomed manner, he corrected sin, and sharply inveighed against the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuses of the church. The people in great flocks and companies daily came to hear his voice, as the most melodious sound and tune of Orpheus's harp, as the proverb saith; insomuch that oftentimes when he was preaching, the church would be so full, that none could enter further than the doors thereof. In his doctrine he was earnest, in tongue eloquent, in the Scriptures perfect, in pains indefatigable.

Singular virtues of Hooper described.

Moreover, besides other his gifts and qualities, this is in him to be marvelled, that even as he began, so he continued still unto his life's end. For neither could his labour and pains-taking break him, neither promotion change him, neither dainty fare corrupt him. His life was so pure and good, that no kind of slander (although divers went about to reprove it) could fasten any fault upon him. He was of body strong, his health whole and sound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to sustain whatsoever sinister fortune and adversity could do. He was constant of judgment, a good justice, spare of diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time: in house-keeping very liberal, and sometimes more free than his living would extend unto. Briefly, of all those virtues and qualities required of St. Paul in a good bishop, in his epistle to Timothy, I know not one in this good bishop lacking. He bare in countenance and talk always a certain severe and grave grace, which might, peradventure, be wished sometimes to have been a little more popular and vulgar-like in him: but he knew what he had to do best himself.

This, by the way, I thought to note, for that there was once an honest citizen, and to me not unknown, who, having in himself a certain conflict of conscience, came to his door for counsel: but, being abashed at his austere behaviour, durst not come in, but departed, seeking remedy of his troubled mind at other men's hands; which he afterward, by the help of Almighty God, did find and obtain. Therefore, in my judgment, such as are appointed and made governors over the flock of Christ, to teach and instruct them, ought so to frame their life, manners, countenance, and external behaviour, as neither they show themselves too familiar and light, whereby to be brought into contempt, nor, on the other side again, that they appear more lofty and rigorous, than appertaineth to the edifying of the simple flock of Christ. Nevertheless, as every man hath his peculiar gift wrought in him by nature, so this disposition of fatherly

Direction how ministers and preachers ought to behave themselves.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

gravity in this man neither was excessive, nor did he bear that personage that was in him, without great consideration. For it seemed to him, peradventure, that this licentious and unbridled life of the common sort ought to be chastened, not only with words and discipline, but also with the grave and severe countenance of good men.

Hooper made bishop of Gloucester and Worcester.

After he had thus practised himself in this popular and common kind of preaching; at length, and that not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the king's majesty, and soon after made bishop of Gloucester by the king's commandment. In that office he continued two years, and behaved himself so well, that his very enemies (except it were for his good doings, and sharp correcting of sin) could find no fault with him; and, after that, he was made bishop of Worcester.

But I cannot tell what sinister and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and consecration of bishops, and of their apparel, with such other like trifles, began to disturb the good and lucky beginning of the godly bishop. For notwithstanding that godly reformation of religion then begun in the church of England, besides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to edification, they used to wear such garments and apparel as the popish bishops were wont to do: first a chimere, and under that a white rochet: then, a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. These trifles, tending more to superstition than otherwise, as he could never abide, so in no wise could he be persuaded to wear them. For this cause he made supplication to the king's majesty, most humbly desiring his highness, either to discharge him of the bishopric, or else to dispense with him for such ceremonial orders; whose petition the king granted immediately, writing his letter to the archbishop after this tenor.

A popish attire.

The King's Letters or Grant for the Dispensation of John Hooper, elected Bishop of Gloucester; written to the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Bishops.

Right reverend father, and right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.—Whereas we, by the advice of our council, have called and chosen our right well-beloved and well worthy, master John Hooper, professor of divinity, to be our bishop of Gloucester, as well for his great knowledge, deep judgment, and long study both in the Scriptures, and other profane learning, as also for his good discretion, ready utterance, and honest life for that kind of vocation: to the intent all our loving subjects which are in his said charge and elsewhere, might, by his sound and true doctrine, learn the better their duty towards God, their obedience towards us, and love towards their neighbours: from consecrating of whom we understand you do stay, because he would have you omit and let pass certain rites and ceremonies offensive to his conscience, whereby ye think ye should fall in "præmunire" of laws; we have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to dispense and discharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures, you shall run and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the same. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge there-for.

Given under our signet, at our castle of Windsor, the 5th of August, the fourth year of our reign.

Ed. Somerset.	W. Paget.
W. Wiltshire.	An. Wingfield.
W. North.	N. Wooton.

Besides this letter of the king, also the earl of Warwick (who was afterward duke of Northumberland) adjoined his letter to the foresaid archbishop of Canterbury, to this purpose and effect: that master Hooper might not be burdened with the oath used then commonly in the consecration of bishops, which was against his conscience; as by the purport of the letter here is to be seen, as followeth.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

A Letter of the Earl of Warwick to the Archbishop in the behalf of Master Hooper.

After my most hearty commendations to your grace, these may be to desire the same, that in such reasonable things, wherein this bearer, my lord elect of Gloucester, craveth to be borne withal at your hands, you would vouchsafe to show him your grace's favour, the rather at this my instance; which thing partly I have taken in hand by the king's majesty's own motion. The matter is weighed by his highness, none other but that your grace may facily condescend unto. The principal cause is, that you would not charge this said bearer with an oath burdenous to his conscience. And so, for lack of time, I commit your grace to the tuition of Almighty God. From Westminster the 23d of July, 1550.

Your grace's most assured loving friend,

J. Warwick.

Both this grant of the king, and also the earl's letters aforesaid notwithstanding, the bishops still stood earnestly in the defence of the aforesaid ceremonies; saying it was but a small matter, and that the fault was in the abuse of the things, and not in the things themselves: adding moreover, that he ought not to be so stubborn in so light a matter; and that his wilfulness therein was not to be suffered.

Discord about ritual garments.

To be short, whilst both parties thus contended about this matter more than reason would, in the mean time occasion was given, as to the true Christians to lament, so to the adversaries to rejoice. In conclusion, this theological contention came to this end: that the bishops having the upper hand, master Hooper was fain to agree to this condition—that sometimes he should in his sermon show himself apparelled as the other bishops were. Wherefore, appointed to preach before the king, as a new player in a strange apparel, he cometh forth on the stage. His upper garment was a long scarlet chimere down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet that covered all his shoulders. Upon his head he had a geometrical, that is, a four-squared cap, albeit that his head was round. What cause of shame the strangeness hereof was that day to that good preacher, every man may easily judge. But this private contumely and reproach, in respect of the public profit of the church, which he only sought, he bare and suffered patiently. And I would to God, in like manner, they, who took upon them the other part of that tragedy, had yielded their private cause, whatsoever it was, to the public concord and edifying of the church: for no man in all the city was one hair the better for that hot contention.

Hooper compelled to preach before the king in bishop's apparel.

I will name nobody, partly for that his oppugners, being afterwards joined in the most sure bond of friendship with him, in one, and for one cause, suffered martyrdom; and partly for that I commonly use,

The cross maketh peace.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

according to my accustomed manner, to keep my pen from presumptuous judging of any person. Yet I thought to note the thing for this consideration: to admonish the reader hereby, how wholesome and necessary the cross of Christ is sometimes in the church of Christ, as by the sequel hereof afterward did appear. For as, in a civil governance and commonwealth, nothing is more occasion of war than overmuch peace: so in the church and among churchmen, as nothing is more pernicious than too much quietness; so nothing more ceaseth private contentions oftentimes rising amongst them, than the public cross of persecution.

The fall and infirmities of holy saints and martyrs, left for our consolation.

Furthermore, so I persuaded myself, the same not to be inexpedient, to have extant such examples of holy and blessed men. For, if it do not a little appertain to our public consolation and comfort, when we read in the Scriptures of the foul dissension between Paul and Barnabas; of the fall of Peter, and of David's murder and adultery; why may or should it not be as well profitable for our posterity, to hear and know the falls of these godly martyrs, whereby we may the less despair in our infirmity, considering the same or greater infirmities to reign in the holy saints of God, both prophets, apostles, and martyrs?

And thus, by the way, thou hast heard, good reader, hitherto the weakness of these good men, plainly and simply, as the truth was, declared unto thee, to the end their fall may minister occasion to us, either of eschewing the like, or else to take heart and comfort in the like fall and frailness of ours.[1] Now again, on the other part, it remaineth to record, after the foresaid discord, the godly reconciliations of these good men in time of persecution, who afterward, being in prison for the truth's sake, reconciled themselves again with most godly agreement, as appeareth by this letter sent by bishop Ridley to the said bishop of Gloucester. The copy whereof, as it was written with his own hand in Latin, hereafter followeth translated into English.

To my dear Brother and Reverend Fellow-Elder in Christ, John Hooper, Grace and Peace.

Ridley and Hooper join hands together.

My dearly beloved brother and fellow-elder, whom I reverence in the Lord, pardon me, I beseech you, that hitherto since your captivity and mine, I have not saluted you by my letters: whereas I do indeed confess, I have received from you (such was your gentleness) two letters at sundry times: but yet at such time as I could not be suffered to write to you again; or, if I might, yet was I greatly in doubt how my letters might safely come into your hands. But now, my dear brother, forasmuch as I understand by your works, which I have yet but superficially seen, that we thoroughly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our religion, against the which the world so furiously rageth in these our days, howsoever in time past in certain bye-matters and circumstances of religion, your wisdom and my simplicity (I grant) have a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own sense and judgment; now, I say, be you assured, that even with my whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ I love you in the truth, and for the truth's sake which abideth in us, and, as I am persuaded, shall, by the grace of God, abide in us for evermore.

And because the world, as I perceive, brother, ceaseth not to play his pageant, and busily conspireth against Christ our Saviour, with all possible force

(1) Note how discord and conciliation happen many times amongst good men.

and power, "exalting high things against the knowledge of God;"[1] let us join hands together in Christ; and, if we cannot overthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in us lieth, let us shake those high altitudes, not with carnal, but with spiritual weapons: and withal, brother, let us prepare ourselves to the day of our dissolution, by the which, after the short time of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we shall triumph together with him, in eternal glory.

I pray you, brother, salute in my name your reverend fellow-prisoner, and venerable father D. C.; by whom, since the first day that I heard of his most godly and fatherly constancy, in confessing the truth of the gospel, I have conceived great consolation and joy in the Lord. For the integrity and uprightness of that man, his gravity and innocency, all England, I think, hath known long ago. Blessed be God therefore, which in such abundance of iniquity, and decay of all godliness, hath given unto us, in this reverend old age, such a witness for the truth of his gospel. Miserable and hard-hearted is he, whom the godliness and constant confession of so worthy, so grave and innocent a man, will not move to acknowledge and confess the truth of God.

I do not now, brother, require you to write any thing to me again: for I stand much in fear, lest your letters should be intercepted before they can come to my hands. Nevertheless know you, that it shall be to me great joy to hear of your constancy and fortitude in the Lord's quarrel. And albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twice, as I could, sent unto you my mind touching the matter which in your letters you required to know. Neither can I yet, brother, be otherwise persuaded: I see methinks so many perils, whereby I am earnestly moved to counsel you not to hasten the publishing of your works, especially under the title of your own name. For I fear greatly, lest by this occasion both your mouth should be stopped hereafter, and all things taken away from the rest of the prisoners; whereby otherwise, if it so please God, they may be able to do good to many. Farewell in the Lord, my most dear brother; and if there be any more in prison with you for Christ's sake, I beseech you, as you may, salute them in my name. To whose prayers I do most humbly and heartily commend myself and my fellow-prisoners and co-captives in the Lord; and yet once again, and for ever in Christ, my most dear brother. Farewell.

N. Ridley.[2]

Master Hooper, after all these tumults and vexations sustained about his investing and priestly vestures, at length entering into his diocese, did there employ his time which the Lord lent him under king Edward's reign, with such diligence, as may be a spectacle to all bishops who shall ever hereafter succeed him, not only in that place, but in whatsoever diocese through the whole realm of England. So careful was he in his cure, that he left neither pains untaken, nor ways unsought, how to train up the flock of Christ in the true word of salvation, continually labouring in the same. Other men commonly are wont, for lucre or promotion's sake, to aspire to bishoprics, some hunting for them, and some purchasing or buying them, as men used to purchase lordships; and when they have them are loth to leave them: and thereupon also loth to commit that thing by worldly laws, whereby to lose them.

Hooper bishop of two dioceses.

To this sort of men master Hooper was clean contrary, who abhorred nothing more than gain, labouring always to save and preserve the souls of his flock; who, being bishop of two dioceses, so ruled and guided either of them and both together, as though he had in charge but one family. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more or

(1) 1 Cor. x.
(2) The original, in Latin, is in the First Edition, p. 1051, and will be found in the Appendix to this Edition.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

better occupied, than he in his diocese amongst his flock, going about his towns and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there.

That time that he had to spare from preaching, he bestowed either in hearing public causes, or else in private study, prayer, and visiting of schools. With his continual doctrine he adjoined due and discreet correction, not so much severe to any, as to them which for abundance of riches, and wealthy state, thought they might do what they listed. And doubtless he spared no kind of people, but was indifferent to all men, as well rich as poor, to the great shame of no small number of men now-a-days; whereof many we see so addicted to the pleasing of great and rich men, that in the meantime they have no regard to the meaner sort of poor people, whom Christ hath bought as dearly as the other.

Hooper a light to all churchmen.

But now, again, we will return our talk to master Hooper, all whose life, in fine, was such, that to the church and all churchmen, it might be a light and example; to the rest a perpetual lesson and sermon. Finally, how virtuous and good a bishop he was, ye may conceive and know evidently by this; that even as he was hated of none but of them that were evil, so yet the worst of them all could not reprove his life in any one jot.

The order and governance of his house.

I have now declared his usage and behaviour abroad in the public affairs of the church: and, certainly, there appeared in him at home no less example of a worthy prelate's life. For though he bestowed and converted the most part of his care upon the public flock and congregation of Christ, for the which also he spent his blood; yet, nevertheless, there lacked no provision in him, to bring up his own children in learning and good manners; insomuch that ye could not discern whether he deserved more praise for his fatherly usage at home, or for his bishop-like doings abroad: for everywhere he kept one religion in one uniform doctrine and integrity. So that if you entered into the bishop's palace, you would suppose yourself to have entered into some church or temple. In every corner thereof there was some smell of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of holy Scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly rioting or idleness; no pomp at all; no dishonest word, no swearing could there be heard.

His care in instructing his family.

His hospitality.

As for the revenues of both his bishoprics, although they did not greatly exceed, as the matter was handled; yet, if any thing surmounted thereof, he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice I was, as I remember, in his house in Worcester, where, in his common hall, I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and beset full of beggars and poor folk: and I, asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their lord and master's manner was, to have customably to dinner a certain number of poor folk of the said city by course, who were served by four at a mess, with hot and wholesome meats; and, when they were served (being before examined by him or his deputies, of the Lord's prayer, the articles of their faith, and ten commandments), then he himself sat down to dinner, and not before. After this sort and manner master Hooper executed the office of a most careful and vigilant pastor, by the space of two years and more, so long as the state of religion in king Edward's

time did safely flourish and take place: and would God that all other bishops would use the like diligence, care, and observance, in their function!

Mary. A.D. 1555.

After this, king Edward being dead, and Mary being crowned queen of England, religion being subverted and changed, this good bishop was one of the first that was sent for by a pursuivant to be at London; and that for two causes: first, to answer to Dr. Heath, then appointed bishop of that diocese, who was before, in king Edward's days, deprived thereof for papistry. Secondarily, to render account to Dr. Bonner bishop of London, for that he, in king Edward's time, was one of his accusers, in that he showed himself not conformable to such ordinances as were prescribed to him by the king and his council, openly at Paul's Cross. And, although the said master Hooper was not ignorant of the evils that should happen towards him (for he was admonished by certain of his friends to get him away, and shift for himself), yet he would not prevent them, but tarried still, saying: "Once I did flee, and take me to my feet; but now, because I am called to this place and vocation, I am thoroughly persuaded to tarry, and to live and die with my sheep."

Hooper called up to London at queen Mary's coming in. Two causes why.

Hooper refuseth to fly.

And when at the day of his appearance, which was the first of September, he was come to London, before he could come to the aforesaid Drs. Heath and Bonner, he was intercepted, and commanded violently against his will to appear before the queen and her council, to answer to certain bonds and obligations, wherein they said he was bound unto her; and, when he came before them, Winchester, by and by, received him very opprobriously, and, railing and rating of him, accused him of religion. He, again, freely and boldly told his tale, and purged himself. But, in fine, it came to this conclusion, that by them he was commanded to ward; it being declared unto him at his departure, that the cause of his imprisonment was only for certain sums of money, for which he was indebted to the queen, and not for religion. This, how false and untrue it was, shall hereafter in its place more plainly appear.

Cometh up to London.

Charged to answer before the queen.

Commanded to ward.

The next year, being 1554, the 19th of March, he was called again to appear before Winchester, and other the queen's commissioners; where, what for the bishop, and what for the unruly multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his cause, he was deprived of his bishoprics: which how, and in what order it was done, here now followeth to be seen by the testimony and report of one, who, being present at the doing, committed the same to writing.

Deprived of his bishoprics.

A Letter or Report of a certain godly Man, declaring the Order of Master Hooper's Deprivation from his Bishoprics, March 19, Anno 1554.

Forsomuch as a rumour is spread abroad of the talk had at my lord chancellor's, between him with other commissioners there appointed, and master Hooper, clean contrary to the verity and truth thereof indeed, and therefore to be judged rather to be risen of malice, for the discrediting of the truth by false suggestions and evil reports, than otherwise: I thought it my duty, being present thereat myself, in writing to set forth the whole effect of the same: partly that the verity thereof may be known to the doubtful people; and partly also to advertise them, how uncharitably master Hooper was handled at their hands, who, with all humility, used himself towards them, desiring, that with patience

Mary. A.D. 1555.

he might have been permitted to speak; assuring all men, that whereas I stood in a mammering and doubt, which of these two religions to have credited, either that set forth by the king's majesty that is dead, or else that now maintained by the queen's majesty; their unreverend behaviour towards master Hooper doth move me the rather to credit his doctrine, than that which they, with railing and cruel words, defended; considering that Christ was so handled before. And that this which I have written here was the effect of their talk, as I acknowledge it to be true myself—so I appeal to all the hearers' consciences, that there were present (so they put affection away), for the witness of the same.

MASTER HOOPER EXAMINED BEFORE THE COMMISSIONERS.

The bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Llandaff, and Chichester, sat as commissioners.[1]—At master Hooper's coming in, the lord chancellor asked whether he was married.

Hooper:—"Yea my lord, and will not be unmarried till death unmarry me."
Durham:—"That is matter enough to deprive you."
Hooper:—"That it is not, my lord, except ye do against the law."

The matter concerning marriage was no more talked of then for a great space; but as well the commissioners, as such as stood by, began to make such outcries, and laughed, and used such gesture, as was unseemly for the place, and for such a matter. The bishop of Chichester, Dr. Day, called master Hooper "hypocrite," with vehement words, and scornful countenance.[2] Bishop Tonstal called him "beast:" so did Smith, one of the clerks of the council, and divers others that stood by. At length the bishop of Winchester said, that all men might live chaste that would; and brought in this text,[3] "There be, that have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven."[4]

Master Hooper said; that text proved not that all men could live chaste, but such only to whom it was given: and read that which goeth before in the text. But there was a clamour and cry, mocking and scorning, with calling him beast, that the text could not be examined.

Priests' marriage not forbid by the old canons.

Then master Hooper said, that it did appear by the old canons, that marriage was not forbidden unto priests; and named the Decrees. But the bishop of Winchester sent for another part, namely the Clementines, or the Extravagants: but bishop Hooper said, that book was not it, which he named. Then cried out the bishop of Winchester, and said, "You shall not have any other, until ye be judged by this." And then began such a noise, tumult, and speaking together of a great many that favoured not the cause, that nothing was done, or spoken orderly or charitably. Afterward judge Morgan[5] began to rail at master Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foul words of his doing at Gloucester, in punishing of men; and said, there was never such a tyrant as he was. After that, Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, said, that the council of Ancyra,[6] which was before the council of Nice, was against the marriage of priests.

(1) See the Harleian MSS. No. 421, art. 18, 26.—Ed.
(2) "Blessed be you, when they shall speak all reviling words against you for my name's sake." (3) "Castraverunt se propter regnum cœlorum." (4) Matt. xix.
(5) This Morgan, shortly after, fell into a frenzy and madness, and died of the same.
(6) This assertion appears to be incorrect, as the canon alluded to (the tenth) only mentions "deacons, to whom marriage was, generally, allowed." Apud Labbé, tom. i. col. 1459.—Ed.

Then cried out my lord chancellor, and many with him, that master Hooper had never read the councils. *Mary.* A. D 1555.

"Yea, my lord," quoth master Hooper, "and my lord of Chichester (Dr. Day) knoweth that the great council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius,[1] decreed that no minister should be separated from his wife." But such clamours and cries were used, that the council of Nice was not seen. The council of Nice.

After this long brutish talk, Tonstal bishop of Durham asked master Hooper, whether he believed the corporal presence in the sacrament. And master Hooper said plainly, that there was none such, neither did he believe any such thing.

Then would the bishop of Durham have read out of a book, for his purpose belike (what book it was, I cannot tell); but there was such a noise and confused talk on every side, that he did not read it. Then asked Winchester of master Hooper, what authority moved him not to believe the corporal presence? He said, the authority of God's word; and alleged this text:[2] "Whom heaven must hold until the latter day." The corporal presence.

Then the bishop of Winchester would have made that text have served nothing for his purpose; and he said, he might be in heaven, and in the sacrament also. Master Hooper would have said more to have opened the text, but all men that stood next about the bishop, allowed so his saying with clamours and cries, that master Hooper was not permitted to say any more against the bishop. Whereupon they bade the notaries write that he was married; and said, that he would not go from his wife, and that he believed not the corporal presence in the sacrament: wherefore he was worthy to be deprived of his bishopric. Articles taken against Hooper.

This is the truth of the matter (as far as I can truly remember) of the confused and troublesome talk that was between them; and except it were hasty and uncharitable words, this is the whole matter of their talk at that time.—Atque hæc ille hactenus.

The true Report of Master Hooper's Entertainment in the Fleet; written with his own Hand, the 7th of January, 1555.

The 1st of September, 1553, I was committed unto the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison; and, within six days after, I paid for my liberty five pounds sterling to the warden, for fees: who, immediately upon the payment thereof, complained unto Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; and so was I committed to close prison one quarter of a year in the Tower-chamber of the Fleet, and used very extremely. Then by the means of a good gentlewoman,[3] I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, not suffered to speak with any of my friends; but, as soon as dinner and supper was done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding while I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the bishop of Winchester.

After one quarter of a year and somewhat more, Babington the warden, and his wife, fell out with me for the wicked mass: and thereupon the warden resorted to the bishop of Winchester, and obtained to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time; having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking, until by God's means good people Babington warden of the Fleet, a wicked tyrant to God's people.

(1) The words of Paphnutius appear in Gelasii, Hist. Con. Nicænis, lib. ii. cap. 32. Apud Labbé, tom. ii. col. 246.—Ed.

(2) "Quem oportet cœlum suscipere, usque ad tempus restaurationis omnium."

(3) This good gentlewoman is thought to be mistress Wilkinson.

Mary.

A.D. 1555.

sent me bedding to lie in. Of the one side of which prison is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other side the town-ditch, so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases.—During which time I have been sick; and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains being all closed, and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called, and cried for help. But the warden, when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at me, saying, "Let him alone; it were a good riddance of him." And, amongst many other times, he did thus the 18th of October, 1553; as many can witness.

Barbarous cruelty of the warden of the Fleet.

I paid always like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees, as for my board, which was twenty shillings a week, besides my man's table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my bishopric; and, since that time, I have paid him as the best gentleman doth in his house; yet hath he used me worse, and more vilely, than the veriest slave that ever came to the hall-commons.

W. Downton, Hooper's man.

The said warden hath also imprisoned my man William Downton, and stripped him out of his clothes to search for letters, and could find none, but only a little remembrance of good people's names, that gave me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also, the warden delivered the same bill unto the said Stephen Gardiner, God's enemy and mine.

Hooper eighteen months in prison.

Queen Mary indebted to him.

I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months, my goods, living, friends, and comfort taken from me; the queen owing me by just account eighty pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to find me, neither is there suffered any one to come at me whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy (saving God's help), but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death.

Thus much wrote he himself, of this matter.

ANOTHER EXAMINATION OF MASTER HOOPER.

The 22d of January following, 1555, Babington, the warden of the Fleet, was commanded to bring master Hooper before the bishop of Winchester, with other bishops and commissioners, at the said Winchester's house at St. Mary Overy's, where in effect thus much was done. The bishop of Winchester, in the name of himself and the rest, moved master Hooper earnestly to forsake the evil and corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the days of king Edward the Sixth, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, and to acknowledge the pope's holiness to be head of the same church, according to the determination of the whole parliament; promising, that as he himself, with other his brethren, had received the pope's blessing, and the queen's mercy; even so mercy was ready to be showed to him and others, if he would arise with them, and condescend to the pope's holiness.

Gardiner exhorteth Hooper to return to the pope's church.

The pope not worthy to be a member of Christ's church.

Master Hooper answered, that forasmuch as the pope taught doctrine altogether contrary to the doctrine of Christ, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Christ's church, much less to be head thereof; wherefore he would in no wise condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction. Neither esteemed he the church, whereof they call him head, to be the catholic church of Christ: for the church only heareth the voice of her spouse Christ, and flieth the strangers. "Howbeit," saith he, "if in any point, to me unknown, I have offended the queen's majesty, I shall most humbly submit myself to her mercy; if mercy may be had with safety of conscience, and without the displeasure of God."

Answer was made, that the queen would show no mercy to the pope's enemies. Whereupon Babington was commanded to bring him to the Fleet again: who did so, and shifted him from his former chamber into another, near unto the warden's own chamber, where he remained six days; and, in the mean time, his former chamber was searched by Dr. Martin and others, for writings and books, which master Hooper was thought to have made, but none were found.

ANOTHER EXAMINATION OF MASTER HOOPER.

The 28th of January, Winchester and other the commissioners sat in judgment at St. Mary Overy's, where master Hooper appeared before them at afternoon again; and there, after much reasoning and disputation to and fro, he was commanded aside, till master Rogers (who was then come) had been likewise examined. Examinations being ended, the two sheriffs of London were commanded, about four of the clock, to carry them to the Compter in Southwark, there to remain till the morrow at nine o'clock, to see whether they would relent and come home again to the catholic church.[1] So master Hooper went before with one of the sheriffs, and master Rogers came after with the other, and being out of church door, master Hooper looked back, and stayed a little till master Rogers drew near, unto whom he said, "Come, brother Rogers! must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these faggots?" "Yea sir," said master Rogers, "by God's grace." "Doubt not," said master Hooper, "but God will give strength." So going forwards, there was such a press of people in the streets, who rejoiced at their constancy, that they had much ado to pass.

Hooper's words to master Rogers.

By the way the sheriff said to master Hooper, "I wonder that ye were so hasty and quick with my lord chancellor, and did use no more patience." He answered, "Master sheriff, I was nothing at all impatient, although I was earnest in my Master's cause, and it standeth me so in hand, for it goeth upon life and death; not the life and death of this world only, but also of the world to come." Then were they committed to the keeper of the Compter, and appointed to several chambers, with commandment that they should not be suffered to speak one with another, neither yet any other permitted to come at them, that night.

Hooper earnest in his Master's cause.

THE THIRD AND LAST EXAMINATION OF MASTER HOOPER.

Upon the next day following, the 29th of January, at the hour appointed, they were brought again by the sheriffs before the said bishop and commissioners, in the church, where they were the day before. And after long and earnest talk, when they perceived that master Hooper would by no means condescend unto them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read unto him his condemnation. That done, master Rogers was brought before them, and in like manner entreated, and so they delivered both of them to the secular power, the two sheriffs of London, who were willed to carry them to

Hooper condemned.

(1) The judiciary acts of the proceedings against Hooper are given at length by Strype (Memorials under Mary, chap. xxii. p. 296, Edit. 1816), from the Foxian MSS.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

the Clink, a prison not far from the bishop of Winchester's house, and there to remain till night.

When it was dark, master Hooper was led by one of the sheriffs, with many bills and weapons, first through the bishop of Winchester's house, and so over London-bridge, through the city to Newgate. And by the way some of the sergeants were willed to go before, and put out the costermongers' candles, who used to sit with lights in the streets: either fearing, of likelihood, that the people would have made some attempt to have taken him away from them by force, if they had seen him go to that prison; or else, being burdened with an evil conscience, they thought darkness to be a most fit season for such a business.

Darkness best for the papists.

The people rejoice at the constancy of Hooper and Rogers.

But notwithstanding this device, the people having some foreknowledge of his coming, many of them came forth of their doors with lights, and saluted him; praising God for his constancy in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen him in the same to the end. Master Hooper passed by, and required the people to make their earnest prayers to God for him: and so went through Cheapside to the place appointed, and was delivered as close prisoner to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained six days, nobody being permitted to come to him, or talk with him, saving his keepers, and such as should be appointed thereto.

Hooper sent to Newgate.

Bonner and his chaplains reason with Hooper in prison.

During this time, Bonner bishop of London, and others at his appointment, as Fecknam, Chedsey, and Harpsfield, etc., resorted divers times unto him to assay if by any means they could persuade him to relent, and become a member of their antichristian church. All the ways they could devise, they attempted: for, besides the disputations and allegations of testimonies of the Scriptures, and of ancient writers wrested to a wrong sense, according to their accustomed manner, they used also all outward gentleness and significations of friendship, with many great proffers and promises of worldly commodities; not omitting also most grievous threatenings, if with gentleness they could not prevail: but they found him always the same man, steadfast and immovable. When they perceived that they could by no means reclaim him to their purpose with such persuasions and offers as they used for his conversion, then went they about, by false rumours and reports of recantations (for it is well known, that they and their servants did spread it first abroad), to bring him and the doctrine of Christ which he professed, out of credit with the people. So the bruit being a little spread abroad, and believed of some of the weaker sort, by reason of the often resort of the bishop of London and others, it increased more, and at last came to master Hooper's ears: wherewith he was not a little grieved, that the people should give so light credit unto false rumours, having so simple a ground; as it may appear by a letter which he wrote upon that occasion, the copy whereof followeth.

False rumours of his recantation.

A Letter of Master Hooper, for the stopping of certain false Rumours spread abroad of his Recantation.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all them that unfeignedly look for the coming of our Saviour Christ. Amen.

Mary.

A. D. 1555.

Dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, and my fellow-prisoners for the cause of God's gospel, I do much rejoice and give thanks unto God for your constancy and perseverance in affliction, unto whom I wish continuance unto the end. And as I do rejoice in your faith and constancy in afflictions that be in prison; even so do I mourn and lament to hear of our dear brethren that yet have not felt such dangers for God's truth as we have and do feel, and be daily like to suffer more; yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire: yet such is the report abroad (as I am credibly informed), that I, John Hooper, a condemned man for the cause of Christ, should now, after sentence of death (being in Newgate prisoner, and looking daily for execution) recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And this talk ariseth of this, that the bishop of London and his chaplains resort unto me. Doubtless, if our brethren were as godly as I could wish them, they would think, that in case I did refuse to talk with them, they might have just occasion to say that I were unlearned, and durst not speak with learned men; or else proud, and disdained to speak with them. Therefore, to avoid just suspicion of both, I have and do daily speak with them when they come; not doubting but that they report that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to do as I do in this point, for I fear not their arguments, neither is death terrible unto me; praying you to make true report of the same, as occasion shall serve; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have preached heretofore, by their coming.

Occasion of this rumour.

Therefore, ye that may send to the weak brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with such reports of recantations as they do. For I have hitherto left all things of the world, and suffered great pains and imprisonment, and, I thank God, I am as ready to suffer death, as a mortal man may be. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report such rumours that be untrue. We have enemies enough of such as know not God truly; but yet the false report of weak brethren is a double cross. I wish you eternal salvation in Jesus Christ, and also require your continual prayers, that he which hath begun in us, may continue it to the end.

False reports a grievous cross.

I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen heretofore; and hereafter shortly shall confirm the same by God's grace with my blood.

Forth of Newgate the 2d of February, anno 1555.

Your brother in Christ,

John Hooper.

Upon Monday morning the bishop of London came to Newgate, and there degraded master Hooper; the sentence of which his degradation here followeth.

Degradatio Hooperi.[1]

In nomine ✠ Patris, ✠ Filii, ✠ et Spiritus Sancti, Amen. Quoniam per sententiam definitivam à reverendo in Christo patre et domino Stephano, permissione divina Wintoniensi episcopo, in et contra te Johannem Hooper presbyterum, suæ jurisdictionis, (ratione hæresis et delicti intra illius diœcesin Wintoniensem notoriè commissi) existentem, nuper ritè et legitimè prolatam, constat sufficienter et legitimè nobis Edmundo Londinensi episcopo, te præfatum Johannem Hooper hæreticum manifestum et obstinatum ac pertinacem fuisse et esse, ac constat similiter tanquam hæreticum hujusmodi per dictam sententiam pronunciatum et declaratum fuisse, majorisque excommunicationis sententia ob id innodatum et involutum similiter esse, ac ab ordine tuo deponendum et degradandum, curiæque seculari ob demerita tua hujusmodi tradendum fore, prout ex tenore dictæ sententiæ, ad quam nos in hac parte nos referimus, plenius, planius, et expressius liquet et apparet: idcirco nos Edmundus episcopus Londinensis antedictus—quia nostri et universitatis etiam interest nostras hic partes interponere, et vicariam operam mutuamque vicissitudinem impendere, in cujus etiam diœcesi tu, Johannes Hooper, idem hæresis crimen tunc et sæpius, et ante et post commisisti—istis (inquam) et aliis prædictis attentis, et exequendo omni meliori et efficaciori modo, quo possumus, sententiam prædictam, sic (ut præmittitur) latam in te qui infra fines et limites

(1) See the Harl. MSS. No. 421, art. 49.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

diœcesis nostræ Londinensis notoriè consistis, et in hac parte culpabilis et transgressor etiam notoriè existis, ad actualem degradationem tui præfati Johannis Hooper (culpa tua exigente ac justitia id poscente) duximus procedendum fore, ac sic etiam realiter procedimus; ut deinde, juxta juris exigentiam et temporis retroacti morem laudabilem et normam consuetam, te in arca ecclesiæ manere nolentem curiæ seculari ritè et legitimè ac effectualiter tradere possimus. Quod ipsum sic fieri debere, nos per hanc nostram sententiam sive decretum decernimus, pronunciamus, et declaramus in his scriptis.

After the sentence of degradation thus declared, now let us see the form and manner of their degrading, which here also followeth. But first here is to be noted, that they, degrading this blessed bishop, did not proceed against him as a bishop, but as only against a priest, as they termed him; for such as he was, these Balaamites accounted for no bishop.

HERE FOLLOWETH THE FORM AND MANNER USED IN THE DEGRADING OF BISHOP HOOPER.

The 4th day of February, the year above mentioned, in the chapel in Newgate, the bishop of London there sitting with his notary and certain other witnesses, came Alexander Andrew the gaoler, bringing with him master Hooper and master Rogers, being condemned before by the chancellor; where the said bishop of London, at the request of the foresaid Winchester, proceeded to the degradation of the parties above mentioned, master Hooper and master Rogers, after this form and manner: first, he put upon him all the vestures and ornaments belonging to a priest, with all other things to the same order appertaining, as though (being revested) they should solemnly execute their office. Thus they, being apparelled and invested, the bishop beginneth to pluck off, first the uttermost vesture; and so, by degree and order, coming down to the lowest vesture, which they had only in taking Benet and Collet; and so, being stript and deposed, he deprived them of all order, benefit, and privilege belonging to the clergy; and consequently, that being done, pronounced, decreed, and declared the said parties so degraded, to be given personally to the secular power, as the sheriffs being for that year, master Davy Woodroofe, and master William Chester; who, receiving first the said master Rogers at the hands of the bishop, had him away with them, bringing him to the place of execution where he suffered. The witnesses there present were master Harpsfield, archdeacon of London; Robert Cosin, and Robert Willerton, canons of Paul's; Thomas Mountague, and George How, clerks; Tristram Swadock, and Richard Cloney, the sumner, etc.

Alexander, the gaoler of Newgate, a cruel enemy to God's people.

Hooper and Rogers degraded.

Davy Woodrooffe and William Chester, sheriffs.

The same Monday at night, being the 4th of February, his keeper gave him an inkling that he should be sent to Gloucester to suffer death, whereat he rejoiced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and praising God that he saw it good to send him amongst the people over whom he was pastor, there to confirm with his death the truth which he had before taught them; not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform the same to his glory. And immediately he sent to his servant's house for his boots, spurs, and cloak, that he might be in a readiness to ride when he should be called.

Hooper glad that he should suffer amongst his own flock.

The next day following, about four o'clock in the morning before day, the keeper with others came to him and searched him, and the bed wherein he lay, to see if he had written any thing; and then he was led by the sheriffs of London, and other their officers, forth of Newgate to a place appointed, not far from St. Dunstan's church in Fleet-street, where six of the queen's guards were appointed to receive him, and to carry him to Gloucester, there to be delivered unto the sheriff, who, with the lord Chandos, master Wicks, and other commissioners, were appointed to see execution done. The which guard brought him to the Angel, where he brake his fast with them, eating his meat at that time more liberally than he had used to do a good while before. About the break of the day he went to horse, and leaped cheerfully on horseback without help, having a hood upon his head under his hat, that he should not be known. And so he took his journey joyfully towards Gloucester, and always by the way the guard learned of him, where he was accustomed to bait or lodge; and ever carried him to another inn.

Carried to Gloucester to be burned.

On the Thursday following, he came to a town in his diocese called Cirencester, fifteen miles from Gloucester, about eleven o'clock, and there dined at a woman's house who had always hated the truth, and spoken all evil she could of master Hooper. This woman, perceiving the cause of his coming, showed him all the friendship she could, and lamented his case with tears; confessing that she before had often reported, that if he were put to the trial, he would not stand to his doctrine.

A woman of Cirencester confirmed by the constancy of Hooper, which railed at him before.

After dinner he rode forwards, and came to Gloucester about five o'clock; and a mile without the town was much people assembled, which cried and lamented his estate, insomuch that one of the guard rode post into the town, to require aid of the mayor and sheriffs, fearing lest he should have been taken from them. The officers and their retinue repaired to the gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keep their houses, etc.; but there was no man that once gave any signification of any such rescue or violence. So was he lodged at one Ingram's house in Gloucester; and that night (as he had done all the way) he did eat his meat quietly, and slept his first sleep soundly, as it was reported by them of the guard, and others. After his first sleep he continued all that night in prayer until the morning; and then he desired that he might go into the next chamber (for the guard were also in the chamber where he lay), that there, being solitary, he might pray and talk with God: so that all the day, saving a little at meat, and when he talked at any time with such as the guard licensed to speak with him, he bestowed in prayer.

Hooper cometh to Gloucester.

The quiet mind of Hooper in his troubles.

Amongst others that spake with him, sir Anthony Kingston, knight, was one; who, seeming in time past his very friend, was then appointed by the queen's letters to be one of the commissioners, to see execution done upon him. Master Kingston, being brought into the chamber, found him at his prayer: and as soon as he saw master Hooper, he burst forth in tears. Master Hooper at the first blush knew him not. Then said master Kingston, "Why, my lord, do you not know me an old friend of yours, Anthony Kingston?"

Sir Anthony Kingston cometh to Hooper.

Hooper:—"Yes, master Kingston, I do now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do praise God for the same."

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Kingston:—"But I am sorry to see you in this case; for as I understand you be come hither to die. But, alas, consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore, seeing life may be had, desire to live; for life hereafter may do good."

Hooper:—"Indeed it is true, master Kingston, I am come hither to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not gainsay the former truth that I have heretofore taught amongst you in this diocese, and elsewhere; and I thank you for your friendly counsel, although it be not so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is, master Kingston, that death is bitter, and life is sweet: but, alas, consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet. Therefore, for the desire and love I have to the one, and the terror and fear of the other; I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life, but have settled myself, through the strength of God's holy Spirit, patiently to pass through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the truth of his word; desiring you, and others, in the mean time, to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers."

Life compared with life, and death with death.

Kingston:—"Well, my lord, then I perceive there is no remedy, and therefore I will take my leave of you: and I thank God that ever I knew you; for God did appoint you to call me, being a lost child: and by your good instructions, whereas before I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, God hath brought me to the forsaking and detesting of the same."

Sir Anthony Kingston converted by Hooper.

Hooper:—"If you have had the grace so to do, I do highly praise God for it: and if you have not, I pray God ye may have; and that you may continually live in his fear."

After these, and many other words, the one took leave of the other; master Kingston with bitter tears, master Hooper with tears also trickling down his cheeks. At which departure master Hooper told him that all the troubles he had sustained in prison, had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

A blind boy cometh to Hooper.

The same day in the afternoon, a blind boy, after long intercession made to the guard, obtained license to be brought unto master Hooper's speech. The same boy not long afore had suffered imprisonment at Gloucester for confessing of the truth. Master Hooper, after he had examined him of his faith, and the cause of his imprisonment, beheld him steadfastly, and (the water appearing in his eyes) said unto him, "Ah, poor boy! God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what reason he best knoweth: but he hath given thee another sight much more precious, for he hath endued thy soul with the eye of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto him, that thou lose not that sight; for then shouldest thou be blind both in body and soul!"

God's grace upon a blind boy at Gloucester.

After that another came to him, whom he knew to be a very papist and a wicked man, who appeared to be sorry for master Hooper's trouble, saying, "Sir, I am sorry to see you thus." "To see me? Why," said he, "art thou sorry?" "To see you," saith the other, "in this case. For I hear say, you are come hither to die, for the which I am sorry." "Be sorry for thyself, man," said master Hooper, "and lament thine own wickedness; for I am well, I thank God, and death to me for Christ's sake is welcome."

Mary.

A. D. 1555.

The same night he was committed by the guard, their commission being then expired, unto the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester. The name of the one was Jenkins, the other Bond, who, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to master Hooper's lodging, and at the first meeting saluted him, and took him by the hand. Unto whom Hooper spake on this manner: "Master mayor, I give most hearty thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take me, a prisoner and a condemned man, by the hand; whereby to my rejoicing it is some deal apparent that your old love and friendship towards me is not altogether extinguished; and I trust also that all the things I have taught you in times past are not utterly forgotten, when I was here, by the godly king that dead is, appointed to be your bishop and pastor. For the which most true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresy, as many other men do, I am sent hither (as I am sure you know) by the queen's commandment to die; and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now, master sheriffs, I understand by these good men, and my very friends," (meaning the guard), "at whose hands I have found so much favour and gentleness, by the way hitherward, as a prisoner could reasonably require (for the which also I most heartily thank them), that I am committed to your custody, as unto them that must see me brought to-morrow to the place of execution. My request therefore to you shall be only, that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end; and in the meantime I will be as obedient unto you, as yourselves would wish. If you think I do amiss in any thing, hold up your finger, and I have done: for I am not come hither as one enforced or compelled to die (for it is well known, I might have had my life with worldly gain); but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than consent to the wicked papistical religion of the bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates in England, to God's high displeasure and dishonour; and I trust, by God's grace, to-morrow to die a faithful servant of God, and a true obedient subject to the queen."

Hooper committed to the sheriffs of Gloucester.

The words of Hooper to the mayor and the sheriffs.

Hooper's petition to the sheriffs.

These and such-like words in effect used master Hooper to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, whereat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding the two sheriffs went aside to consult, and were determined to have lodged him in the common gaol of the town, called Northgate, if the guard had not made earnest intercession for him; who declared at large, how quietly, mildly, and patiently, he had behaved himself in the way; adding thereto, that any child might keep him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common prison.

The guard speak for Hooper.

So it was determined, at length, he should still remain in Robert Ingram's house; and the sheriffs and the sergeants, and other officers, did appoint to watch with him that night themselves. His desire was, that he might go to bed that night betimes, saying, that he had many things to remember: and so he did at five of the clock, and slept one sleep soundly, and bestowed the rest of the night in prayer. After he got up in the morning, he desired that no man should be suffered to come into the chamber, that he might be solitary till the hour of execution.

He spendeth his last night in prayer.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Names of commissioners.

About eight o'clock came sir John Bridges, lord Chandos, with a great band of men, sir Anthony Kingston, sir Edmund Bridges, and other commissioners appointed to see execution done. At nine o'clock master Hooper was willed to prepare himself to be in a readiness, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his chamber by the sheriffs, who were accompanied with bills, glaves and weapons. When he saw the multitude of weapons, he spake to the sheriffs on this wise: "Master sheriffs," said he, "I am no traitor, neither needed you to have made such a business to bring me to the place where I must suffer: for if ye had willed me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all. Afterward, looking upon the multitude of people that were assembled, being by estimation to the number of seven thousand (for it was market-day, and many also came to see his behaviour towards death), he spake unto those that were about him, saying, "Alas, why be these people assembled and come together? Peradventure they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past; but, alas! speech is prohibited me. Notwithstanding, the cause of my death is well known unto them. When I was appointed here to be their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine; and that, out of the word of God: because I will not now account the same to be heresy and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me."

Hooper for preaching true doctrine put to death.

So he went forward, led between the two sheriffs (as it were a lamb to the place of slaughter) in a gown of his host's, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to stay himself withal: for the grief of the sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him somewhat to halt. All the way being straitly charged not to speak, he could not be perceived once to open his mouth, but beholding the people all the way, which mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eyes towards heaven, and look very cheerfully upon such as he knew: and he was never known, during the time of his being amongst them, to look with so cheerful and ruddy a countenance as he did at that present. When he came to the place appointed where he should die, smilingly he beheld the stake and preparation made for him, which was near unto the great elm-tree, over against the college of priests, where he was wont to preach. The place round about the houses, and the boughs of the tree were replenished with people; and in the chamber over the college-gate stood the priests of the college.

Forbidden to speak to the people.

His cheerful going to death.

Hooper brought to the place of martyrdom.

Then kneeled he down (forasmuch as he could not be suffered to speak unto the people) to prayer, and beckoned six or seven times unto one whom he knew well, to hear the said prayer, to make report thereof in time to come (pouring tears upon his shoulders and in his bosom), who gave attentive ears unto the same; the which prayer he made upon the whole creed, wherein he continued the space of half an hour. Now, after he was somewhat entered into his prayer, a box was brought and laid before him upon a stool, with his pardon (or at least-wise it was feigned to be his pardon) from the queen, if he would turn. At the sight whereof he cried, "If you love my soul, away with it! if you love my soul, away with it!" The box being taken away, the lord Chandos said, "Seeing there is no remedy, despatch him quickly." Master Hooper said, "Good my

Hooper refuseth the queen's pardon.

lord, I trust your lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers." *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Then said the lord Chandos to sir Edmund Bridges's son, which gave ear before to master Hooper's prayer at his request, "Edmund, take heed that he do nothing else but pray: if he do, tell me, and I shall quickly despatch him." Whiles this talk was, there stepped one or two uncalled, who heard him speak these words following:

Master Hooper's Prayer.

Lord (said he) I am hell, but thou art heaven; I am swill and a sink of sin, but thou art a gracious God and a merciful Redeemer. Have mercy therefore upon me, most miserable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine inestimable goodness. Thou that art ascended into heaven, receive me, hell, to be partaker of thy joys, where thou sittest in equal glory with thy Father. For well knowest thou, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do persecute this thy poor servant; not for my sins and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allow their wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did please thee, by thy Holy Spirit, to instruct me: the which, with as much diligence as a poor wretch might (being thereto called), I have set forth to thy glory. And well seest thou, my Lord and God, what terrible pains and cruel torments be prepared for thy creature: such, Lord, as without thy strength none is able to bear, or patiently to pass. But all things that are impossible with man, are possible with thee: therefore strengthen me of thy goodness, that in the fire I break not the rules of patience; or else assuage the terror of the pains, as shall seem most to thy glory.

As soon as the mayor had espied these men who made report of the former words, they were commanded away, and could not be suffered to hear any more. Prayer being done, he prepared himself to the stake, and put off his host's gown, and delivered it to the sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored unto the owner, and put off the rest of his gear, unto his doublet and hose, wherein he would have burned. But the sheriffs would not permit that, such was their greediness; unto whose pleasures, good man, he very obediently submitted himself; and his doublet, hose, and waistcoat were taken off. Then, being in his shirt, he took a point from his hose himself, and trussed his shirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity, delivered him by the guard. So, desiring the people to say the Lord's prayer with him, and to pray for him (who performed it with tears, during the time of his pains), he went up to the stake. Now when he was at the stake, three irons, made to bind him to the stake, were brought; one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legs. But he refusing them said, "Ye have no need thus to trouble yourselves; for I doubt not but God will give strength sufficient to abide the extremity of the fire, without bands: notwithstanding, suspecting the frailty and weakness of the flesh, but having assured confidence in God's strength, I am content ye do as ye shall think good." **Hooper undresseth himself to the fire.**

So the hoop of iron prepared for his middle was brought, which being made somewhat too short (for his belly was swollen by imprisonment), he shrank, and put in his belly with his hand, until it was fastened: and when they offered to have bound his neck and legs with the other two hoops of iron, he utterly refused them, and **Bound to the stake.**

Mary. A.D. 1555.

would have none, saying, "I am well assured I shall not trouble you."

The weeping of the people at his burning.

Thus being ready, he looked upon all the people, of whom he might be well seen (for he was both tall, and stood also on a high stool), and beheld round about him: and in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people. Then, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, he prayed to himself. By and by, he that was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and did ask him forgiveness. Of whom he asked why he should forgive him, saying, that he knew never any offence he had committed against him. "O sir!" said the man, "I am appointed to make the fire."

He forgiveth his executioner.

"Therein," said master Hooper, "thou dost nothing offend me; God forgive thee thy sins, and do thine office, I pray thee." Then the reeds were cast up, and he received two bundles of them in his own hands, embraced them, kissed them, and put under either arm one of them, and showed with his hand how the rest should be bestowed, and pointed to the place where any did lack.

Fire put to Hooper.

Anon commandment was given that the fire should be set to, and so it was. But because there were put to no fewer green faggots than two horses could carry upon their backs, it kindled not by and by, and was a pretty while also before it took the reeds upon the faggots. At length it burned about him, but the wind having full strength in that place (it was a lowering and cold morning), it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a manner no more but touched by the fire.

A new fire made.

Within a space after, a few dry faggots were brought, and a new fire kindled with faggots (for there were no more reeds), and that burned at the nether parts, but had small power above, because of the wind, saving that it did burn his hair, and scorch his skin a little. In the time of which fire, even as at the first flame, he prayed, saying mildly and not very loud (but as one without pains), "O Jesus, the Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul!" After the second was spent, he did wipe both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he said with an indifferent loud voice, "For God's love, good people, let me have more fire!" And all this while his nether parts did burn: for the faggots were so few, that the flame did not burn strongly at his upper parts.

He calleth for more fire.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme than the other two: and then the bladders of gunpowder brake, which did him small good, they were so placed, and the wind had such power. In the which fire he prayed with somewhat a loud voice, "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me; Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me: Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swollen, that he could not speak, yet his lips went till they were shrunk to the gums: and he knocked his breast with his hands, until one of his arms fell off, and then knocked still with the other, what time the fat, water, and blood, dropped out at his fingers' ends, until by renewing of the fire his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast, in knocking, to the iron upon his breast. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit.

His last words.

The blessed martyr long tormented in the fire.

THE BURNING OF MASTER HOOPER, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

Mary.
A.D. 1555.

In clarissimi Doctrina et Pietate Viri Johannis Hoperi Martyrium, Conradi Gesneri carmen.

Aureus Hoperus flammis invictus et igni,
Atque suum Christum confessus ad ultima vitæ
Momenta, integritate sua præclarus, et ardens
Exteriùs flammis, divinus martyr at intus
Eximio fidei fervore accensus, ad astra
Spiritus ascendit, cœlesti luce beatus.
In terris cineresque manent, et fama corusca,
Flammæ instar lucens, lucebit dum stabit orbis,
Utcunque immanes boreæ, magnæque procellæ
Flatibus adversis tam clarum abrumpere lumen
Nitantur frustra. Nam, quæ Deus ipse secundat,
Quis prohibere queat? mortalia facta sed ultro
Et commenta ruunt, vastaque voragine sidunt.
Hoperi exemplo, quotquot spiratis Jesu
Doctrinam Christi, discrimina temnere vitæ,
Durare, et vosmet rebus servare secundis
Discite. Namque dabit Deus his meliora; nec auris
Audiit ulla, oculus vel vidit, sed neque captus
Humanæ mentis potuit complectier unquam,
Qualia, quanta Deus servet sua bona beatis.

Thus was he three quarters of an hour or more in the fire. Even as a lamb, patiently he abode the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards, nor to any side: but, having his nether parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed. And he now reigneth as a blessed martyr, in the joys of heaven prepared for the faithful in Christ, before the foundations of the world: for whose constancy all Christians are bound to praise God.

The patient end of this holy martyr.

A Letter which Master Hooper did write out of Prison, to certain of his Friends.

The grace of God be with you. Amen. I did write unto you of late, and told you what extremity the parliament had concluded upon concerning religion, suppressing the truth, and setting forth the untruth; intending to cause all men by extremity to forswear themselves, and to take again, for the head of the church, him that is neither head nor member of it, but a very enemy, as the word of God and all ancient writers do record: and for lack of law and authority, they will use force and extremity, which have been the arguments to defend the pope and popery, since their authority first began in the world. But now is the time of trial, to see whether we fear more God or man. It was an easy thing to hold with Christ whilst the prince and world held with him: but now the world hateth him, it is the true trial, who be his.

The pope's religion standeth only by force and extremity.

Wherefore in the name, and in the virtue, strength, and power, of his holy Spirit, prepare yourselves in any case to adversity and constancy. Let us not run away when it is most time to fight. Remember none shall be crowned, but such as fight manfully; and he that endureth to the end shall be saved. Ye must now turn all your cogitations from the peril you see, and mark the felicity that followeth the peril; either victory in this world of your enemies, or else a surrender of this life to inherit the everlasting kingdom. Beware of beholding too much the felicity or misery of this world, for the consideration and too earnest love or fear of either of them, draweth from God.

Neither the felicity nor the misery of this world to be looked upon.

Wherefore think with yourselves as touching the felicity of the world, it is good: but yet none otherwise than it standeth with the favour of God. It is to be kept; but yet so far forth as by keeping of it we lose not God. It is good, abiding and tarrying still among our friends here: but yet so, that we tarry not

Mary. A. D. 1555.

therewithal in God's displeasure, and hereafter dwell with the devils in fire everlasting. There is nothing under God but may be kept; so that God, being above all things we have, be not lost.

Adversity compared with adversity.

Of adversity judge the same. Imprisonment is painful, but yet liberty upon evil conditions is more painful. The prisons stink; but yet not so much as sweet houses, where the fear and true honour of God lack. I must be alone and solitary: it is better so to be and have God with me, than to be in company with the wicked. Loss of goods is great: but loss of God's grace and favour is greater. I am a poor simple creature, and cannot tell how to answer before such a great sort of noble, learned, and wise men: it is better to make answer before the pomp and pride of wicked men, than to stand naked in the sight of all heaven and earth before the just God at the latter day. I shall die then by the hands of the cruel man: he is blessed that loseth this life full of miseries, and findeth the life of eternal joys. It is pain and grief to depart from goods and friends: but yet not so much, as to depart from grace and heaven itself. Wherefore there is neither felicity nor adversity of this world, that can appear to be great, if it be weighed with the joys or pains in the world to come.

Antithesis between joys and pains in this world and in the world to come.

I can do no more, but pray for you: do the same for me, for God's sake. For my part, I thank the heavenly Father, I have made mine accounts, and appointed myself unto the will of the heavenly Father: as he will, so I will, by his grace. For God's sake, as soon as ye can, send my poor wife and children some letter from you, and my letter also which I sent of late to D***. As it was told me she never had letter from me since the coming of M*** S*** unto her; the more blame to the messengers, for I have written divers times. The Lord comfort them, and provide for them; for I am able to do nothing in worldly things. She is a godly and wise woman. If my meaning had been accomplished, she should have had necessary things: but what I meant, God can perform, to whom I commend both her, and you all. I am a precious jewel now, and daintily kept; never so daintily: for neither mine own man, nor any of the servants of the house, may come to me, but my keeper alone, a simple rude man, God knoweth; but I am nothing careful thereof. Fare you well.

Hooper's care and commendation of his wife.

The 21st of January, 1555.

Your bounden, John Hooper.

Amongst many other memorable acts and notes worthy to be remembered in the history of master Hooper, this also is not to be forgotten which happened between him and a bragging friar, a little after the beginning of his imprisonment: the story whereof here followeth.

Talk between Hooper and a friar in the prison. If the material body of Christ be broken in the sacrament, then is the commandment of God's word broken.

A friar came from France to England with great vaunt, asking who was the greatest heretic in England: thinking belike to do some great act upon him. To whom answer was made, that master Hooper had then the greatest name to be the chiefest ringleader, who was then in the Fleet. The friar coming to him, asked why he was committed to prison. He said, for debt. Nay, said he, it was for heresy: which, when the other had denied, "What sayest thou," quoth he, "to 'Hoc est corpus meum?'" Master Hooper, being partly moved at the sudden question, desired that he might ask of him another question, which was this: What remained after the consecration in the sacrament—any bread, or no? "No bread at all," saith he. "And when ye break it, what do you break; whether bread or the body?" said master Hooper. "No bread," said the friar, "but the body only." "If ye do so," said master Hooper, "ye do great injury, not only to the body of Christ, but also ye break the Scriptures, which say, 'Ye shall not break of him one bone,'" etc. With that the friar, having nothing belike to answer, suddenly recoiled back, and with his circles and his crosses began to use exorcism against master Hooper, as though, etc.

This and more wrote master Hooper to mistress Wilkinson, in a letter, which letter was read unto her by John Kelke.[1]

(1) "John Kelke who is yet alive." See Edition 1570.—Ed.

COMPARISON BETWEEN HOOPER AND POLYCARP.

When I see and behold the great patience of these blessed martyrs in our days in their sufferings, so quietly and constantly abiding the torments that are ministered unto them of princes for God's cause; methinks I may well and worthily compare them unto the old martyrs of the primitive church: in the number of whom, if comparison be to be made between saint and saint, martyr and martyr, with whom might I better match this blessed martyr John Hooper, through the whole catalogue of the old martyrs, than with Polycarp the ancient bishop of Smyrna, of whom Eusebius[1] maketh mention in the ecclesiastical story? For as both agreed together in one kind of punishment, being both put to the fire, so which of them showed more patience and constancy in the time of their suffering, it is hard to be said. And though Polycarp, being set in the flame (as the story saith), was kept by miracle from the torment of the fire, till he was stricken down with weapon, and so despatched: yet Hooper, by no less miracle, armed with patience and fervent spirit of God's comfort, so quietly despised the violence thereof, as though he had felt little more than did Polycarp, in the fire flaming round about him.

Moreover, as it is written of Polycarp, when he should have been tied to the stake, he required to stand untied, saying these words:[2] "Let me alone I pray you; for he that gave me strength to come to this fire, will also give me patience to abide in the same without your tying." So likewise Hooper, with the like spirit, when he should have been tied with three chains to the stake, requiring them to have no such mistrust of him, was tied but with one; who, if he had not been tied at all, yet, no doubt, would have no less answered to that great patience of Polycarp.

Hooper compared to Polycarp in life.

And as the end of them was both much agreeing, so the life of them both was such, as might seem not far discrepant. In teaching, alike diligent both; in zeal fervent, in life unspotted, in manners and conversation inculpable: bishops and also martyrs both. Briefly, in teaching so pithy and fruitful, that as they both were joined together in one spirit, so might they be joined in one name together—Πολύκαρπος; to wit, much fruitful; to which name also ὄπωρος is not much unlike. In this the martyrdom of master Hooper may seem in suffering to go before, though in time it followed the martyrdom of Polycarp, for that he was both longer in prison, and there also so cruelly handled by the malice of his keepers, as I think none of the old martyrs ever suffered the like. To this also add, how he was degraded by Bonner with such contumelies and reproaches, as I think, in Polycarp's time, was not used to any.

The cruel handling of Hooper.

The enemies of Hooper and of Polycarp compared together.

And as we have hitherto compared these two good martyrs together, so now if we should compare the enemies and authors of their death one with the other, we should find no inequality betwixt them both, but that the adversaries of master Hooper seemed to be more cruel and unmerciful. For they that put Polycarp to death, yet ministered to

(1) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 15. Of the Polycarp read before, [vol. i.—Ed.]
(2) "Sinite me; qui namque ignem ferre posse dedit, dabit etiam ut sine vestra clavorum cautione immotus in rogo permaneam."

Mary. A. D. 1555.

him a quick despatch, moved belike by some compassion not to have him stand in the torment; whereas the tormentors of master Hooper suffered him, without all compassion, to stand three quarters of an hour in the fire. And as touching the chief doers and authors of his martyrdom, what consul or proconsul was there to be conferred with the chancellor here, which brought this martyr to his burning? Let this suffice.

Books and treatises written by Hooper.

This good bishop and servant of God, being in prison, wrote divers books and treatises, to the number of twenty-four, whereof some he wrote to the parliament in Latin, and one to the bishop of Chichester, Dr. Day: besides he wrote of the sacraments, of the Lord's prayer, and of the ten commandments, with divers others.[1]

HERE FOLLOW CERTAIN OF MASTER HOOPER'S LETTERS.

As you have heard the whole story of the life and martyrdom of this good man declared; so now let us consequently adjoin some part of his letters, written in the time of his imprisonment, most fruitful and worthy to be read, especially in these dangerous days, of all true Christians, who, by true mortification, seek to serve and follow the Lord through all tempests and storms of this malignant world, as by the reading and perusing of the said letters, you shall better feel and understand.[2]

A Letter of Master Hooper to certain godly Professors and Lovers of the Truth, instructing them how to behave themselves in that woeful Alteration and Change of Religion.

The grace, mercy, and peace of God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, my dear brethren, and with all those that unfeignedly love and embrace his holy gospel. Amen.

It is told me, that the wicked idol, the mass, is established again by law, and passed in the parliament-house. Learn the truth of it, I pray you, and what penalty is appointed in the act to such as speak against it; also whether there be any compulsion to constrain men to be at it. The statute thoroughly known, such as be abroad and at liberty may provide for themselves, and avoid the danger the better. Doubtless there hath not been seen, before our time, such a parliament as this is, that as many as were suspected to be favourers of God's word, should be banished out of both houses. But we must give God thanks for that truth he hath opened in the time of his blessed servant king Edward the Sixth, and pray unto him that we deny it not, nor dishonour it with idolatry; but that we may have strength and patience rather to die ten times than to deny him once. Blessed shall we be, if ever God make us worthy of that honour to shed our blood for his name's sake; and blessed then shall we think the parents which brought us into the world, that we should, from this mortality, be carried into immortality. If we follow the commandment of St. Paul, that saith, "If ye then be risen again with Christ, seek those things which are

The favourers of God's word secluded out of the parliament, against all right and reason.

(1) In the Latin Edition of the Acts and Monuments (Basil. 1559) some of the writings here referred to are extant; they are introduced by a short exhortation to the christian reader, by John Foxe, at p. 298. Then follows "Joannis Hoperi Appellatio ad Parlamentum: ex carcere. Anno 1554, Mens. August 27." At p. 306 is a letter, "Episcopis, Decanis, Archidiaconis, et cæteris cleri ordinibus in Synodo Londinensi congregatis," etc. At p. 309, follows "Joannis Hoperi de sacratissimæ cœnæ Domini verâ doctrinâ, et legitimo usu, contra Neotericos; ad excelsam Parlamenti curiam Anglicanam, illustre cum primis ac divinum monumentum, e carcere conscriptum." This treatise contains a preface and three chapters, and occupies from p. 309 to 392, of the Latin Edition of Foxe's Ecclesiastical History; nor does it appear that it ever was reprinted. This is followed, at p. 392, by a hortatory letter of John Foxe, "Ad Neotericos;" then follows, "Contra Transubstantiationem rationes deductæ ex Joanne Hopero, atque in certas leges et modos artis Dialecticæ digestæ ac comprehensæ; per J. F."—Ed.

(2) More of his letters ye shall read in the book of "Letters of the Martyrs."

above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God;"[1] we shall neither depart from the vain transitory goods of this world, nor from this wretched and mortal life, with so great pains as others do.

Let us pray to our heavenly Father, that we may know and love his blessed will, and the glorious joy prepared for us in time to come; and that we may know and hate all things contrary to his blessed will, and also the pain prepared for the wicked in the world to come. There is no better way to be used in this troublesome time for your consolation, than many times to have assemblies together of such men and women as be of your religion in Christ; and there to talk and renew amongst yourselves the truth of your religion, to see what ye be by the word of God, and to remember what ye were before ye came to the knowledge thereof; to weigh and confer the dreams and false lies of the preachers that now preach, with the word of God that retaineth all truth: and by such talk and familiar resorting together, ye shall the better find out all their lies that now go about to deceive you, and also both know and love the truth that God hath opened to us. It is much requisite, that the members of Christ comfort one another, make prayers together, confer one with another: so shall ye be the stronger, and God's Spirit shall not be absent from you, but in the midst of you, to teach you, to comfort you, to make you wise in all godly things, patient in adversity, and strong in persecution.

He exhorteth the brethren to resort and confer among themselves together

Conference among brethren comfortable.

Ye see how the congregation of the wicked, by helping one another, make their wicked religion and themselves strong against God's truth and his people. If ye may have some learned man, that can, out of the Scriptures, speak unto you of faith, and true honouring of God; also that can show you the descent of Christ's church from the beginning of it until this day, that ye may perceive, by the life of our forefathers, these two things; the one, that Christ's words, which said that all his must suffer persecution and trouble in the world, be true; the other, that none of all his, before our time, escaped trouble—then shall ye perceive, that it is but a folly for one that professeth Christ truly, to look for the love of the world.

Thus shall ye learn to bear trouble, and to exercise your religion, and feel indeed that Christ's words be true, "In the world, ye shall suffer persecution."[2] And when ye shall feel your religion indeed, say, "Ye be no better than your forefathers;" but be glad, that ye may be counted worthy soldiers for this war. And pray God when ye come together, that he will use and order you and your doings to these three ends, which ye must take heed to: the first, that ye glorify God; the next, that ye edify the church and congregation; the third, that ye profit your own souls.

Three things to be taken heed to.

In all your doings beware ye be not deceived. For although this time be not yet so bloody and tyrannous as the time of our forefathers, that could not bear the name of Christ without danger of life and goods; yet is our time more perilous both for body and soul. Therefore of us Christ said, "Think ye, when the Son of man cometh, he shall find faith upon the earth?"[3] He said not, Think ye, he shall find any man or woman christened, and in name a Christian? But he spake of the faith that saveth the christian man in Christ. And doubtless the scarcity of faith is now more (and will, I fear, increase) than it was in the time of the greatest tyrants that ever were; and no marvel why. Read the sixth chapter of St. John's Revelation, and ye shall perceive, amongst other things, that at the opening of the fourth seal came out a pale horse, "and he that sat upon him was called Death, and hell followed him." This horse, is the time wherein hypocrites and dissemblers entered into the church under the pretence of true religion, as monks, friars, nuns, massing-priests, with such others, that hath killed more souls with heresy and superstition, than all the tyrants that ever were, who killed bodies by fire, sword, or banishment, as it appeareth by his name that sitteth upon the horse, who is called Death: for all souls that leave Christ, and trust to these hypocrites, live to the devil in everlasting pain, as is declared by him that followeth the pale horse which is hell.

Faith more scarce now than in the old time under tyrants.

The pale horse in the Apocalypse.

More souls slain by monks and friars, than bodies by tyrants.

These pretensed and pale hypocrites have stirred the earthquakes, that is to wit, the princes of the world, against Christ's church; and have also darkened the sun, and made the moon bloody, and have caused the stars to fall from heaven: that is to say, have darkened with mists, and daily do darken (as ye hear by their sermons), the clear sun of God's most pure word. The moon,

The sixth chapter of the Apocalypse opened.

(1) Colos. iii. (2) John x. (3) Luke xviii.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

which be God's true preachers, which fetch only light at the sun of God's word, are turned into blood, prisons, and chains, that their light cannot shine unto the world as they would: whereupon it cometh to pass, that the stars, that is to say, christian people, fall from heaven, that is to wit, from God's most true word to hypocrisy, most devilish superstition, and idolatry. Let some learned man show you all the articles of your belief and monument of christian faith, from the time of Christ hitherto, and ye shall perceive that there was never mention of such articles as these hypocrites teach. God bless you, and pray for me as I do for you.

Out of the Fleet, by your brother in Christ,

John Hooper.

To Master Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, Dr. Taylor, Master Bradford, and Master Philpot, Prisoners in the King's Bench in Southwark.

The grace of God be with you, Amen. I am advertised by divers, as well such as love the truth, as also by such as yet be not come unto it, that ye and I shall be carried shortly to Cambridge, there to dispute for the faith, and for the religion of Christ (which is most true) that we have and do profess. I am (as I doubt not ye be) in Christ ready, not only to go to Cambridge, but also to suffer, by God's help, death itself in the maintenance thereof. Weston and his complices have obtained forth the commission already; and speedily, most like, he will put it in execution. Wherefore, dear brethren, I do advertise you of the thing before, for divers causes. The one to comfort you in the Lord, that the time draweth near and is at hand, that we shall testify before God's enemies God's truth: the next, that ye should prepare yourselves the better for it: the third, to show you what ways I think ourselves were best to use in this matter, and also to hear of you your better advice, if mine be not good. Ye know such as shall be censors and judges over us breathe and thirst for our blood; and whether we, by God's help, overcome after the word of God, or by force and subtlety of our adversaries be overcome, this will be the conclusion: our adversaries will say, they overcome; and ye perceive how they report of those great learned men and godly personages at Oxford.

Commission given out for Hooper and other to dispute at Cambridge.

Wherefore I mind never to answer them, except I have books present, because they use not only false allegation of the doctors, but also a piece of the doctors against the whole course of the doctors' mind. The next, that we may have sworn notaries, to take things spoken indifferently: which will be very hard to have, for the adversaries will have the oversight of all things, and then make theirs better than it was; and ours worse than it was. Then, if we see that two or three, or more, will speak together, or with scoffs and taunts illude and mock us; I suppose it were best to appeal, to be heard before the queen and the whole council, and that would much set forth the glory of God. For many of them know already the truth, many of them err rather of zeal than malice, and the others that be indurate should be answered fully to their shame, I doubt not; although to our smart and blood-shedding. For of this I am assured, that the commissioners appointed to hear us and judge us, mean nothing less than to hear the cause indifferently; for they be enemies unto us and our cause, and be at a point already to give sentence against us: so that if it were possible, with St. Stephen, to speak so that they could not resist us, or to use such silence and patience as Christ did, they will proceed to revenging.

The counsel of Hooper, how and upon what cautions to dispute with the adversaries.

Wherefore, my dear brethren in the mercy of Jesus Christ, I would be glad to know your advice this day or to-morrow; for shortly we shall begone, and I verily suppose that we shall not company together, but be kept one abroad from another. They will deny our appeal, yet let us challenge the appeal, and take witness thereof, of such as be present, and require for indifferency of hearing and judgment, to be heard either before the queen and the council, or else before all the parliament, as they were used in king Edward's days. Further, for my part I will require both books and time to answer. We have been prisoners now three quarters of a year, and have lacked our books; and our memories, by close keeping and ingratitude of their parts, be not so present and quick as theirs be. I trust God will be with us, yea, I doubt not but he will, and teach us to do all things in his cause godly and constantly. If our adver-

saries, that shall be our judges, may have their purpose, we shall dispute one day, be condemned the next day, and suffer the third day. And yet is there no law to condemn us (as far as I know), and so one of the Convocation-house said this week to Dr. Weston. To whom Weston made this answer, "It forceth not," quoth he, "for a law: we have commission to proceed with them. When they be despatched, let their friends sue the law."

Mary. A.D. 1555.

The papists proceed against all order and law.

Now, how soon a man may have such a commission at my lord chancellor's hand, you know. It is as hard to be obtained as an indictment for Christ at Caiaphas's hand. Besides that the bishops, having the queen so upon their sides, may do all things both without the advice, and also the knowledge of the rest of the lords of the temporality; who, at this present, have found out the mark that the bishop shot at, and doubtless be not pleased with their doings. I pray you help, that our brother Saunders, and the rest in the Marshalsea, may understand these things, and send me your answer betime. "Judas sleepeth not; neither know we the day nor the hour."[1] "The Lord Jesus Christ with his holy Spirit, comfort and strengthen us all. Amen."[2]

May 6, anno 1554.

Yours, and with you unto death, in Christ,

John Hooper.

An Exhortation to Patience, sent to his godly Wife Anne Hooper; whereby all the true Members of Christ may take Comfort and Courage to suffer Trouble and Affliction for the Profession of his holy Gospel.

Our Saviour Jesus Christ—dearly beloved, and my godly wife—in St. Matthew's gospel said to his disciples, "That it was necessary scandals should come:"[3] and that they could not be avoided, he perceived as well by the condition of those that should perish and be lost for ever in the world to come, as also by their affliction that should be saved. For he saw the greatest part of the people should contemn and neglect whatsoever true doctrine or godly ways should be showed unto them, or else receive and use it as they thought good to serve their pleasures, without any profit to their souls at all, not caring whether they lived as they were commanded by God's word or not; but would think it sufficient to be counted to have the name of a christian man, with such works and fruits of his profession and Christianity, as his fathers and elders, after their custom and manner, esteem and take to be good fruits and faithful works; and will not try them by the word of God at all. These men, by the just judgment of God, be delivered unto the craft and subtilty of the devil,[4] that they may be kept by one scandalous stumbling-block or other, that they never come unto Christ, who came to save those that were lost; as ye may see how God delivereth wicked men up unto their own lusts,[5] to do one mischief after another; careless, until they come into a reprobate mind, that forgetteth itself, and cannot know what is expedient to be done, or to be left undone; because they close their eyes, and will not see the light of God's word offered unto them: and being thus blinded, they prefer their own vanities before the truth of God's word. Where such corrupt minds be, there is also corrupt election and choice of God's honour: so that the mind of man taketh falsehood for truth, superstition for true religion, death for life, damnation for salvation, hell for heaven, and persecution of Christ's members for God's service and honour. And as these men wilfully and voluntarily reject the word of God, even so God most justly delivereth them into the blindness of mind and hardness of heart, that they cannot understand, nor yet consent to, any thing that God would have preached, and set forth to his glory, after his own will and word: wherefore they hate it mortally, and of all things most detest God's holy word. And as the devil hath entered into their hearts,[6] that they themselves cannot nor will not come to Christ, to be instructed by his holy word: even so can they not abide any other man, to be a christian man, and to lead his life after the word of God; but hate him, persecute him, rob him, imprison him, yea, and kill him, whether it be man or woman, if God suffer it. And so much are these wicked men blinded, that they

Error taken for truth, and persecution for God's service.

(1) "Judas non dormit; nec scimus diem neque horam."
(2) "Dominus Jesus Christus suo sancto numine nos omnes consoletur et adjuvet. Amen."
(3) Matt. xviii. (4) Matt. xxiv. (5) Rom. i. 24. 1 Thes. ii. (6) John viii. 9.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

pass off no law, whether it be God's or man's, but persecute such as never offended; yea, do evil to those that have prayed daily for them, and wish them God's grace.

No respect of nature with the persecuting adversaries.

In their Pharaonical and blind fury they have no respect to nature. For the brother persecuteth the brother, the father the son; and most dear friends, in devilish slander and offence, are become most mortal enemies. And no marvel; for when they have chosen sundry masters, the one the devil, the other God, the one shall agree with the other, as God and the devil agree between themselves. For this cause (that the more part of the world doth use to serve the devil under cloaked hypocrisy of God's title) Christ said, "It is expedient and necessary, that scandals should come;"[1] and many means be devised to keep the little babes of Christ from the heavenly Father: but Christ saith, "Woe be unto him, by whom the offence cometh." Yet is there no remedy, man being of such corruption and hatred towards God, but that the evil shall be deceived, and persecute the good; and the good shall understand the truth, and suffer persecution for it, unto the world's end: "For as he that was born after the flesh, persecuted in times past him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now."[2] Therefore, forsomuch as we live in this life amongst so many great perils and dangers, we must be well assured by God's word how to bear them, and how patiently to take them as they be sent to us from God. We must also assure ourselves, that there is no other remedy for Christians in the time of trouble, than Christ himself hath appointed us. In St. Luke he giveth us this commandment: "Ye shall possess your lives in patience,"[3] saith he. In the which words he giveth us both commandment what to do, and also great comfort and consolation in all troubles. He showeth what is to be done, and what is to be hoped for, in troubles. And, when troubles happen, he biddeth us be patient, and in no case violently nor seditiously to resist our persecutors:[4] because God hath such care and charge of us, that he will keep in the midst of all troubles the very hairs of our head, so that one of them shall not fall away without the will and pleasure of our heavenly Father. Whether the hair, therefore, tarry on the head, or fall from the head, it is the will of the Father. And seeing he hath such care for the hairs of our head, how much more doth he care for our life itself? Wherefore let God's adversaries do what they list, whether they take life or take it not, they can do us no hurt: for their cruelty hath no further power than God permitteth them; and that which cometh unto us by the will of our heavenly Father can be no harm, no loss, neither destruction unto us; but rather gain, wealth, and felicity. For all troubles and adversity that chance to such as be of God, by the will of the heavenly Father, can be none other but gain and advantage.

Patience in troubles, the christian man's only remedy.

Prayer necessary.

That the spirit of man may feel these consolations, the giver of them the heavenly Father must be prayed unto for the merits of Christ's passion: for it is not the nature of man that can be contented, until it be regenerated and possessed with God's Spirit, to bear patiently the troubles of the mind or of the body.[5] When the mind and heart of a man seeth on every side sorrow and heaviness, and the worldly eye beholdeth nothing but such things as be troublous and wholly bent to rob the poor of that he hath, and also to take from him his life: except the man weigh these brittle and uncertain treasures that be taken from him, with the riches of the life to come; and this life of the body, with the life in Christ's precious blood; and so, for the love and certainty of the heavenly joys, contemn all things present—doubtless he shall never be able to bear the loss of goods, life, or any other thing of this world.

A lesson how to bear trouble.

Therefore St. Paul giveth a godly and necessary lesson to all men in this short and transitory life, and therein showeth how a man may best bear the iniquities and troubles of this world: "If ye be risen again with Christ," saith he, "seek the things which are above; where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father."[6] Wherefore, the christian man's faith must be always upon the resurrection of Christ, when he is in trouble; and in that glorious resurrection he shall not only see continual and perpetual joy and consolation, but also the victory and triumph over all persecution, trouble, sin, death, hell, the devil, and all other tyrants and persecutors of Christ and of Christ's people; the tears and weeping of the faithful dried up; their wounds healed; their

(1) Matt. xviii. (2) Gen. xxi. Gal. iv. (3) Luke xxi.
(4) Rom. viii. (5) James i. 1 Cor. viii. 1. (6) Coloss. iii.

bodies made immortal in joy; their souls for ever praising the Lord, in conjunction and society everlasting with the blessed company of God's elect, in perpetual joy. But the words of St. Paul in that place, if they be not marked, shall do little profit to the reader or hearer, and give him no patience at all in this impatient and cruel world.

Two things commanded by Paul, writing to the Colossians.

In this first part St. Paul commandeth us, "to think or set our affections on things that are above." When he biddeth us seek the things that are above, he requireth that our minds never cease from prayer and study in God's word, until we see, know, and understand, the vanities of this world; the shortness and misery of this life, and the treasures of the world to come; the immortality thereof, the joys of that life; and so never cease seeking, until such time as we know certainly and be persuaded, what a blessed man he is, that seeketh the one and findeth it, and careth not for the other though he lose it. And in seeking, to have right judgment between the life present and the life to come, we shall find how little the pains, imprisonment, slanders, lies, and death itself is, in this world, in respect of pains everlasting, the prison infernal, and dungeon of hell, the sentence of God's just judgment, and everlasting death.

When a man hath, by seeking the word of God, found out what the things above be, then must he (as St. Paul saith) set his affections upon them. And this commandment is more hard than the other. For man's knowledge many times seeth the best, and knoweth that there is a life to come, better than this life present; as you may see how, daily, men and women can praise and commend, yea and wish for, heaven, and to be at rest there, yet they set not their affection upon it: they do more affect and love indeed a trifle of nothing in this world that pleaseth their affection, than the treasure of all treasures in heaven, which their own judgment saith is better than all worldly things. "Wherefore we must set our affections upon the things that be above; that is to say, when any thing, worse than heaven, upon the earth, offereth itself to be ours, if we will give our good wills to it, and love it in our hearts, then ought we to see, by the judgment of God's word, whether we may have the world without offence of God, and such things as be for this worldly life without his displeasure. If we cannot, St. Paul's commandment must take place, "Set your affections on things that are above." If the riches of this world may not be gotten nor kept by God's law, neither our lives be continued without the denial of his honour, we must set our affection upon the riches and life that is above, and not upon things that be on the earth. Therefore this second commandment of St. Paul requireth, that as our minds judge heavenly things to be better than things upon the earth, and the life to come better than the life present: so we should choose them before other, and prefer them, and have such affection to the best, that in no case we set the worst before it, as the most part of the world doth and hath done; for they choose the best and approve it, and yet follow the worst.

How things of this world may be possessed, and how not.

Scriptures would be mused upon, rather than talked upon.

But these things, my godly wife, require rather cogitation, meditation, and prayer; than words or talk. They be easy to be spoken of, but not so easy to be used and practised. Wherefore, seeing they be God's gifts, and none of ours, to have as our own when we would, we must seek them at our heavenly Father's hand, who seeth, and is privy how poor and wretched we be, and how naked, how spoiled and destitute of all his blessed gifts we be, by reason of sin. He did command therefore his disciples,[1] when he showed them that they should take patiently the state of this present life, full of troubles and persecution, to pray that they might well escape those troubles that were to come, and be able to stand before the Son of man. When you find yourself too much oppressed (as every man shall be sometimes with the fear of God's judgment), use the seventy-seventh Psalm that beginneth, "I will cry unto God with my voice, and he shall hearken unto me:" in which Psalm is both godly doctrine and great consolation unto the man or woman that is in anguish of mind.

Use also in such trouble the eighty-eighth Psalm, wherein is contained the prayer of a man that was brought into extreme anguish and misery, and being vexed with adversaries and persecutions, saw nothing but death and hell. And although he felt in himself, that he had not only man, but also God angry towards him, yet he by prayer, humbly resorted unto God, as the only port of consolation, and, in the midst of his desperate state of trouble, put the hope of his salvation in him, whom he felt his enemy. Howbeit no man of himself can

(1) Matt. xxiv. Luke xxi.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

do this; but the Spirit of God, that striketh the man's heart with fear—prayeth for the man stricken and feared,[1] with unspeakable groanings. And when you feel yourself, or know any other, oppressed after such sort, be glad; for, after that God hath made you to know what you be of yourself, he will doubtless show you comfort, and declare unto you what you be in Christ his only Son; and use prayer often, for that is the means whereby God will be sought unto for his gifts. These Psalms be for the purpose, when the mind can take no understanding, nor the heart any joy, of God's promises: and therefore were the sixth, twenty-second, thirtieth, thirty-first, thirty-eighth, and sixty-ninth Psalms also made, from the which you shall learn both patience and consolation.[2] Remember, that although your life (as all Christian men's be) be hid, and appeareth not what it is, yet it is safe (as St. Paul saith) with God in Christ: and when Christ shall appear, then shall our lives be made open with him in glory. But, in the mean time, with seeking and setting our affections upon the things that be above, we must patiently suffer whatsoever God shall send unto us in this mortal life. Notwithstanding, it might fortune that some would say, "Who is so perfect, that can let all things pass as they come, and have no care of them; suffer all things, and feel nothing; be tempted of the devil, the world, and the flesh, and be not troubled?" Verily no man living. But this I say, that, in the strength of Jesus Christ things that come may pass with care, for we be worldly; and yet are we not carried with them from Christ, for we be in him godly. We may suffer things, and feel them as mortal men, yet bear them and overcome them as christian men. We may be tempted of the devil, the flesh, and the world; but yet, although those things pinch, they do not pierce, and, although they work sin in us, yet in Christ no damnation to those that be grafted in him. Hereof may the christian man learn both consolation and patience:[3] consolation, in that he is compelled both in his body and goods to feel pain and loss; and in the soul heaviness and anguish of mind: howbeit none of them both shall separate him from the love that God beareth him in Christ. He may learn patience, forasmuch as his enemies both of body and soul, and the pains also they vex us withal for the time, if they tarry with us as long as we live, yet, when death cometh, they shall avoid, and give place to such joys as be prepared for us in Christ: for no pains of the world be perpetual, and whether they shall afflict us for all the time of our mortal life, we know not; for they be servants of God to go and come, as he commandeth them. But we must take heed we meddle not forcibly nor seditiously to put away the persecution appointed unto us by God. Remember Christ's saying, "Possess you your lives by your patience."[4] And in this commandment God requireth of every man and woman this patient obedience. He saith not, it is sufficient that other holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, and martyrs, continued their lives in patience, and patient suffering the trouble of this world; but Christ saith to every one of his people, "By your own patience, ye shall continue your life:" not that man hath patience in himself, but that he must have it for himself of God, the only giver of it, if he purpose to be a godly man. Now, therefore, as our profession and religion requireth patience outwardly, without resistance and force; so requireth it patience of the mind, and not to be angry with God, although he use us, that be his own creatures, as him listeth.

What Psalms are to be used in distress and tribulation.

Note this well to thy comfort that art afflicted.

Consolation.

Patience.

Afflictions be the messengers and servants of God.

Patience the gift of God only.

We may not also murmur against God, but say always, his judgments be right and just—and rejoice that it pleaseth him by troubles to use us, as he used heretofore such as he most loved in this world; and have a singular care to this commandment, "Gaudete et exultate," "Be glad and rejoice;" for he showeth great cause why: "Your reward," saith he, "is great in heaven."[5] These promises of him that is the truth itself shall, by God's grace, work both consolation and patience in the afflicted christian person. And when our Saviour Christ hath willed men in trouble to be content and patient, because God, in the end of trouble, in Christ hath ordained eternal consolation; he useth also to take from us all shame and rebuke, as though it were not an honour to suffer for Christ, because the wicked world doth curse and abhor such poor troubled Christians. Wherefore Christ placeth all his honourably, and saith, "Even so persecuted they the prophets that were before you."[6] We may also see with whom the afflicted for Christ's sake be esteemed, by St. Paul to the Hebrews,[7]

To suffer for Christ is honourable.

(1) Rom. viii. (2) Read also Eccles. iv. and Colos. iii. (3) Rom. viii.
(4) Luke xxi. (5) Matt. vii. (6) Matt. v. (7) Heb. xi.

whereas the number of the blessed and glorious company of saints appear now to our faith in heaven, in joy: yet, in the letter, for the time of this life, in such pains and contempt as was never more. Let us therefore consider both them, and all other things of the world since the fall of man, and we shall perceive nothing to come to perfection, but with such confusion and disorder to the eye of the world, as though things were rather lost for ever, than like to come to any perfection at all. For of godly men, who ever came to heaven (no not Christ himself) until such time as the world had thought verily, that both he and all his had been clean destroyed and cast away? as the wise man saith of the wicked people, "We thought them to be fools, but they be in peace."[1]

Example taken out of our meat and drink, how things never come to their perfection before they be utterly wasted.

We may learn by things that nourish and maintain us, both meat and drink, what loathsomeness and (in manner) abhorring they come unto, before they work their perfection in us. From life they are brought to the fire, and clean altered from that they were when they were alive; from the fire to the trencher and knife, and all-to-hacked; from the trencher to the mouth, and as small ground as the teeth can grind them; and from the mouth into the stomach, and there so boiled and digested before they nourish, that whosoever saw the same, would loathe and abhor his own nourishment, before it come to his perfection.

Is it then any marvel if such Christians as God delighteth in, be so mangled and defaced in this world, which is the kitchen and mill to boil and grind the flesh of God's people in, till they achieve their perfection in the world to come? And as a man looketh for the nutriment of his meat when it is full digested, and not before: so must he look for his salvation when he hath passed this troublous world, and not before. Raw flesh is not meat wholesome for man: and unmortified men and women be not creatures meet for God. Therefore Christ saith, that his people must be broken, and all-to-be-torn in the mill of this world; and so shall they be most fine meal unto the heavenly Father.[2] And it shall be a christian man's part, and the duty of a mind replenished with the Spirit of God, to mark the order of God in all his things; how he dealeth with them, and how they suffer, and be content to let God do his will upon them, as St. Paul saith: "They wait until the number of the elect be fulfilled, and never be at rest, but look for the time when God's people shall appear in glory."[3]

Unmortified men be no people for God.

Example of Abraham.

Example of Joseph.

We must therefore patiently suffer, and willingly attend upon God's doings, although they seem clean contrary, after our judgment, to our wealth and salvation; as Abraham did, when he was bid to offer his son Isaac, in whom God promised the blessing and multiplying of his seed. Joseph at the last came to that which God promised him, although in the mean time, after the judgment of the world, he was never like to be (as God said he should be) "lord over his brethren." When Christ would make the blind man to see, he put clay upon his eyes,[4] which, after the judgment of man, was a means rather to make him doubly blind, than to give him his sight; but he obeyed, and knew that God could work his desire, what means soever he used contrary to man's reason. And as touching this world, he useth all his after the same sort.[5] If any smart, his people be the first; if any suffer shame, they begin; if any be subject to slander, it is those that he loveth; so that he showeth no face or favour, nor love almost in this world outwardly to them, but layeth clay upon their sore eyes that be sorrowful: yet the patient man seeth, as St. Paul saith,[6] life hid under these miseries and adversities, and sight under foul clay; and in the mean time he hath the testimony of a good conscience, and believeth God's promises to be his consolation in the world to come; which is more worth unto him, than all the world is worth besides: and blessed is that man in whom God's Spirit beareth record, that he is the Son of God,[7] whatsoever troubles he suffer in this troublesome world.

Judgment first beginneth with the house of God.

And to judge things indifferently, my good wife, the troubles be not yet generally, as they were in our good fathers' time, soon after the death and resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whereof he spake in St. Matthew:[8] of the which place you and I have taken many times great consolation, and especially of the latter part of the chapter, wherein is contained the last day and end of all troubles (I doubt not) both for you and me, and for such as love the coming of our Saviour Christ to judgment. Remember therefore that place, and mark it again, and ye shall in this time see this great consolation, and also

(1) Wisd. v. (2) Matt. x. (3) Rom. viii. (4) John ix.
(5) 1 Pet. iv. (6) Coloss. iii. (7) Rom. viii. (8) Matt. xxiv.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

learn much patience. Were there ever such troubles, as Christ threatened upon Jerusalem? Was there since the beginning of the world such affliction? Who was then best at ease? The apostles that suffered in body persecution, and gathered of it ease and quietness in the promises of God. And no marvel, for Christ saith, "Lift up your heads, for your redemption is at hand,"[1] that is to say, your eternal rest approacheth and draweth near. The world is stark blind, and more foolish than foolishness itself, and so be the people of the world. For when God saith, "Trouble shall come," they will have ease. And when God saith, "Be merry and rejoice in trouble," we lament and mourn, as though we were cast-a-ways. But this our flesh (which is never merry with virtue, nor sorry with vice; never laugheth with grace, nor ever weepeth with sin) holdeth fast with the world, and letteth God slip. But, my dearly beloved wife, you know how to perceive and to beware of the vanity and crafts of the devil well enough in Christ. And that ye may the better have patience in the Spirit of God, read again the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, and mark what difference is between the destruction of Jerusalem, and the destruction of the whole world, and you shall see, that then here were left alive many offenders to repent: but, at the latter day, there shall be absolute judgment, and sentence (never to be revoked), of eternal life and eternal death upon all men; and yet, towards the end of the world, we have nothing so much extremity as they had then, but even as we be able to bear. So doth the merciful Father lay upon us now imprisonment (and I suppose, for my part, shortly death); now spoil of goods, loss of friends, and the greatest loss of all, the knowledge of God's word. God's will be done. I wish in Christ Jesus our only Mediator and Saviour, your constancy and consolation, that you may live for ever and ever, whereof in Christ I doubt not; to whom, for his most blessed and painful passion, I commit you. Amen.

Flesh never merry with virtue, nor sorry with vice.

Destruction of Jerusalem and the whole world, compared.

October 13, A. D. 1553.

To a certain godly Woman, instructing her how she should behave herself in the time of her Widowhood.

The grace of God, and the comfort of his holy Spirit be with you, and all them that unfeignedly love his holy gospel. Amen.

I thank you, dear sister, for your most loving remembrance; and, although I cannot recompense the same, yet do I wish with all my heart, that God would do it, requiring you not to forget your duty towards God in these perilous days, in the which the Lord will try us. I trust you do increase, by reading of the Scriptures, the knowledge you have of God; and that you diligently apply yourself to follow the same: for the knowledge helpeth not, except the life be according thereunto. Further, I do heartily pray you, to consider the state of your widowhood, and if God shall put in your mind to change it, remember the saying of St. Paul, "It is lawful for the widow or maiden to marry to whom they list, so it be in the Lord;"[2] that is to say, to such an one as is of Christ's religion. Dearly beloved in Christ, remember these words, for you shall find thereby great joy and comfort, if you change your state. Whereof I will, when I have better leisure (as now I have none at all), further advertise you. In the mean time I commend you to God, and the guiding of his good Spirit, who stablish and confirm you in all well-doing, and keep you blameless to the day of the Lord! Watch and pray, for this day is at hand.

To marry in the Lord, what it is

Yours assured in Christ,

John Hooper.

To all my dear Brethren, my Relievers and Helpers in the City of London.

The grace of God be with you, Amen. I have received from you, dearly beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ, by the hands of my servant William Downton, your liberality, for the which I most heartily thank you, and I praise God highly in you and for you, who hath moved your hearts to show this kindness towards me; praying him to preserve you from all famine, scarcity, and lack of the truth of his word, which is the lively food of your souls, as you pre-

(1) Luke xxi. (2) 1 Cor. vii.

serve my body from hunger, and other necessities which should happen unto me; were it not cared for by the benevolence and charity of godly people. Such as have taken all worldly goods and lands from me, and spoiled me of all that I had, have imprisoned my body, and appointed not one halfpenny to feed or relieve me withal: but I do forgive them and pray for them daily in my poor prayer unto God; and from my heart I wish their salvation, and quietly and patiently bear their injuries, wishing no further extremity to be used towards us. Yet, if the contrary seem best unto our heavenly Father, I have made my reckoning, and fully resolved myself to suffer the uttermost that they are able to do against me, yea death itself, by the aid of Christ Jesus, who died the most vile death of the cross for us wretches and miserable sinners. But of this I am assured, that the wicked world, with all its force and power, shall not touch one of the hairs of our heads without leave and license of our heavenly Father, whose will be done in all things. If he will life, life be it: if he will death, death be it. Only we pray, that our wills may be subject unto his will; and then, although both we and all the world see none other thing but death, yet if he think life best, we shall not die—no, although the sword be drawn out over our heads: as Abraham thought to kill his son Isaac, yet, when God perceived that Abraham had surrendered his will to God's will, and was content to kill his son, God then saved his son.

The christian charity of Hooper to his enemies.

Hooper fully resolved to suffer.

Dearly beloved, if we be contented to obey God's will, and for his commandment's sake to surrender our goods and our lives to be at his pleasure, it maketh no matter whether we keep goods and life, or lose them. Nothing can hurt us that is taken from us for God's cause, nor can any thing at length do us good, that is preserved contrary unto God's commandment. Let us wholly suffer God to use us and ours after his holy wisdom, and beware we neither use nor govern ourselves contrary to his will by our own wisdom: for if we do, our wisdom will at length prove foolishness. It is kept to no good purpose, that we keep contrary unto his commandments. That can by no means be taken from us, which he would should tarry with us. He is no good Christian that ruleth himself and his, as worldly means serve: for he that so doth, shall have as many changes as chance in the world. To-day with the world he shall like and praise the truth of God; to-morrow as the world will, so will he like and praise the falsehood of man: to-day with Christ, and to-morrow with Antichrist. Wherefore, dear brethren, as touching your behaviour towards God, use both your inward spirits and your outward bodies, your inward and your outward man (I say), not after the manner of men, but after the infallible word of God.

God's will to be obeyed in all things.

Difference between the true Christian, and the worldling.

Refrain from evil in both; and glorify your heavenly Father in both. For if ye think ye can inwardly in the heart serve him, and yet outwardly serve with the world, in external service, the thing that is not God, ye deceive yourselves; for both the body and the soul must together concur in the honour of God, as St. Paul plainly teacheth.[1] For if an honest wife be bound to give both heart and body to faith and service in marriage, and if an honest wife's faith in the heart cannot stand with an unchaste or defiled body outwardly; much less can the true faith of a Christian, in the service of Christianity, stand with the bodily service of external idolatry: for the mystery of marriage is not so honourable between man and wife, as it is between Christ and every christian man, as St. Paul saith.

Both inward man and outward man must concur in the honour of God.

Therefore, dear brethren, pray to the heavenly Father, that as he spared not the soul nor the body of his dearly beloved Son, but applied both of them with extreme pain, to work our salvation both of body and soul; so he will give us all grace to apply our bodies and souls to be servants unto him: for doubtless he requireth as well the one as the other, and cannot be discontented with the one, and well pleased with the other. Either he hateth both, or loveth both; he divideth not his love to one, and his hatred to the other. Let not us therefore, good brethren, divide ourselves, and say our souls serve him, whatsoever our bodies do to the contrary for civil order and policy.

But, alas! I know by myself, what troubleth you; that is, the great danger of the world, that will revenge, ye think, your service to God with sword and fire, with loss of goods and lands. But, dear brethren, weigh of the other side, that your enemies and God's enemies shall not do so much as they would, but

(1) 1 Cor. vi.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

as much as God shall suffer them, who can trap them in their own counsels, and destroy them in the midst of their furies. Remember ye be the workmen of the Lord, and called into his vineyard, there to labour till evening-tide, that you may receive your penny, which is more worth than all the kingdoms of the earth.[1] But he that calleth us into his vineyard, hath not told us how sore and how fervently the sun shall trouble us in our labour; but hath bid us labour, and commit the bitterness thereof unto him, who can and will so moderate all afflictions, that no man shall have more laid upon him, than in Christ he shall be able to bear. Unto whose merciful tuition and defence I commend both your souls and bodies.

God's enemies can do no more than he giveth them leave.

September 2d, anno 1554.

Yours, with my poor prayer,

John Hooper.

To a Merchant of London, by whose means he had received much Comfort in his great Necessity in the Fleet.

Grace, mercy, and peace, in Christ Jesus our Lord. I thank God and you for the great help and consolation I have received in the time of adversity by your charitable means; but most rejoice that you be not altered from truth, although falsehood cruelly seeketh to distain her. Judge not, my brother, truth by outward appearance; for truth now worse appeareth, and more vilely is rejected, than falsehood. Leave the outward show, and see, by the word of God, what truth is; and accept truth, and dislike her not, though man call her falsehood. As it is now, so it hath been heretofore, the truth rejected and falsehood received. Such as have professed truth, for truth have smarted, and the friends of falsehood laughed them to scorn. The trial of both hath been by contrary success; the one having the commendation of truth by man, but the condemnation of falsehood by God; flourishing for a time, with endless destruction; the other afflicted a little season, but ending with immortal joys. Wherefore, dear brother, ask and demand of your book, the Testament of Jesus Christ, in those woeful and wretched days, what you should think, and what you should stay upon for a certain truth; and whatsoever you hear taught, try it by your book, whether it be true or false. The days be dangerous and full of peril, not only for the world and worldly things, but for heaven and heavenly things. It is a trouble to lose the treasure of this life, but yet a very pain, if it be kept with the offence of God. Cry, call, pray; and in Christ daily require help, succour, mercy, wisdom, grace, and defence, that the wickedness of this world prevail not against us. We began well, God preserve us until the end. I would write more often unto you, but I do perceive you be at so much charges with me, that I fear you would think when I write I crave. Send me nothing till I send to you for it; and so tell the good men, your partners: and when I need, I will be bold with you.

Truth is not to be esteemed by outward appearance.

December 3d, anno 1554.

Yours, with my prayer,

John Hooper.

To Mistress Wilkinson, a Woman hearty in God's Cause, and comfortable to his afflicted Members; afterwards dying in Exile at Frankfort.

The grace of God, and the comfort of his holy Spirit, be with you. Amen.

I am very glad to hear of your health, and do thank you for your loving tokens. But I am a great deal more glad to hear how christianly you avoid idolatry, and prepare yourself to suffer the extremity of the world, rather than to endanger yourself to God. You do as you ought to do in this behalf, and in suffering of transitory pains, you shall avoid permanent torments in the world to come. Use your life, and keep it with as much quietness as you can, so that you offend not God. The ease that cometh of his displeasure, turneth at length to unspeakable pains; and the gains of the world, with the loss of his favour, is beggary and wretchedness. Reason is to be amended in this cause of religion: for it will choose and follow an error with the multitude, if it may be allowed,

(1) Matt. xx.

rather than turn to faith, and follow the truth with the people of God. Moses[1] found the same fault in himself, and did amend it, choosing rather to be afflicted with the people of God, than to use the liberty of the king's daughter, that accounted him as her son. Pray for contentation and peace of the Spirit, and rejoice in such troubles as shall happen to you for the truth's sake:[2] for in that part Christ saith, you be happy. Pray also for me, I pray you, that I may do in all things the will of our heavenly Father: to whose tuition and defence I commend you.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Gains, with God's displeasure, is beggary.

To my dear Friends in God, Master John Hall and his Wife, exhorting them to stand fast in the Truth.

The grace of God be with you, Amen. I thank you for your loving and gentle friendship at all times, praying to God to show unto you such favour, that whatsoever trouble and adversity happen, ye go not back from him. These days be dangerous and full of peril; but yet let us comfort ourselves in calling to remembrance the days of our forefathers, upon whom the Lord sent such troubles, that many hundreds, yea, many thousands, died for the testimony of Jesus Christ, both men and women, suffering with patience and constancy as much cruelty as tyrants could devise, and so departed out of this miserable world to the bliss everlasting, where now they remain for ever; looking always for the end of this sinful world, when they shall receive their bodies again in immortality, and see the number of the elect associated with them in full and consummate joys:[3] and, as virtuous men suffering martyrdom, and tarrying a little while in this world with pains, by and by rested in joys everlasting; and as their pains ended their sorrows, and began ease, so did their constancy and steadfastness animate and confirm all good people in the truth, and gave them encouragement and lust to suffer the like, rather than to fall with the world to consent unto wickedness and idolatry. Wherefore, my dear friends, seeing God, of his part, hath illuminated you with the same gift and knowledge of true faith, wherein the apostles and evangelists, and all martyrs, suffered most cruel death; thank him for his grace in knowledge, and pray unto him for strength and perseverance, that through your own fault ye be not ashamed or afraid to confess it. Yet ye be in the truth, and the gates of hell shall never prevail against it, nor Antichrist with all his imps can prove it to be false. They may kill and persecute, but never overcome. Be of good comfort, and fear God more than man. This life is short and miserable; happy be they that can spend it to the glory of God. Pray for me, as I do for you, and commend me to all good men and women.

Consolation taken by the example of ancient martyrs.

December 22d, anno 1554.

Your brother in Christ,

John Hooper.

To my dearly beloved Sister in the Lord, Mistress Anne Warcop.

The grace of God be with you, Amen. I thank you for your loving token. I pray you burden not yourself too much. It were meet for me rather to bear a pain, than to be a hinderance to many. I did rejoice at the coming of this bearer, to understand of your constancy, and how that you be fully resolved, by God's grace, rather to suffer extremity, than to go from the truth of God which you have professed. He that gave you grace to begin so infallible a truth, will follow you in the same unto the end. But, my loving sister, as you be travelling this perilous journey, take this lesson with you, practised by wise men; whereof you may read in the second of St. Matthew's gospel. Such as travelled to find Christ, followed only the star; and as long as they saw it, they were assured they were in the right way, and had great mirth in their journey. But when they entered into Jerusalem (whereas the star led them not thither, but unto Bethlehem) and there asked the citizens the thing that the star showed before: as long as they tarried in Jerusalem, and would be instructed where Christ was born, they were not only ignorant of Bethlehem, but also lost the sight of the star that led them before. Whereof we learn, in any case, whilst we be going in this life to seek Christ that is above, to beware that we lose not the

The surest is ever to follow the star.

(1) Heb. xi. (2) Matt. v. (3) Heb. xi.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

star of God's word, that only is the mark that showeth us where Christ is, and which way we may come unto him. But as Jerusalem stood in the way, and was an impediment to these wise men: so doth the synagogue of Antichrist, that beareth the name of Jerusalem, which by interpretation is called the vision of peace, and amongst the people now is called the catholic church, stand in the way that pilgrims must go by through this world to Bethlehem, the house of saturity and plentifulness, and is an impediment to all christian travellers; yea, and except the more grace of God be, will keep the pilgrims still in her, that they shall not come where Christ is at all. And to stay them indeed, they take away the star of light, which is God's word, that it cannot be seen: as you may see how the celestial star was hid from the wise men, when they asked of the Pharisees at Jerusalem, where Christ was born. Ye may see what great dangers happened unto these wise men, whilst they were learning of liars, where Christ was. First, they were out of their way, and next they lost their guide and conductor, the heavenly star. Christ is mounted from us into heaven, and there we seek him (as we say); and let us go thitherward by the star of his word. Beware we happen not to come into Jerusalem, the church of men, and ask for him. If we do, we go out of the way, and lose also our conductor and guide, that only leadeth us straight thither.

Jerusalem signifieth the vision of peace: Bethlehem, the house of bread or of saturity.

Christ is not to be sought nor asked for, but only by the Scriptures.

Example of Jason and Phaeton.

The poets write in fables, that Jason, when he fought with the dragon in the isle of Colchis, was preserved by the medicines of Medea, and so won the golden fleece. And they write also that Phaeton, whom they feign to be the son and heir of the high god Jupiter, would needs upon a day have the conduction of the sun round about the world; but, as they feigned, he missed of the accustomed course: whereupon when he went too high, he burned heaven; and when he went too low, he burned the earth and the water. These profane histories do shame us that be christian men. Jason, against the poison of the dragon, used only the medicine of Medea. What a shame is it for a christian man, against the poison of the devil, heresy and sin, to use any other remedy than Christ and his word! Phaeton, for lack of knowledge, was afraid of every sign of the zodiac, that the sun passeth by: wherefore he went now too low, and now too high, and at length fell down and drowned himself in the sea. Christian men for lack of knowledge, and for fear of such dangers as christian men must needs pass by, go clean out of order, and at length fall into the pit of hell.

Lets in the way to the kingdom of heaven.

Sister, take heed! you shall, in your journey towards heaven, meet with many a monstrous beast: have salve of God's word therefore ready. You shall meet husband, children, lovers and friends, that shall, if God be not with them (as God be praised he is, I would it were with all other alike), be very lets and impediments to your purpose. You shall meet with slander and contempt of the world, and be accounted ungracious and ungodly; you shall hear and meet with cruel tyranny to do you all extremities; you shall now and then see the troubles of your own conscience, and feel your own weakness; you shall hear that you be cursed by the sentence of the catholic church, with such like terrors: but pray to God, and follow the star of his word, and you shall arrive at the port of eternal salvation, by the merits only of Jesus Christ: to whom I commend you and all yours most heartily.

Yours in Christ,

John Hooper.

Unto these letters of master Hooper heretofore recited, we thought not inconvenient to annex also another certain epistle, not of master Hooper's, but written to him by a famous learned man, Henry Bullinger, chief superintendent in the city of Zurich: of whose singular love and tender affection toward master Hooper ye heard before in the beginning of master Hooper's life discoursed. Now how loving he writeth unto him, ye shall hear by this present letter, as followeth.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

A Letter of Master Bullinger to the most reverend Father, Master John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and now Prisoner for the Gospel of Jesus Christ, my Fellow-Elder and most dear Brother in England.[1]

The heavenly Father grant unto you, and to all those who are in bands and captivity for his name's sake, grace and peace through Jesus Christ our Lord, with wisdom, patience, and fortitude of the Holy Ghost.

I have received from you two letters, my most dear brother, the former in the month of September of the year past, the latter in the month of May of this present year, both written out of prison. But I, doubting lest I should make answer to you in vain, whilst I feared that my letters should never come into your hands, or else increase and double your sorrow, did refrain from the duty of writing. In the which thing I doubt not but you will have me excused, especially seeing you did not vouchsafe, no not once in a whole year, to answer to my whole libels rather than letters; whereas I continued still notwithstanding in writing unto you: as also at this present, after I heard you were cast in prison, I did not refrain from continual prayer, beseeching our heavenly Father, through our only Mediator Jesus Christ, to grant unto you and to your fellow-prisoners, faith and constancy unto the end. Now is that thing happened unto you, my brother, the which we did oftentimes prophesy unto ourselves, at your being with us, should come to pass; especially when we did talk of the power of Antichrist, and of his felicity and victories. For you know the saying of Daniel,[2] "His power shall be mighty, but not in his strength; and he shall wonderfully destroy and make havoc of all things, and shall prosper and practise, and he shall destroy the mighty and the holy people after his own will." You know what the Lord warned us of beforehand by Matthew, chap. x., by John in chap. xv. and xvi., and also what that chosen vessel St. Paul hath written, in 2 Tim. iii. Wherefore I do nothing doubt, by God's grace, of your faith and patience, whilst you know that those things which you suffer are not looked for, nor come by chance; but that you suffer them in the best, truest, and most holy quarrel: for what can be more true and holy than our doctrine, which the papists, those worshippers of Antichrist, do persecute? All things touching salvation we attribute unto Christ alone, and to his holy institutions, as we have been taught of him and of his disciples: but they would have even the same things to be communicated as well to their Antichrist, and to his institutions. Such we ought no less to withstand than we read that Elias withstood the Baalites. For if Jesus be Christ, then let them know, that he is the fulness of his church, and that perfectly: but if Antichrist be king and priest, then let them exhibit unto him that honour. How long do they halt on both sides? Can they give unto us any one that is better than Christ, or who shall be equal with Christ, that may be compared with him,[3] except it be he whom the apostle calleth the adversary? But if Christ be sufficient for his church, what needeth this patching and piecing? But I know well enough, I need not to use these disputations with you who are sincerely taught, and have taken root in Christ, being persuaded that you have all things in him, and that we in him are made perfect.

The power of Antichrist described.

The doctrine of the protestants, what it is, wherefore they are persecuted.

Christ is sufficient, and needs not be patched with the pope.

Go forwards therefore constantly to confess Christ, and to defy Antichrist, being mindful of this most holy and most true saying of our Lord Jesus Christ: "He that overcometh shall possess all things, and I will be his God and he shall be my Son: but the fearful, and the unbelieving, and the murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death."[4] The first death is soon overcome, although a man must burn for the Lord's sake: for they say well that do affirm this our fire to be scarcely a shadow of that which is prepared for unbelievers, and them that fall from the truth. Moreover, the Lord granteth unto us, that we may easily overcome, by his power, the first death, the which he himself did taste and overcome; promising withal such joys as never shall have end, unspeakable, and passing all understanding, the which we shall possess so soon as ever we do depart hence. For

(1) Translated out of Latin into English.
(2) Dan. viii.
(3) Ephes. i. 2 Thess. ii.
(4) Rev. xxi.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

God's wrath upon the beast, and them that take his mark.

so again saith the angel of the Lord: "If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or on his hand, the same shall drink of the wrath of God; yea, of the wine which is poured into the cup of his wrath: and he shall be tormented in fire and brimstone before the holy angels, and before the Lamb. And the smoke of their torment shall ascend evermore; and they shall have no rest, day nor night, which worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the print of his name."[1] Here is the patience of saints;[2] here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus. To this he addeth by and by, "I heard a voice saying to me, 'Write, Blessed be the dead that die in the Lord; from henceforth, or speedily, they be blessed: even so saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labours, but their works follow them: for our labour shall not be frustrate or in vain."[3]

Therefore, seeing you have such a large promise, be strong in the Lord, fight a good fight, be faithful to the Lord unto the end. Consider that Christ, the Son of God, is your captain, and fighteth for you, and that all the prophets, apostles, and martyrs, are your fellow-soldiers. They that persecute and trouble us, are men sinful and mortal, whose favour a wise man would not buy with the value of a farthing: and, besides that, our life is frail, short, brittle, and transitory. Happy are we, if we depart in the Lord; who grant unto you, and to all your fellow-prisoners, faith and constancy! Commend me to the most reverend fathers and holy confessors of Christ, Dr. Cranmer bishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley bishop of London, and the good old father Dr. Latimer. Them and all the rest of the prisoners with you for the Lord's cause, salute in my name, and in the name of all my fellow-ministers, the which do speak unto you the grace of God, and constancy in the truth.

Concerning the state of our church, it remaineth even as it was when you departed from us into your country. God grant we may be thankful to him, and that we do not only profess the faith with words, but also express the same effectually with good works, to the praise of our Lord!

The word of God increaseth daily in that part of Italy that is near unto us, and in France.

In the mean while the godly sustain grievous persecutions, and, with great constancy and glory, through torments they go unto the Lord. I and all my household, with my sons-in-law and kinsmen, are in good health in the Lord. They do all salute you, and pray for your constancy; being sorrowful for you and the rest of the prisoners. There came to us Englishmen; students, both godly and learned. They be received of our magistrate. Ten of them dwell together; the rest remain here and there with good men. Amongst others, master Thomas Lever is dear unto me, and familiar. If there be any thing wherein I may do any pleasure to your wife and children, they shall have me wholly at commandment; whereof I will write also to your wife, for I understand she abideth at Frankfort.

Thomas Lever.

Be strong and merry in Christ, waiting for his deliverance, when and in what sort it shall seem good unto him. The Lord Jesus show pity upon the realm of England, and illuminate the same with his holy Spirit, to the glory of his name, and the salvation of souls. The Lord Jesus preserve and deliver you from all evil, with all them that call upon his name. Farewell, and farewell eternally.

The 10th of October, anno 1554. From Zurich,

You know the hand, H. B.

The History of Dr. Rowland Taylor,

WHO SUFFERED FOR THE TRUTH OF GOD'S WORD, UNDER THE TYRANNY OF THE ROMAN BISHOPS, THE 9TH DAY OF FEBRUARY, A.D. 1555[4].

Hadley commended.

The town of Hadley was one of the first that received the word of God in all England, at the preaching of master Thomas Bilney: by

(1) Rev. xiv.
(2) In this time of Antichrist is the patience and faith of God's children tried, whereby they shall overcome all his tyranny. Read Matt. xxiv.
(3) John v.
(4) See the Harleian MSS. No. 421, art. 21.—Ed.

whose industry the gospel of Christ had such gracious success, and took such root there, that a great number of that parish became exceeding well learned in the holy Scriptures, as well women as men, so that a man might have found among them many, that had often read the whole Bible through, and that could have said a great sort of St. Paul's epistles by heart, and very well and readily have given a godly learned sentence in any matter of controversy. Their children and servants were also brought up and trained so diligently in the right knowledge of God's word, that the whole town seemed rather a university of the learned, than a town of cloth-making or labouring people; and (what most is to be commended) they were for the more part faithful followers of God's word in their living.

Taylor, doctor in both laws, and a divine.

In this town was Dr. Rowland Taylor, doctor in both the civil and canon laws, and a right perfect divine, parson; who, at his first entering into his benefice, did not, as the common sort of beneficed men do, let out his benefice to a farmer, that shall gather up the profits, and set in an ignorant unlearned priest to serve the cure, and, so they have the fleece, little or nothing care for feeding the flock: but, contrarily, he forsook the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, with whom he before was in household, and made his personal abode and dwelling in Hadley, among the people committed to his charge; where he, as a good shepherd, abiding and dwelling among his sheep, gave himself wholly to the study of holy Scriptures, most faithfully endeavouring himself to fulfil that charge which the Lord gave unto Peter, saying: "Peter, lovest thou me? Feed my lambs, feed my sheep, feed my sheep."[1] This love of Christ so wrought in him, that no Sunday nor holy-day passed, nor other time when he might get the people together, but he preached to them the word of God, the doctrine of their salvation.

A good shepherd and his conditions.

Feed with word.

Feed with example.

Not only was his word a preaching unto them, but all his life and conversation was an example of unfeigned christian life and true holiness. He was void of all pride, humble and meek, as any child: so that none were so poor but they might boldly, as unto their Father, resort unto him; neither was his lowliness childish or fearful, but, as occasion, time, and place required, he would be stout in rebuking the sinful and evil doers; so that none was so rich but he would tell him plainly his fault, with such earnest and grave rebukes as became a good curate and pastor. He was a man very mild, void of all rancour, grudge or evil will; ready to do good to all men; readily forgiving his enemies; and never sought to do evil to any.

Feed with alms.

Commendation of Taylor's wife and children.

To the poor that were blind, lame, sick, bedrid, or that had many children, he was a very father, a careful patron, and diligent provider; insomuch that he caused the parishioners to make a general provision for them: and he himself (beside the continual relief that they always found at his house) gave an honest portion yearly to the common alms-box. His wife also was an honest, discreet, and sober matron, and his children well nurtured, brought up in the fear of God and good learning.

To conclude, he was a right and lively image or pattern of all those virtuous qualities described by St. Paul in a true bishop: a good salt of the earth, savourly biting the corrupt manners of evil men;

(1) John xx.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

a light in God's house, set upon a candlestick for all good men to imitate and follow.

Thus continued this good shepherd among his flock, governing and leading them through the wilderness of this wicked world, all the days of the most innocent and holy king of blessed memory, Edward the Sixth. But after it pleased God to take king Edward from this vale of misery unto his most blessed rest, the papists, who ever sembled and dissembled, both with king Henry the Eighth, and king Edward his son, now seeing the time convenient for their purpose, uttered their false hypocrisy, openly refusing all good reformation made by the said two most godly kings; and, contrary to that they had all these two kings' days preached, taught, written and sworn, they violently overthrew the true doctrine of the gospel, and persecuted with sword and fire all those that would not agree to receive again the Roman bishop as supreme head of the universal church, and allow all the errors, superstitions, and idolatries, that before by God's word were disproved and justly condemned, as though now they were good doctrine, virtuous, and true religion.

The papists and their nature.

In the beginning of this rage of Antichrist, a certain petty gentleman, after the sort of a lawyer, called Foster, being a steward and keeper of courts, a man of no great skill, but a bitter persecutor in those days, with one John Clerk of Hadley, which Foster had ever been a secret favourer of all Romish idolatry, conspired with the said Clerk to bring in the pope and his maumetry again into Hadley church. For as yet Dr. Taylor, as a good shepherd, had retained and kept in his church the godly church service and reformation made by king Edward, and most faithfully and earnestly preached against the popish corruptions, which had infected the whole country round about.

Foster a lawyer, and John Clerk of Hadley, two notorious papists.

Therefore the foresaid Foster and Clerk hired one John Averth, parson of Aldham, a very money mammonist, a blind leader of the blind, a popish idolater, and an open advouterer and whoremonger, a very fit minister for their purpose, to come to Hadley, and there to give the onset to begin again the popish mass.

Averth, a right popish priest.

To this purpose they builded up with all haste possible the altar, intending to bring in their mass again about the Palm Monday. But this their device took none effect; for in the night the altar was beaten down:[1] wherefore they built it up again the second time, and laid diligent watch, lest any should again break it down.

On the day following came Foster and John Clerk, bringing with them their popish sacrificer, who brought with him all his implements and garments to play his popish pageant, whom they and their men guarded with swords and bucklers, lest any man should disturb him in his missal sacrifice.

When Dr. Taylor, who, according to his custom, sat at his book studying the word of God, heard the bells ringing, he arose and went into the church, supposing something had been there to be done, according to his pastoral office: and, coming to the church, he found the church doors shut and fast barred, saving the chancel door, which was only latched. Where he, entering in, and coming in the chancel, saw a popish sacrificer in his robes, with a broad new shaven

Taylor's custom to study.

Mass brought into Hadley, with swords and buckler.

(1) Mark how unwilling the people were to receive the papacy again.

crown, ready to begin his popish sacrifice, beset round about with drawn swords and bucklers, lest any man should approach to disturb him.

Taylor rebuketh the devil.

Then said Dr. Taylor, "Thou devil! who made thee so bold to enter into this church of Christ to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry?" With that started up Foster, and with an ireful and furious countenance said to Dr. Taylor, "Thou traitor! what dost thou here, to let and disturb the queen's proceedings?"[1] Dr. Taylor answered, "I am no traitor, but I am the shepherd that God my Lord Christ hath appointed to feed this his flock: wherefore I have good authority to be here; and I command thee, thou popish wolf, in the name of God to avoid hence, and not to presume here, with such popish idolatry, to poison Christ's flock."[2]

Then said Foster, "Wilt thou traitorously, heretic! make a commotion, and resist violently the queen's proceedings?"

Dr. Taylor answered, "I make no commotion; but it is you papists, that make commotions and tumults. I resist only with God's word against your popish idolatries, which are against God's word, the queen's honour, and tend to the utter subversion of this realm of England. And further, thou dost against the canon law, which commandeth, that no mass be said but at a consecrated altar."

When the parson of Aldham heard that, he began to shrink back, and would have left his saying of mass: then started up John Clerk, and said, "Master Averth, be not afraid, you have a 'super-altare,'[3] go forth with your business, man."

Then Foster, with his armed men, took Dr. Taylor, and led him with strong hand out of the church; and the popish prelate proceeded in his Romish idolatry. Dr. Taylor's wife, who followed her husband into the church, when she saw her husband thus violently thrust out of his church, she kneeled down and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said, "I beseech God, the righteous Judge, to avenge this injury, that this popish idolater to this day doth to the blood of Christ." Then they thrust her out of the church also, and shut the doors; for they feared that the people would have rent their sacrificer in pieces. Notwithstanding one or two threw in great stones at the windows, and missed very little the popish masser.

The papists' arguments, wherewith they maintain their doctrine.

Thus you see how, without consent of the people, the popish mass was again set up with battle array, with swords and bucklers, with violence and tyranny: which practice the papists have ever yet used. As for reason, law, or Scripture, they have none on their part. Therefore they are the same that say, "The law of unrighteousness is our strength: come, let us oppress the righteous without any fear," etc.

Within a day or two after, with all haste possible, this Foster and Clerk made a complaint of Dr. Taylor, by a letter written to Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor.

Taylor cited.

When the bishop heard this, he sent a letter missive to Dr. Taylor, commanding him within certain days to come and to appear before

(1) The papists call all their trumpery, the queen's proceedings. For you must remember that Antichrist reigneth by another arm and not by his own power. Read Daniel, of the king of faces, the eighth chapter.

(2) Dr. Taylor there playeth a right Elias.

(3) "Super-altare" is a stone consecrated by the bishops, commonly of a foot long, which the papists carry instead of an altar, when they mass for money in gentlemen's houses. [Bingham mentions other names given to this; book viii. chap. 6, f. 21.—Ed.]

Mary. A.D. 1555.

him upon his allegiance, to answer such complaints as were made against him.

When Dr. Taylor's friends heard of this, they were exceeding sorry and aggrieved in mind; who when foreseeing to what end the same matter would come, seeing also all truth and justice were trodden under foot, and falsehood with cruel tyranny were set aloft and ruled all the whole rout: his friends, I say, came to him and earnestly counselled him to depart and fly, alleging and declaring unto him, that he could neither be indifferently heard to speak his conscience and mind, nor yet look for justice or favour at the said chancellor's hands, who, as it was well known, was most fierce and cruel; but must needs (if he went up to him) wait for imprisonment and cruel death at his hands.

His friends would have him to fly.

Then said Dr. Taylor to his friends, "Dear friends, I most heartily thank you, for that you have so tender a care over me. And although I know that there is neither justice nor truth to be looked for at my adversaries' hands, but rather imprisonment and cruel death: yet know I my cause to be so good and righteous, and the truth so strong upon my side, that I will, by God's grace, go and appear before them, and to their beards resist their false doing."

His valiant courage in Christ's cause.

Then said his friends, "Master doctor, we think it not best so to do. You have sufficiently done your duty, and testified the truth both by your godly sermons, and also in resisting the parson of Aldam, with others that came hither to bring again the popish mass. And forasmuch as our Saviour Christ willeth and biddeth us, that when they persecute us in one city, we should fly into another:[1] we think, in flying at this time ye should do best, keeping yourself against another time, when the church shall have great need of such diligent teachers, and godly pastors."

"Oh," quoth Dr. Taylor, "what will ye have me to do? I am now old, and have already lived too long, to see these terrible and most wicked days. Fly you, and do as your conscience leadeth you; I am fully determined (with God's grace) to go to the bishop, and to his beard to tell him that he doth naught. God shall well hereafter raise up teachers of his people, which shall, with much more diligence and fruit, teach them, than I have done. For God will not forsake his church, though now for a time he trieth and correcteth us, and not without a just cause.

He refuseth to fly.

"As for me, I believe before God, I shall never be able to do God so good service, as I may do now; nor I shall ever have so glorious a calling as I now have, nor so great mercy of God proffered me, as is now at this present. For what christian man would not gladly die against the pope and his adherents? I know that the papacy is the kingdom of Antichrist, altogether full of lies, altogether full of falsehood; so that all their doctrine, even from 'Christ's cross be my speed,' and St. Nicholas, unto the end of their apocalypse, is nothing but idolatry, superstition, errors, hypocrisy, and lies.

The papacy a kingdom of lies.

"Wherefore I beseech you, and all other my friends, to pray for me; and I doubt not but God will give me strength and his holy Spirit, that all mine adversaries shall have shame of their doings."

When his friends saw him so constant, and fully determined to

(1) Matt. x.

go, they, with weeping eyes, commended him unto God; and he within a day or two prepared himself to his journey, leaving his cure with a godly old priest, named sir Richard Yeoman, who afterwards, for God's truth, was burnt at Norwich.

John Alcock of Hadley troubled for God's truth, and died in prison.

There was also in Hadley one Alcock, a very godly man, well learned in the holy Scriptures, who, after sir Richard Yeoman was driven away, used daily to read a chapter, and to say the English litany in Hadley church. But him they fetched up to London, and cast him in prison in Newgate; where, after a year's imprisonment, he died.

Taylor's journey. John Hull his faithful servant.

But let us return to Dr. Taylor again, who, being accompanied with a servant of his own, named John Hull, took his journey towards London. By the way, this John Hull laboured to counsel and persuade him very earnestly to fly, and not come to the bishop; and proffered himself to go with him to serve him, and in all perils to venture his life for him, and with him.

Taylor again advised to fly, but refused.

But in no wise would Dr. Taylor consent or agree thereunto; but said, "O John! shall I give place to this thy counsel and worldly persuasion, and leave my flock in this danger? Remember the good shepherd Christ, which not alone fed his flock, but also died for his flock. Him must I follow, and, with God's grace, will do. Therefore, good John, pray for me; and if thou seest me weak at any time, comfort me; and discourage me not in this my godly enterprise and purpose."

The first meeting between Winchester and Taylor.

Thus they came up to London, and shortly after Dr. Taylor presented himself to the bishop of Winchester Stephen Gardiner, then lord chancellor of England. For this hath been one great abuse in England these many years, that such offices as have been of most importance and weight, have commonly been committed to bishops and other spiritual men, whereby three devilish mischiefs and inconveniences have happened in this realm, to the great dishonour of God, and utter neglecting of the flock of Christ; the which three be these.

A great abuse in England, and three mischiefs coming thereof.

First, they have had small leisure to attend to their pastoral cures, which thereby have been utterly neglected and left undone.

Secondly, it hath also puffed up many bishops, and other spiritual persons, into such haughtiness and pride, that they have thought no nobleman in the realm worthy to be their equal and fellow.

Thirdly, where they, by this means, knew the very secrets of princes, they, being in such high offices, have caused the same to be known in Rome, afore the kings could accomplish and bring their intents to pass in England. By this means hath the papacy been so maintained, and things ordered after their wills and pleasures, that much mischief hath happened in this realm and others, sometimes to the destruction of princes, and sometimes to the utter undoing of many commonwealths.

THE EXAMINATION OF DR. TAYLOR.

Now, when Gardiner saw Dr. Taylor, he, according to his common custom, all to reviled him,[1] calling him knave, traitor, heretic,

(1) The Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words by Boucher (Lond. 1833) furnishes abundance of dissertation upon this idiom.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

with many other villanous reproaches; all which Dr. Taylor heard patiently, and at the last said unto him: "My lord," quoth he, "I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true subject, and a faithful christian man; and am come, according to your commandment, to know what is the cause that your lordship hath sent for me."

Taylor's patience and magnanimity.

Then said the bishop, "Art thou come, thou villain? How darest thou look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?"

"Yes," quoth Dr. Taylor, "I know who you are. Ye are Dr. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor; and yet but a mortal man, I trow. But if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare ye for shame look any christian man in the face, seeing ye have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will ye appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, and answer to your oath made first unto that blessed king Henry the Eighth of famous memory, and afterward unto blessed king Edward the Sixth his son?"

Gardiner's lordly looks.

Notable answer of Taylor to Winchester.

The bishop answered, "Tush, tush, that was Herod's oath: unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken:[1] I have done well in breaking it; and, I thank God, I am come home again to our mother the catholic church of Rome; and so I would thou shouldest do."

Herod's oath.

Dr. Taylor answered, "Should I forsake the church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the apostles and prophets, to approve those lies, errors, superstitions, and idolatries, that the popes and their company at this day so blasphemously do approve? Nay, God forbid. Let the pope and his, return to our Saviour Christ and his word, and thrust out of the church such abominable idolatries as he maintaineth, and then will christian men turn unto him. You wrote truly against him, and were sworn against him."

The true church of Christ, whereunto all men ought to turn.

"I tell thee," quoth the bishop of Winchester, "it was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore ought to be broken, and not kept: and our holy father the pope hath discharged me of it."

Then said Dr. Taylor, "But you shall not so be discharged before Christ, who doubtless will require it at your hands, as a lawful oath made to our liege and sovereign lord the king, from whose obedience no man can assoil you, neither the pope nor any of his."

Christ will require lawful oaths and promises.

"I see," quoth the bishop, "thou art an arrogant knave, and a very fool."

Gardiner again railing.

"My lord," quoth Dr. Taylor, "leave your unseemly railing at me, which is not seemly for such a one in authority as you are. For I am a christian man, and you know, that 'he that saith to his brother, Raca, is in danger of a council; and he that saith, Thou fool, is in danger of hell fire.'"[2]

Railing words become not a magistrate.

The bishop answered, "Ye are false, and liars all the sort of you." "Nay," quoth Dr. Taylor, "we are true men, and know that it is written. 'The mouth that lieth, slayeth the soul.'[3] And again,

(1) Here the bishop confesseth unlawful oaths ought not to be kept.
(2) Matt. v. (3) "Os quod mentitur, occidit animam."

'Lord God, thou shalt destroy all that speak lies.'[1] And therefore we abide by the truth of God's word, which ye, contrary to your own consciences, deny and forsake."

"Thou art married?" quoth the bishop. "Yea," quoth Dr. Taylor, "that I thank God I am; and have had nine children, and all in lawful matrimony; and blessed be God that ordained matrimony and commanded that every man that hath not the gift of continency, should marry a wife of his own, and not live in adultery or whoredom." Then said the bishop, "Thou hast resisted the queen's proceedings, and wouldest not suffer the parson of Aldham (a very virtuous and devout priest) to say mass in Hadley." Dr. Taylor answered, "My lord, I am parson of Hadley; and it is against all right, conscience, and laws, that any man should come into my charge, and presume to infect the flock committed unto me, with venom of the popish idolatrous mass."

Marriage objected to Taylor. Marriage defended.

One idolater holdeth with another.

With that the bishop waxed very angry, and said, "Thou art a blasphemous heretic indeed, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament (and put off his cap): and speakest against the holy mass, which is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead." Dr. Taylor answered, "Nay, I blaspheme not the blessed sacrament which Christ instituted, but I reverence it as a true christian man ought to do; and confess, that Christ ordained the holy communion in the remembrance of his death and passion, which when we keep according to his ordinance, we (through faith) eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, giving thanks for our redemption; and this is our sacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give thanks for his merciful goodness showed to us, in that he gave his Son Christ unto the death for us."

The mass.

The communion.

The true sacrifice for the quick and dead.

"Thou sayest well," quoth the bishop; "it is all that thou hast said, and more too; for it is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead." Then answered Dr. Taylor, Christ gave himself to die for our redemption upon the cross, whose body there offered was the propitiatory sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient unto salvation, for all them that believe in him. And this sacrifice did our Saviour Christ offer in his own person himself once for all, neither can any priest any more offer him, nor we need any more propitiatory sacrifice: and therefore I say with Chrysostome, and all the doctors, "Our sacrifice is only memorative, in the remembrance of Christ's death and passion; a sacrifice of thanksgiving;" and therefore the fathers called it "eucharistia:" and other sacrifice hath the church of God none.

Propitiatory sacrifice offered but once.

Our sacrifice is only commemorative.

"It is true," quoth the bishop, "the sacrament is called 'eucharistia,' 'a thanksgiving,' because we there give thanks for our redemption; and it is also a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, which thou shalt confess ere thou and I have done." Then called the bishop his men, and said, "Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the King's Bench, and charge the keeper he be straitly kept."

Winchester's strong argument, "Carry him to prison!"

Then kneeled Dr. Taylor down, and held up both his hands, and said, "Good Lord, I thank thee; and from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us: and God be praised for good king

Taylor's prayer against the pope's detestable enormities.

(1) "Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium."

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Edward." So they carried him to prison to the King's Bench, where he lay prisoner almost two years.

This is the sum of that first talk, as I saw it mentioned in a letter that Dr. Taylor wrote to a friend of his; thanking God for his grace, that he had confessed his truth, and was found worthy for truth to suffer prison and bands, beseeching his friends to pray for him, that he might persevere constant unto the end.

Godly behaviour of Taylor in prison.

Being in prison, Dr. Taylor spent all his time in prayer, reading the holy Scriptures, and writing, and preaching, and exhorting the prisoners, and such as resorted to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

Prisons turned into churches, and churches into dens of thieves.

Within a few days after, were divers other learned and godly men in sundry counties of England committed to prison for religion, so that almost all the prisons in England were become right christian schools and churches; so that there was no greater comfort for christian hearts, than to come to the prisons to behold their virtuous conversation, and to hear their prayers, preachings, most godly exhortations, and consolations.

Lamentable distress of God's true worshippers in those days.

Now were placed in churches blind and ignorant mass-mongers, with their Latin babblings and apish ceremonies; who, like cruel wolves, spared not to murder all such, as any thing at all but once whispered against their popery. As for the godly preachers which were in king Edward's time, they were either fled the realm, or else, as the prophets did in king Ahab's days, they were privily kept in corners. As many as the papists could lay hold on, they were sent into prison; there as lambs waiting when the butchers would call them to the slaughter.

Bradford and Taylor prison-fellows in the King's Bench.

When Dr. Taylor was come into the prison called the King's Bench, he found therein the virtuous and vigilant preacher of God's word, master Bradford; which man, for his innocent and godly living, his devout and virtuous preaching, was worthily counted a miracle of our time; as even his adversaries must needs confess. Finding this man in prison, he began to exhort him to faith, strength, and patience, and to persevere constant unto the end. Master Bradford, hearing this, thanked God that he had provided him such a comfortable prison-fellow. And so they both together lauded God, and continued in prayer, reading, and exhorting one the other; insomuch that Dr. Taylor told his friends that came to visit him, that God had most graciously provided for him, to send him to that prison where he found such an angel of God, to be in his company to comfort him.

DR. TAYLOR BROUGHT FORTH TO BE DEPRIVED.

Taylor defendeth marriage of priests.

After that Dr. Taylor had lain in prison awhile, he was cited to appear in the Arches, at Bow-church, to answer unto such matter as there should be objected against him. At the day appointed he was led thither, his keeper waiting upon him; where, when he came, he stoutly and strongly defended his marriage, affirming, by the Scriptures of God, by the doctors of the primitive church, by both laws civil and canon, that it is lawful for priests to marry, and that such as have not the gift of continency are bound, on pain of damnation, to marry. This did he so plainly prove, that the judge could give no

sentence of divorce against him; but gave sentence he should be deprived of his benefice, because he was married.

Deprived of his benefice, because of his marriage.

"You do me wrong then," quoth Dr. Taylor; and alleged many laws and constitutions for himself. But all prevailed not; for he was again carried into prison, and his livings taken away, and given to other. As for Hadley benefice, it was given or sold, I wot not whether, to one master Newcalle, whose great virtues were altogether unlike to Dr. Taylor, his predecessor, as the poor parishioners full well have proved.

DR. TAYLOR BROUGHT AGAIN BEFORE WINCHESTER AND OTHER BISHOPS.

The papists' rule, and reign.

After a year and three quarters, or thereabout, in the which time, the papists got certain old tyrannous laws, which were put down by king Henry the Eighth and by king Edward, to be again revived by parliament: so that now they might, ex officio, cite whom they would, upon their own suspicion, and charge him with what articles they lusted; and except they in all things agreed to their purpose, burn them: when these laws were once established, they sent for Dr. Taylor, with certain other prisoners, who were again convented before the chancellor and other commissioners, about the 22d of January. The purport and effect of which talk between them, because it is sufficiently described by himself, in his own letter written to a friend of his, I have annexed the said letter hereunder, as followeth.

A Letter of Dr. Taylor, containing and reporting the Talk had between him and the Lord Chancellor and other Commissioners, the 22d of January.

The pardon is proffered.

Whereas you would have me to write the talk between the king and queen's most honourable council and me, on Tuesday, 22d of January, so far as I remember: first, my lord chancellor said, "You, among others, are at this present time sent for, to enjoy the king's and queen's majesties' favour and mercy, if you will now rise again with us from the fall which we generally have received in this realm; from the which (God be praised!) we are now clearly delivered miraculously. If you will not rise with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you shall have judgment according to your demerit." To this I answered, that so to rise, should be the greatest fall that ever I could receive: for I should so fall from my dear Saviour Christ, to Antichrist.[1] "For I do believe, that the religion set forth in king Edward's days, was according to the vein of the holy Scripture, which containeth fully all the rules of our christian religion, from the which I do not intend to decline, so long as I live, by God's grace."

The religion set forth in king Edward's days.

Secretary Bourn cavilleth against it.

A testimony of the Book of Service set out in king Edward's days.

Then master secretary Bourn said, "Which of the religions mean ye of, in king Edward's days? For ye know there were divers books of religion set forth in his days. There was a religion set forth in a catechism by my lord of Canterbury. Do you mean that you will stick to that?" I answered, "My lord of Canterbury made a catechism to be translated into English, which book was not of his own making; yet he set it forth in his own name: and truly that book for the time did much good. But there was, after that, set forth by the most innocent king Edward (for whom God be praised everlastingly), The Whole Church-service, with great deliberation, and the advice of the best learned men in the realm, and authorized by the whole parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole realm: which book was never reformed but once; and yet, by that one reformation it was so fully perfected, according to

(1) Note this answer.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

the rules of our christian religion in every behalf, that no christian conscience could be offended with any thing therein contained; I mean of that book reformed."

Then my lord chancellor said, "Didst thou never read the book that I set forth of the sacraments?"—I answered, that I had read it.

Then he said, "How likest thou that book?"—With that one of the council (whose name I know not[1]) said, "My lord, that is a good question: for I am sure that book stoppeth all their mouths." Then said I, "My lord, I think many things be far wide from the truth of God's word in that book."

Then my lord said, "Thou art a very varlet." To that I answered, "That is as ill as 'raca' or 'fatue,'"[2] Then my lord said, "Thou art an ignorant beetle-brow."—To that I answered, "I have read over and over again the holy Scriptures, and St. Augustine's works through; St. Cyprian, Eusebius, Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, with divers other books through, once; therefore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Besides these, my lord, I professed the civil laws, as your lordship did; and I have read over the canon law also."

Taylor learned in divinity and the civil law.

Then my lord said, "With a corrupt judgment thou readest all things: touching my profession, it is divinity, in which I have written divers books."—Then said I, "My lord, ye did write one book, 'De vera obedientia:' I would you had been constant in that; for indeed you never did declare a good conscience that I heard of, but in that one book."

Then my lord said, "Tut, tut, tut; I wrote against Bucer in priests' marriages: but such books please not such wretches as thou art, which hast been married many years."—To that I answered, "I am married indeed, and I have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank God: and this I am sure of, that your proceedings now at this present in this realm against priests' marriages, is the maintenance of the doctrine of devils, against natural law, civil law, canon law, general councils, canons of the apostles, ancient doctors, and God's laws."

Priests' marriages confirmed by Taylor.

Then spake my lord of Durham, saying, "You have professed the civil law, as you say. Then you know that Justinian writeth, that priests should, at their taking of orders, swear that they were never married; and he bringeth in to prove that, 'Canones apostolorum.'"—To that I answered, that I did not remember any such law of Justinian. "But I am sure, that Justinian writeth, in 'Titulo de indicta Viduitate,' (in Cod.) that if one would bequeath to his wife in his testament a legacy, under a condition that she should never marry again, and take an oath of her for accomplishing the same, yet she may marry again if he die, notwithstanding the aforesaid conditions, and oath taken and made against marriage: and an oath is another manner of obligation made to God, than is a papistical vow made to man.—Moreover, in the Pandects it is contained, that if a man doth manumit his handmaid, under a condition that she shall never marry; yet she may marry, and her patron shall lose 'jus patronatus,' for his adding of the unnatural and unlawful condition against matrimony."

Justinian's law approveth marriage, and condemneth oaths against it.

Tonstal thoroughly answered by the civil law.

Then my lord chancellor said, "Thou sayest that priests may be married by God's law. How provest thou that?"—I answered, "By the plain words and sentences of St. Paul, both to Timothy and to Titus, where he speaks most evidently of the marriage of priests, deacons, and bishops.[3] And Chrysostome, writing upon the epistle to Timothy, saith, 'It is a heresy to say that a bishop may not be married.'"

Chrysostome calleth it a heresy to say that a priest may not be married.

Then said my lord chancellor, "Thou liest of Chrysostome. But thou dost, as all thy companions do, belie ever without shame both the Scriptures and the doctors. Didst thou not also say, that by the canon law priests may be married? which is most untrue, and the contrary is most true."—I answered, "We read in the decrees, that the four general councils—Nicene, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon—have the same authority that the four evangelists have. And we read in the same decrees (which is one of the chief books of the canon law), that the council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, did allow priests' and bishops' marriages: therefore by the best part of the canon law, priests may be married."

Canon law approveth priests' marriages.

Then my lord chancellor said, "Thou falsifiest the general council; for there is express mention in the said decree, that priests should be divorced from their

(1) His right name might be "sir John Clawback." (2) Matt. v.
(3) Scripture approveth priests' marriage, but the pope must be heard before the Scripture.

wives, which be married."—Then said I, "If those words be there, as you say, then am I content to lose this great head of mine: let the book be fetched!" *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Then spake my lord of Durham: "Though they be not there, yet they may be in 'Ecclesiastica Historia,' which Eusebius wrote; out of which book the decree was taken."—To that said I, "It is not like that the pope would leave out any such sentence, having such authority, and making so much for his purpose." Tonstal helpeth Winchester at need.

Then my lord chancellor said, "Gratian was but a patcher, and thou art glad to snatch up such a patch as maketh for thy purpose."[1]—I answered, "My lord, I cannot but marvel that you do call one of the chief papists that ever was, but a patcher."

Then my lord chancellor said, "Nay I call *thee* a snatcher and patcher. To make an end, wilt thou not return again with us to the catholic church?" And with that he rose.—And I said, "By God's grace I will never depart from Christ's church."

Then I required that I might have some of my friends to come to me in prison: and my lord chancellor said, "Thou shalt have judgment within this week:" and so was I delivered again unto my keeper. My lord of Durham would, that I should believe as my father and my mother did. I alleged St. Augustine, that we ought to prefer God's word before all men. Taylor sent again to prison.

And thus much was contained in the aforesaid letter of doctor Taylor for that matter.

Besides this letter, moreover he directed another writing in like manner to another friend of his, concerning the causes wherefore he was condemned, which we thought likewise here to express as followeth.

The Copy of another Letter to his Friend, touching his Assertions of the Marriage of Priests, and other Causes for the which he was condemned.

It is heresy to defend any doctrine against the holy Scripture. Therefore the lord chancellor and bishops, consenting to this sentence against me, be heretics. For they have given sentence against the marriage of priests, knowing that St. Paul to Timothy and Titus writeth plainly, that bishops, priests, and deacons, may be married; knowing also that, by St. Paul's doctrine it is the doctrine of devils to inhibit matrimony. And St. Paul willeth every faithful minister to teach the people so, lest they be deceived by the marked merchants.[2] Winchester and his fellows proved to be open heretics.

These bishops are not ignorant, that it is not only St. Paul's council, and lawful, but God's commandment also, to marry—for such as cannot otherwise live chaste, neither avoid fornication. Bishops sin against their own conscience.

They know that such as do marry, do not sin.

They know that God, before sin was, ordained matrimony, and that in Paradise, between two of his principal creatures, man and woman.[3]

They know what spirit they have, which say it is evil to marry (seeing God said, "It is not good for man to be alone without a wife"[4]), having no special gift, contrary to the general commandment and ordinance, divers times repeated in the book of Genesis, which is, to increase and multiply.

They know that Abraham carried into the land of Canaan his old and yet barren wife,[5] the virtuous woman Sarah with him; leaving father and mother, and country the while, at God's commandment. For though father and mother and other friends are dear and near, yet none are so dearly and nearly joined together, as man and wife in matrimony, which must needs be holy; for that it is a figure and similitude of Christ and his church. Marriage no impediment for a good man to walk in obedience.

They know that St. Paul[6] giveth a great praise to matrimony, calling it honourable; and that not only to and among many, but to and among all men

(1) Gardiner denieth his own canonist, and calleth it a patched law. (2) 1 Tim. iv.
(3) 1 Cor. vii. Gen. ii. (4) Gen. ii. (5) Gen. xii. (6) Ephes. v. Heb. xiv.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

without exception, whosoever have need of that God's remedy, for man's and woman's infirmity.

They know that if there were any sin in matrimony, it were chiefly to be thought to be in the bed-company. But St. Paul saith, that the bed-company is undefiled.

They know that the having of a wife was not an impediment for Abraham,[1] Moses,[2] Isaac,[3] Jacob,[4] David,[5] &c., to talk with God; neither to the Levites, bishops' and priests' office,[6] in the time of the Old Testment or the New.

They know that Christ would not be conceived or born of his blessed mother, the Virgin Mary, before she was espoused in marriage, his own ordinance.

They know, by St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, that a vow is not an impediment sufficient to let matrimony, or to divorce the same.

They know that St. Chrysostome saith, it is heresy to affirm that a bishop may not have a wife.

They know that Ambrose[7] will have no commandment but counsel only to be given, touching the observing of virginity.

They know that Christ, with his blessed mother and the apostles, were at a marriage, and [therefore] beautified and honoured the same with his presence, and first miracle.

To be short, they know that all that I have here written touching the marriage of priests, is true: and they know that the papists themselves do not observe, touching that matter, their own laws and canons, and yet they continue marked in conscience with a hot iron, as detestable heretics in this behalf. The Lord give them grace to repent, if it be his good will. Amen.

The second cause of Taylor's condemnation.

My second cause why I was condemned a heretic is, that I denied transubstantiation and concomitation, two juggling words of the papists, by the which they do believe, and will compel all other to believe, that Christ's natural body is made of bread, and the Godhead by and by to be joined thereunto; so that immediately after the words called 'the words of consecration,' there is no more bread and wine in the sacrament, but the substance only of the body and blood of Christ together with his Godhead: so that the same being now Christ, both God and man, ought to be worshipped with godly honour, and to be offered to God, both for the quick and the dead, as a sacrifice propitiatory and satisfactory for the same. This matter was not long debated in words: but because I denied the aforesaid papistical doctrine (yea rather, plain, most wicked, idolatry, blasphemy and heresy), I was judged a heretic.

I did also affirm the pope to be Antichrist, and popery antichristianity. And I confessed the doctrine of the Bible to be sufficient doctrine, touching all and singular matters of christian religion, and of salvation.

All men must obey kings.

I also alleged, that the oath against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, was a lawful oath, and so was the oath made by us all, touching the king's or queen's pre-eminence: for Chrysostome saith, that apostles, evangelists, and all men in every realm, were ever, and ought to be ever, touching both body and goods, in subjection to the kingly authority, who hath the sword in his hand, as God's principal officer and governor in every realm. I desired the bishops to repent for bringing the realm from Christ to Antichrist, from light to darkness, from verity to vanity.

Thus you know the sum of my last examination and condemnation. Pray for me, and I will pray for you.

Taylor never afraid of death.

God be praised, since my condemnation I was never afraid to die; God's will be done. If I shrink from God's truth, I am sure of another manner of death than had judge Hales. But God be praised, even from the bottom of my heart, I am unmovably settled upon the rock, nothing doubting but that my dear God will perform and finish the work, that he hath begun in me and others. To him be all honour both now and ever, through Christ our only and whole Saviour. Amen.

And thus much wrote Dr. Taylor, concerning this matter, to his friend.

You heard in the former answers a little before, certain allegations touched of Dr. Taylor out of St. Cyprian, Augustine, Chrysostome,

(1) Gen. xviii. (2) Exod. xviii. (3) Gen. xxv. (4) Gen. xxxi. (5) 2 Kings vii. (6) Matt. i. (7) Ambrose 3, "Qui integritat."

and Ambrose, touching the lawfulness of priests' marriage. Now ye shall hear the places of the said doctors cited and produced out of their own books, as here ensueth.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

The Places of the Doctors alleged before, in Dr. Taylor's Letter.

This question was asked of St. Cyprian,[1] "What should be done with those religious persons, that could not keep their chastity as they had vowed." He answered thus: "Thou dost ask what we do judge of virgins, which, after they had decreed to live chastely, are afterward found in bed with a man. Of which thou sayest, that one of them was a deacon. We do with great sorrow see the great ruin of many persons, which cometh by the reason of such unlawful and perilous companying together. Wherefore, if they have dedicated themselves unto Christ in faith, to live purely and chastely, then let them so remain without any fable, and strongly and steadfastly abide the reward of virginity. But if they will not abide, or else cannot abide, then it is better to marry, than to fall into the fire of concupiscence: and let them give to the brethren and sisters, none occasion of slander;" etc.

A deacon or virgin, or any other that hath dedicated himself to virginity, if unable to live chaste, ought to marry.

"Certain men do affirm, those men to be adulterers, that do marry after that they have vowed chastity. But I do affirm, that those men do grievously sin, the which do separate them," etc.[2]

"Chastity of the body ought to be desired of us: which thing I do give for a counsel, and do not command it imperiously.[3] For virginity is a thing which ought to be only counselled, but not to be commanded: it is rather a thing of voluntary will, and not a precept."[4]

A brief Recapitulation out of Dr. Taylor's Causes afore touched, for the Reader more evidently to see how the Papists do against their own Knowledge, in forbidding Priests' Marriage.

The pope's clergy, forbidding ecclesiastical persons to marry, do against their conscience and knowledge, as may well be proved by these causes hereunder following.

First; they know that matrimony in the Old Testament, "de jure institutionis," is indifferently permitted to all men without any exception.

Secondly; they know, that in the Old Testament, "de facto," both priests, Levites, prophets, patriarchs, and all others had their wives.

Thirdly; they know that matrimony was permitted and instituted of God, for two principal ends; to wit, for procreation, and avoiding of sin.

Fourthly; they know that in the Old Testament God not only instituted and permitted matrimony to be free, but also induceth and appointeth men to marry and take wives, in these words: "It is not good for a man to be alone," etc.

Fifthly; they know that in the New Testament St. Paul permitteth the state of matrimony free to all men, having not the gift of continency, and forbiddeth none.

Sixthly; they know that in the New Testament the said St. Paul not only permitteth, but also expressly willeth and chargeth men, having not the gift, to marry; saying, "For avoiding fornication, let every man have his wife," etc.

Seventhly; they know that in the New Testament the said St. Paul not only permitteth and commandeth, but also commendeth and praiseth the state of matrimony, calling it "honourable," and the bed-company to be "undefiled," etc.[5]

Eighthly; they know that in the New Testament Christ himself not only was not conceived nor born of the Virgin before she was espoused in matrimony; but also, that both he and his blessed mother did beatify and honour the state of matrimony with their presence: yea, in the same began his first miracle.

Ninthly; they know both by the Old Testament and New, that marriage is

(1) Cyprian, lib. i. Epist. 11.
(2) Augustine, in his book, "De bono Conjugali," ad Julianum.
(3) The pope and his bishops command and counsel not to marry; yea, and to burn men for marrying. (4) Ambrose, 32. Quest. i. cap. "Integritas." (5) Heb. xiii.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

no impediment to walk in the obedience of God's commandment; for both Abraham carried into the land of Canaan his old, yea and barren wife, the virtuous woman Sarah, with him: and also to Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, and others, their marriage was no impediment to them to talk with God; neither to other Levites, bishops and priests, in the time of both the Old Testament, and of the New. Again, neither was it a let to Peter, Philip, and others, both to have their wives with them, and also to supply the office of apostleship.

Tenthly; they know both by the Old Testament and New, that sinful fornication and adultery depriveth man of God's favour and graces of the Holy Ghost, which graces especially be requisite in the men of the church.

Eleventhly; they know in their own secret conscience, and by experience, that neither they which enjoin this vow of chastity, nor they which take it, do observe the vow of chastity. Whereupon rise inconveniences more than can be expressed: but the Lord above knoweth all, besides the secret murders, peradventure, of many a poor infant, etc.

Twelfthly; they know by St. Cyprian,[1] and St. Augustine,[2] that a vow is no impediment sufficient to let matrimony, or to divorce the same.

Thirteenthly; they know that Chrysostome affirmeth it to be a heresy to say, that a bishop may not have a wife.

Fourteenthly; they know that St. Ambrose[3] will have no commandment, but counsel only to be given, touching the observing of virginity.

Fifteenthly; they know that before the time of pope Hildebrand, that is, during the time of one thousand years after Christ, marriage was never restrained, by any forcible necessity of vow, from men of the church.

Sixteenthly; they know that St. Paul calleth it the doctrine of devils, to forbid meats and marriage, which God hath left free, with thanksgiving, for necessity of man and woman.

After that Dr. Taylor thus, with great spirit and courage, had answered for himself, and stoutly rebuked his adversaries for breaking their oath made before to king Henry and to king Edward his son, and for betraying the realm into the power of the Roman bishop; they—perceiving that in no case he could be stirred to their wills and purpose; that is, to turn with them from Christ to Antichrist—committed him thereupon to prison again, where he endured till the last of January.

DR. TAYLOR THE FOURTH TIME, WITH MASTER BRADFORD, AND MASTER SAUNDERS, BROUGHT BEFORE WINCHESTER AND OTHER BISHOPS.

On the day and year aforesaid, Dr. Taylor, and master Bradford, and master Saunders, were again called to appear before the bishop of Winchester, the bishops of Norwich, London, Salisbury, and Durham; and there were charged again with heresy and schism: and therefore a determinate answer was required; whether they would submit themselves to the Roman bishop, and abjure their errors; or else they would, according to their laws, proceed to their condemnation.

The constancy of the martyrs.

When Dr. Taylor and his fellows, master Bradford and master Saunders, heard this, they answered stoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in king Edward's days, neither would they submit themselves to the Romish Antichrist; but they thanked God for so great mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to suffer for his word and truth.

(1) Epist. xi.
(2) Lib. de Bono Viduitatis, ad Julianum. [Tom. vi. fol. 13, col. 375. Edit. Bened.—Ed.]
(3) 32. Quest. i. cap. "Integritas."

When the bishops saw them so boldly, constantly, and unmovably fixed in the truth, they read the sentence of death upon them, which when they had heard, they most joyfully gave God thanks, and stoutly said unto the bishops, "We doubt not, but God the righteous Judge will require our blood at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent this receiving again of Antichrist; and your tyranny that ye now show against the flock of Christ."

Sentence of death given upon innocents.

So was Dr. Taylor now condemned, committed to the Clink, and the keepers charged straitly to keep him: "For ye have now another manner of charge," quoth the lord chancellor, "than they had before: therefore look ye; take heed to it."

Taylor condemned.

When the keeper brought him toward the prison, the people flocked about to gaze upon him: unto whom he said, "God be praised, good people, I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the truth with my blood." So was he bestowed in the Clink till it was toward night; and then he was removed to the Compter by the Poultry.

Removed from the Clink to the Compter, by night.

When Dr. Taylor had lain in the said Compter in the Poultry a seven-night or thereabouts prisoner, the 4th of February, A. D. 1555, Edmund Bonner bishop of London, with others, came to the said Compter to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments as do appertain to their massing-mummery. Now, being come, he called for the said Dr. Taylor to be brought unto him; the bishop being then in the chamber where the keeper of the Compter and his wife lay. So Dr. Taylor was brought down from the chamber above that, to the said Bonner. And at his coming, the bishop said, "Master doctor, I would you would remember yourself, and turn to your mother, holy church; so may you do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon." Whereunto master Taylor answered, "I would you and your fellows would turn to Christ. As for me, I will not turn to Antichrist." "Well," quoth the bishop, "I am come to degrade you: wherefore put on these vestures." "No," quoth Dr. Taylor, "I will not." "Wilt thou not?" said the bishop. "I shall make thee ere I go." Quoth Dr. Taylor, "You shall not, by the grace of God." Then he charged him upon his obedience to do it: but he would not do it for him; so he willed another to put them upon his back. And when he was thoroughly furnished therewith, he set his hands to his side, walking up and down, and said, "How say you, my lord? am not I a goodly fool? How say you, my masters? If I were in Cheap, should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys, and toying trumpery?" So the bishop scraped his fingers, thumbs, and the crown of his head, and did the rest of such like devilish observances.

Bonner cometh to degrade him.

Persuading Taylor to turn, he refuseth.

Taylor and Bonner strive for putting on the massing-garments.

Taylor deridetn the pope's massing toys.

At the last, when he should have given Dr. Taylor a stroke on the breast with his crosier-staff, the bishop's chaplain said: "My lord! strike him not, for he will sure strike again." "Yea, by St. Peter will I," quoth Dr. Taylor. "The cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian, if I would not fight in my Master's quarrel." So the bishop laid his curse upon him, but struck him not. Then Dr. Taylor said, "Though you do curse me, yet God doth bless me. I have the witness of my conscience, that ye have done me wrong and violence: and yet I pray God, if it be his will, to forgive you.

Taylor prayeth again against the pope and his detestable enormities.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

But from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us!" And in going up to his chamber, he still said, "God deliver me from you! God deliver me from you!" And when he came up, he told master Bradford (for they both lay in one chamber), that he had made the bishop of London afraid: "for," saith he laughingly, "his chaplain gave him counsel not to strike me with his crosier-staff, for that I would strike again; and, by my troth," said he, rubbing his hands, "I made him believe I would do so indeed."

Bonner afraid of Taylor.

Keepers of prison.

The night after that he was degraded, his wife and his son Thomas resorted unto him, and were, by the gentleness of the keepers, permitted to sup with him. For this difference was ever found between the keepers of the bishops' prisons, and the keepers of the king's prisons: that the bishops' keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannous like their masters: but the keepers of the king's prisons showed, for the most part, as much favour as they possibly might. So came Dr. Taylor's wife, his son, and John Hull his servant, to sup with him: and at their coming-in afore supper, they kneeled down and prayed, saying the litany. After supper walking up and down, he gave God thanks for his grace, that had so called him, and given him strength to abide by his holy word: and turning to his son Thomas, he said:

Taylor blesseth his son.

"My dear son, Almighty God bless thee, and give thee his holy Spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, to learn his word, and constantly to stand by his truth all thy life long. And, my son, see that thou fear God always. Flee from all sin, and wicked living: be virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply thy book. In any wise see that thou be obedient to thy mother, love her and serve her: be ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsel in all things. Beware of lewd company, of young men that fear not God, but follow their lewd lusts and vain appetites. Fly from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembering, that I thy father do die in the defence of holy marriage. Another day, when God shall bless thee, love and cherish the poor people, and count that thy chief riches is, to be rich in alms: and when thy mother is waxed old, forsake her not; but provide for her to thy power, and see that she lack nothing: for so will God bless thee, and give thee long life upon earth, and prosperity: which I pray God to grant thee."[1]

Then, turning to his wife, he said thus:

Taylor counselleth his wife.

"My dear wife, continue steadfast in the fear and love of God; keep yourself undefiled from their popish idolatries and superstitions. I have been unto you a faithful yoke-fellow, and so have you been unto me; for the which I pray God to reward you; and doubt not, dear wife, but God will reward it.—Now the time is come that I shall be taken from you, and you discharged of the wedlock-bond towards me: therefore I will give you my counsel, what I think most expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing woman, and therefore it will be most convenient for you to marry. For doubtless you shall never be at a convenient stay for yourself and our poor children, nor out of trouble, till you be married. Therefore, as soon as God will provide it, marry with some honest faithful man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will provide an honest husband for you, and he will be a merciful Father to you and to my children; whom I pray you bring up in the fear of God, and in learning, to the uttermost of your power, and keep them from this Romish idolatry."

His last token to his wife and his son.

When he had thus said, they with weeping tears prayed together, and kissed one the other: and he gave to his wife a book of the

(1) Taylor's godly exhortation to his son, is worthy of all youth to be marked.

church-service, set out by king Edward, which he, in the time of his imprisonment, daily used. And unto his son Thomas he gave a Latin book, containing the notable sayings of the old martyrs, gathered out of "Ecclesiastica Historia;" and in the end of that book he wrote his testament and last "vale," as hereafter followeth.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

The last Will and Testament of Dr. Rowland Taylor, Parson of Hadley, written in the Book which he gave to his Son.

I say to my wife, and to my children, The Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me:[1] blessed be the name of the Lord! I believe that they are blessed which die in the Lord.[2] God careth for sparrows, and for the hairs of our heads.[3] I have ever found him more faithful and favourable, than is any father or husband. Trust ye therefore in him by the means of our dear Saviour Christ's merits: believe, love, fear and obey him: pray to him, for he hath promised to help. Count me not dead, for I shall certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you shall follow after, to our long home. I go to the rest of my children, Susan, George, Ellen, Robert and Zachary: I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipotent.

I say to my dear friends of Hadley, and to all others which have heard me preach; that I depart hence with a quiet conscience, as touching my doctrine, for the which I pray you thank God with me. For I have, after my little talent, declared to others those lessons that I gathered out of God's book, the blessed Bible. Therefore if I, or an angel from heaven, should preach to you any other gospel than that ye have received, God's great curse upon that preacher!

A pure conscience fully quieted.

Beware, for God's sake, that ye deny not God, neither decline from the word of faith, lest God decline from you, and so do ye everlastingly perish. For God's sake beware of popery, for though it appear to have in it unity, yet the same is vanity and antichristianity, and not in Christ's faith and verity.

A grave warning against popery.

Beware of the sin against the Holy Ghost, now after such a light opened so plainly and simply, truly, thoroughly, and generally to all England.

The sin against the Holy Ghost.

The Lord grant all men his good and holy Spirit, increase of his wisdom, contemning the wicked world, hearty desire to be with God and the heavenly company; through Jesus Christ, our only Mediator, Advocate, righteousness, life, sanctification, and hope. Amen, Amen. Pray, pray.

A godly prayer.

Rowland Taylor departing hence in sure hope, without all doubting of eternal salvation, I thank God my heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ my certain Saviour, Amen.

The 5th of February, anno 1555.

The Lord is my light and my salvation: whom then shall I fear?[4]
God is he that justifieth: who is he that can condemn?[5]
In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me never be confounded.[6]

On the next morrow after that Dr. Taylor had supped with his wife in the Compter, as is before expressed, which was the 5th day of February, the sheriff of London with his officers came to the Compter by two o'clock in the morning, and so brought forth Dr. Taylor; and without any light led him to the Woolsack, an inn without Aldgate. Dr. Taylor's wife, suspecting that her husband should that night be carried away, watching all night in St. Botolph's church-porch beside Aldgate, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth, of thirteen years of age (whom, being left without father or mother, Dr. Taylor had brought up of alms from three years old), the other named Mary, Dr. Taylor's own daughter.

Taylor led from the Compter by night toward Hadley.

(1) Job i. 2. (2) Apoc. xiv. (3) Luke xii.
(4) Psal. xxvii. (5) Rom. viii. (6) Psal. xxx.

Mary.

A. D. 1555.

The last meeting and leave-taking with his wife and children.

Now, when the sheriff and his company came against St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried, saying, "O my dear father! mother, mother, here is my father led away." Then cried his wife, "Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?"—for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not see the other. Dr. Taylor answered, "Dear wife, I am here;" and staid. The sheriff's men would have led him forth; but the sheriff[1] said, "Stay a little, masters, I pray you; and let him speak to his wife:" and so they staid.

Then came she to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms: and he, his wife, and Elizabeth, kneeled down and said the Lord's prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did divers others of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, "Farewell, my dear wife; be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children." And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, "God bless thee, and make thee his servant:" and kissing Elizabeth, he said, "God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and steadfast unto Christ and his word, and keep you from idolatry." Then said his wife, "God be with thee, dear Rowland; I will, with God's grace, meet thee at Hadley."

Taylor brought to the sign of the Woolsack.

The sheriff's gentleness showed to the woman.

And so was he led forth to the Woolsack, and his wife followed him. As soon as they came to the Woolsack, he was put into a chamber, wherein he was kept with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men. Dr. Taylor, as soon as he was come into the chamber, fell down on his knees and gave himself wholly to prayer. The sheriff then, seeing Dr. Taylor's wife there, would in no case grant her to speak any more with her husband, but gently desired her to go to his house, and take it as her own, and promised her she should lack nothing, and sent two officers to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding she desired to go to her mother's, whither the officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there till they came again.

Thus remained Dr. Taylor in the Woolsack, kept by the sheriff and his company, till eleven o'clock; at which time the sheriff of Essex was ready to receive: and so they set him on horseback within the inn, the gates being shut.

Taylor taketh his leave of his son Thomas, and John Hull.

At the coming out of the gates, John Hull, before spoken of, stood at the rails with Thomas, Dr. Taylor's son. When Dr. Taylor saw them, he called them, saying, "Come hither, my son Thomas." And John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father: and Dr. Taylor put off his hat, and said to the people that stood there looking on him, "Good people, this is mine own son, begotten of my body in lawful matrimony; and God be blessed for lawful matrimony." Then lifted he up his eyes towards heaven, and prayed for his son; laid his hat upon the child's head and blessed him; and so delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and said, "Farewell, John Hull, the faithfullest servant that ever man had."[2] And so they rode forth, the sheriff of Essex, with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading him.

Arthur Faysie.

When they were come almost at Brentwood, one Arthur Faysie, a man of Hadley, who before time had been Dr. Taylor's servant,

(1) This sheriff was master Chester. (2) A good testimony for all servants to mark.

met with them; and he, supposing him to have been at liberty, said, "Master doctor, I am glad to see you again at liberty," and came to him, and took him by the hand. "Soft sir," quoth the sheriff, "he is a prisoner; what hast thou to do with him?" "I cry you mercy," said Arthur; "I knew not so much, and I thought it no offence to talk to a true man." The sheriff was very angry with this, and threatened to carry Arthur with him to prison; notwithstanding, he bade him get quickly away. And so they rode forth to Brentwood, where they caused to be made for Dr. Taylor a close hood, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breathe at. This they did, that no man should know him, nor he speak to any man: which practice they used also with others. Their own consciences told them, that they led innocent lambs to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared lest, if the people should have heard them speak, or have seen them,[1] they might have been much more strengthened by their godly exhortations, to stand steadfast in God's word, and to fly the superstitions and idolatries of the papacy.

A close hood made for Taylor, that no man should know him.

All the way Dr. Taylor was joyful and merry, as one that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet or bridal. He spake many notable things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep, through his much earnest calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked living. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and rejoice, to see him so constant and steadfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die. Of these yeomen of the guard, three used Dr. Taylor friendly, but the fourth (whose name was Homes), used him very homely, unkindly, and churlishly.

Taylor joyful on his way.

Homes a notorious adversary to Taylor.

At Chelmsford met them the sheriff of Suffolk, there to receive him, and to carry him forth into Suffolk. And being at supper, the sheriff of Essex very earnestly laboured him to return to the popish religion, thinking with fair words to persuade him; and said, "Good master doctor! we are right sorry for you, considering what the loss is of such a one as ye might be, if ye would. God hath given you great learning and wisdom; wherefore ye have been in great favour and reputation in times past with the council and highest of this realm. Besides this, ye are a man of goodly personage, in your best strength, and by nature like to live many years; and, without doubt, ye should in time to come be in as good reputation as ever ye were, or rather better. For ye are well beloved of all men, as well for your virtues as for your learning: and me thinketh it were great pity you should cast away yourself willingly, and so come to such a painful and shameful death. Ye should do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to the catholic church of Rome, acknowledge the pope's holiness to be the supreme head of the universal church, and reconcile yourself to him. You may do well yet, if you will. Doubt ye not but ye shall find favour at the queen's hands. I and all these your friends will be suitors for your pardon; which, no doubt, ye shall obtain. This counsel I give you, good master doctor, of a good heart, and good-will toward you: and thereupon I drink to you." In like manner said all the yeomen of the guard, "Upon that condition, master doctor, we will all drink to you."

The sheriff of Essex laboureth to return him to papism.

(1) Christ's adversaries work all by darkness.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

When they had all drank to him, and the cup was come to him, he staid a little, as one studying what answer he might give. At the last thus he answered and said, "Master sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good-will: I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am like to deceive a great many of Hadley of their expectation." With that word they all rejoiced. "Yea, good master doctor," quoth the sheriff, "God's blessing on your heart! hold you there still. It is the comfortablest word that we heard you speak yet. What! should ye cast away yourself in vain? Play a wise man's part, and I dare warrant it, ye shall find favour." Thus they rejoiced very much at the word, and were very merry. At the last, "Good master doctor," quoth the sheriff, "what meant ye by this, that ye say ye think ye have been deceived yourself, and think ye shall deceive many a one in Hadley?" "Would ye know my meaning plainly?" quoth he. "Yea," quoth the sheriff, "good master doctor, tell it us plainly."

Taylor maketh a jest of death, with a meet answer for such doctors and councillors.

Then said Dr. Taylor, "I will tell you how I have been deceived, and, as I think, I shall deceive a great many. I am, as you see, a man that hath a very great carcase, which I thought should have been buried in Hadley churchyard, if I had died in my bed, as I well hoped I should have done; but herein I see I was deceived: and there are a great number of worms in Hadley churchyard, which should have had jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we be deceived, both I and they; for this carcase must be burnt to ashes: and so shall they lose their bait and feeding, that they looked to have had of it."

Apophthegm of Taylor.

When the sheriff and his company heard him say so, they were amazed, and looked one on another, marvelling at the man's constant mind, that thus, without all fear, made but a jest at the cruel torment and death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation clean disappointed. And in this appeareth what was his meditation in his chiefest wealth and prosperity; namely, that he should shortly die, and feed worms in his grave: which meditation if all our bishops, and spiritual men had used, they had not, for a little worldly glory, forsaken the word of God and truth, which they, in king Edward's days, had preached and set forth; nor yet, to maintain the bishop of Rome's authority, have committed so many to the fire as they did.

A good meditation.

But let us return to Dr. Taylor, who, at Chelmsford, was delivered to the sheriff of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadley, where he suffered. When they were come to Lavenham, the sheriff staid there two days; and thither came to him a great number of gentlemen and justices upon great horses, which all were appointed to aid the sheriff. These gentlemen laboured Dr. Taylor very sore to reduce him to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon, "which," said they, "we have here for you." They promised him great promotions, yea a bishopric if he would take it: but all their labour and flattering words were in vain. For he had not built his house upon the sand, in peril of falling at every puff of wind; but upon the sure and unmovable rock, Christ. Wherefore he abode constant and unmovable unto the end.

After two days, the sheriff and his company led Dr. Taylor towards Hadley; and, coming within two miles of Hadley, he desired, for somewhat, to light off his horse: which done, he leaped, and set a frisk or twain, as men commonly do in dancing.[1] "Why, master doctor," quoth the sheriff, "how do you now?" He answered: "Well, God be praised, good master sheriff, never better: for now I know I am almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my Father's house.—But, master sheriff," said he, "shall we not go through Hadley?" "Yes," said the sheriff, "you shall go through Hadley." Then said he, "O good Lord! I thank thee, I shall yet once ere I die see my flock, whom thou Lord knowest I have most heartily loved, and truly taught. Good Lord! bless them, and keep them steadfast in thy word and truth."

Taylor rejoiceth that he is so nigh home.

Another apophthegm of his.

Desirous to see his flock.

When they were now come to Hadley, and came riding over the bridge, at the bridge-foot waited a poor man with five small children; who, when he saw Dr. Taylor, he and his children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and said, "O dear father and good shepherd, Dr. Taylor! God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children." Such witness had the servant of God, of his virtuous and charitable alms given in his lifetime: for God would now the poor should testify of his good deeds, to his singular comfort, to the example of others, and confusion of his persecutors and tyrannous adversaries. For the sheriff and others that led him to death, were wonderfully astonied at this: and the sheriff sore rebuked the poor man for so crying. The streets of Hadley were beset on both sides the way with men and women of the town and country, who waited to see him; whom when they beheld so led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices they cried, saying one to another, "Ah good Lord! there goeth our good shepherd from us, that so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us. O merciful God! what shall we poor scattered lambs do? What shall come of this most wicked world? Good Lord strengthen him, and comfort him:" with such other most lamentable and piteous voices. Wherefore the people were sore rebuked by the sheriff and the catchpoles his men, that led him. And Dr. Taylor evermore said to the people, "I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come this day to seal it with my blood."

A poor man with five children comforteth him.

The people lament him.

Taylor confesseth the truth, and confirmeth the same with his blood.

Coming against the almshouses, which he well knew, he cast to the poor people money which remained of that good people had given him in time of his imprisonment. As for his living, they took it from him at his first going to prison, so that he was sustained all the time of his imprisonment by the charitable alms of good people that visited him. Therefore the money that now remained he put in a glove ready for the same purpose, and (as is said) gave it to the poor almsmen standing at their doors to see him. And, coming to the last of the almshouses, and not seeing the poor that there dwelt, ready at their doors, as the other were, he asked: "Is the blind man and blind woman, that dwelt here, alive?" It was answered, "Yea, they are

Taylor lived of alms, and gave alms.

(1) Doctor Taylor has been accused of levity by the papists; but doubtless it was holy joy which so powerfully wrought in the breast of this martyr in his way to the stake: for, "per totum iter, ingens erat lætitia, doxologiæ, psalmorumque cantiones." See the Latin Edition, p. 423.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

there within." Then threw he glove and all in at the window, and so rode forth.

Note this custom.

Thus this good father and provider for the poor now took his leave of those, for whom all his life he had a singular care and study. For this was his custom, once in a fortnight at the least, to call upon sir Anthony Doyle, and others the rich cloth-makers, to go with him to the almshouses, and there to see how the poor lived; what they lacked in meat, drink, clothing, bedding, or any other necessaries. The like did he also to other poor men that had many children, or were sick. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and, where he found cause, rebuke the unruly; and what they lacked, that gave he after his power: and what he was not able, he caused the rich and wealthy men to minister unto them. Thus showed he himself in all things an example to his flock, worthy to be followed: and taught by his deed, what a great treasure alms is, to all such as cheerfully, for Christ's sake, do it.

Aldham-common.

At the last, coming to Aldham-common, the place assigned where he should suffer, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, he asked, "What place is this, and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered hither?" It was answered, "It is Aldham-common, the place where you must suffer: and the people are come to look upon you." Then said he, "Thanked be God, I am even at home;" and so alighted from his horse, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head.

Taylor is come home.

Bonner's cost and liberality upon Taylor.

Now was his head knotted evil-favouredly, and clipped much like as a man would clip a fool's head; which cost the *good* bishop Bonner had bestowed upon him, when he degraded him. But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst out with weeping tears, and cried, saying, "God save thee, good Dr. Taylor! Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and help thee; the Holy Ghost comfort thee:" with such other like godly wishes. Then would he have spoken to the people, but the yeomen of the guard were so busy about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a tipstaff into his mouth, and would in no wise permit him to speak.

The people wish God to help him.

He is not suffered to speak to the people.

Then desired he license of the sheriff to speak; but the sheriff denied it to him, and bad him remember his promise to the council. "Well," quoth Dr. Taylor, "promise must be kept."

What this promise was, it is unknown: but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the council sent for them, and threatened them they would cut their tongues out of their heads, except they would promise, that at their deaths they would keep silence, and not speak to the people. Wherefore, they, desirous to have the use of their tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, promised silence. For the papists feared much, lest this mutation of religion, from truth to lies, from Christ's ordinances to the popish traditions, should not so quietly have been received as it was; especially this burning of the preachers: but they, measuring others' minds by their own, feared lest any tumult or uproar might have been stirred, the people having so just a cause not to be contented with their doings, or else (that they most feared) the people should more have been confirmed by their godly exhortations to

Mary. A.D. 1555.

stand steadfast against their vain popish doctrine and idolatry. But thanks be to God, which gave to his witnesses faith and patience, with stout and manly hearts to despise all torments: neither was there so much as any one man that once showed any sign of disobedience toward the magistrates. They shed their blood gladly in the defence of the truth, so leaving example unto all men of true and perfect obedience: which is, to obey God more than men; and, if need require it, to shed their own blood, rather than to depart from God's truth.

The gospellers are not seditious as the papists commonly be.

Dr. Taylor, perceiving that he could not be suffered to speak, sat down, and seeing one named Soyce, he called him and said, "Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour. Thou hast long looked for them, now take them." Then rose he up, and put off his clothes unto his shirt, and gave them away: which done, he said with a loud voice, "Good people! I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the holy Bible: and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood." With that word, Homes, yeoman of the guard aforesaid, who had used Dr. Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head with a waster, and said, "Is that the keeping of thy promise, thou heretic?" Then he, seeing they would not permit him to speak, kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people, stepped in and prayed with him: but her they thrust away, and threatened to tread her down with horses: notwithstanding she would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake, and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch-barrel, which they had set for him to stand in, and so stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes toward heaven, and so he continually prayed.

Soyce pulleth off his boots.

Taylor confesseth the truth.

A good woman coming to pray with him could not be suffered.

Then they bound him with chains, and the sheriff called one Richard Donningham, a butcher, and commanded him to set up faggots: but he refused to do it, and said, "I am lame, sir; and not able to lift a faggot." The sheriff threatened to send him to prison; notwithstanding he would not do it.

Richard Donningham.

Then appointed he one Mulleine, of Kersey, a man for his virtues fit to be a hangman, and Soyce a very drunkard, and Warwick, who, in the commotion time in king Edward's days, lost one of his ears for his seditious talk; amongst whom also was one Robert King,[1] a deviser of interludes, who albeit was there present, and had doing there with the gunpowder: what he meant and did therein (he himself saith he did it for the best, and for quick despatch) the Lord knoweth, which shall judge all: more of this I have not to say.

The tormentors. Warwick a cruel tormentor.

These four were appointed to set up the faggots, and to make the fire, which they most diligently did: and this Warwick cruelly cast a faggot at him, which lit upon his head, and brake his face, that the blood ran down his visage. Then said Dr. Taylor, "O friend, I have harm enough; what needed that?"

Taylor is patient.

Furthermore, sir John Shelton there standing by, as Dr. Taylor was speaking, and saying the psalm "Miserere," in English, struck him on

Sir John Shelton.

(1) This King was also one of them which went with his halbert to bring them to death which were burnt at Bury. "He ceaseth not to be a common railer; God grant him a heart to reflect on what is past, and a tongue to play the part of a good Christian in a short while." Ed. 1570, in loc.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

the lips: "Ye knave," said he, "speak Latin: I will make thee." At the last they set to fire; and Dr. Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, "Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands." So stood he still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with a halbert struck him on the head that the brains fell out, and the dead corpse fell down into the fire.

Soyce striketh him down with a halbert.

Thus rendered the man of God his blessed soul into the hands of his merciful Father, and to his most dear and certain Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death.

Taylor careless of his death.

They that were present and familiarly conversant with this Dr. Taylor, reported of him, that they never did see in him any fear of death; but especially, and above all the rest who besides him suffered at the same time, always showed himself merry and cheerful in time of his imprisonment: as well before his condemnation, as after, he kept one countenance and like behaviour; whereunto he was the rather confirmed by the company and presence of master John Bradford, who then was in prison and chamber with him.

The same morning, when he was called up by the sheriff to go to his burning (about three o'clock in the morning), being suddenly awaked out of his sound sleep, he sat up in his bed, and, putting on his shirt, said these words, speaking somewhat thick, after his accustomed manner, "Ah, whoreson thieves! ah, whoreson thieves! rob God of his honour, rob God of his honour?" Afterward being risen and tying his points, he cast his arms about a bulk which was in the chamber between master Bradford's bed and his; and, there, hanging by the hands, said to master Bradford, "O master Bradford," quoth he, "what a notable sway should I give if I were hanged!" meaning for that he was a corpulent and big man.—These things I thought good here to note, to set forth and declare to those that shall read this history, what a notable and singular gift of spirit and courage God had given to this godly and blessed martyr.

An example of singular courage in him.

At what time Dr. Taylor was deprived of his benefice of Hadley, there was one called sir Robert Bracher, a false pretended protestant in king Edward's days, and afterward a deadly enemy to the same religion; who was also one of them that so unmercifully thrust Dr. Taylor's wife and children out of the doors, as she herself yet can testify; and notwithstanding the same now since became a protestant again. This sir Robert Bracher aforesaid, coming to Hadley to the burial of a certain friend of his, and God's great enemy, one Walter Clark, albeit he came somewhat too late to the market (as he said), yet desirous to utter such popish pelf and packware as he brought with him, he opened there his baggage of pestilent doctrine, preaching in the same town of Hadley against justification by faith, of the corporal presence, of praying for the dead, and auricular confession; whereof Dr. Taylor having understanding by letters, writeth again to them of Hadley, directing his letter to his wife in confutation of the said popish poisoned sermon; the copy of which letter we thought not unworthy here, in the end of this story, to be annexed, as under followeth.

Sir Robert Bracher's coming to Hadley, maketh a popish sermon.

THE MARTYRDOM OF DR. ROWLAND TAYLOR, AT HADLEY.

Mary.

A Letter of Dr. Taylor of Hadley, written to his Wife.

A.D. 1555.

Dear wife, I pray God be ever with us, through Christ our only Mediator. Amen.

I thank you for my cap;[1] I am somewhat proud of it; for it is one step from the clergy in these days. I thank God my heart is clean divided from their proceedings: for I know that no man can serve two masters, specially if they agree no better than Christ and Antichrist do. I am glad that Hadley can skill of such packing-ware as was brought thither the first day of May last past. Christ's sheep can discern Christ's voice from the voice of strangers, thieves, or hirelings. The pack-bringer[2] was sorry that he came too late to the funeral-market of his faithful friend. But here I will leave them both to God's judgment, and something touch the matter whereof the packer made mention on his opening day. At the first he called the Scripture (as I hear) full of dark sentences, but indeed it is called of David, "a candle to our feet, and a light to our paths." Our Saviour Christ calleth his word, the light, which evil doers do flee from and hate, lest their deeds should be reproved thereby. St. Paul would have us to walk as children of light, and in any wise not to continue in ignorance or darkness. But all we in the world pertain to two princes; either to the Father of light and truth, or else to the prince of darkness and lies.

The Scripture falsely accused of the catholics to be obscure darkness.

In these days preachers declare evidently of whom they are sent, and with what spirit they speak, and to what prince they belong. For they cry out against God's lights, sun, moon, stars, torches, lamps, lanterns, cressets, and candles, in God's book the Bible, provided of God's great goodness and mercy to avoid all foul darkness, clouds and mists, or dangerous doubtful ways, in this our journey to our heavenly Father, long home, mansion-houses, and dearly purchased heritage. Isaiah, God's faithful messenger, saith, "Woe be unto them that call sweet sour, good evil, and light darkness. Therefore cometh my people into captivity, because they have no understanding." Our Saviour Christ pronounceth error and heresies to remain among the people, so long as ignorance of the Scriptures remaineth. And hereby it appeareth to all good consciences, what they mean, which defame or accuse God's blessed word being full of light, as though it were full of darkness. These owls would have all day-lights scraped out of books, hearts, and churches. O Lord, turn their hearts and tongues; bow them from the way of darkness, lest they go to the prince of darkness, and be cast into the pit of utter darkness, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth!

Now, touching the packs of wool, and the packs of cloth, I fear they were as all other wares be, transubstantiate into stocks; even his very finest packing stuff against only faith justifying, and for the corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, for praying for souls departed, and for auricular confession. Abraham's justification by faith, by grace, by promise, and not by works, is plainly set forth both in the fourth chapter of the epistle to the Romans, and in the third chapter to the Galatians; and Abraham's works of obedience, in offering up his son so long after his justification, must needs be taken as a fruit of a good tree justifying before men, and not of justification before God; for then had man to glory in; then did Christ die in vain.

The pope's pack-ware. justification by works, corporal presence, prayers for souls, auricular confession.

And whereas the sixth chapter of John was alleged, to prove that Christ did give his body corporally in his supper, even as he had promised in the said chapter, it is most untrue. For only he gave his body sacramentally, spiritually, and effectually, in his supper to the faithful apostles, and corporally he gave it in a bloody sacrifice for the life of the world upon the cross once for all. There, in his own person, in his own natural body, he bare all our sins. By whose stripes we are healed, as St. Peter proveth.[3] Indeed receiving Christ's sacrament accordingly as it was instituted, we receive Christ's body and Christ's blood, even, as I said before, the apostles did.

The corporal presence. Christ's body, in the supper spiritually, upon the cross corporally.

But the popish mass is another matter. The mass as it is now, is but one of Antichrist's youngest daughters, in the which the devil is rather present and received, than our Saviour, the second person in Trinity, God and man. O

The mass the pope's youngest daughter.

(1) This cap was a round cap, sent by Miles Coverdale to Dr. Taylor by his wife.
(2) This "packer" was sir Robert Bracher, preaching popish doctrine at Hadley.
(3) 1 Pet. ii and Isa. liii.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Lord God heavenly Father! for Christ's sake, we beseech thee to turn again England to the right way it was in, in king Edward's time, from this Babylonical, Jewish, spiritual whoredom, conspiracy, tyranny, detestable enormities, false doctrine, heresy, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandments; from this evident and open idolatry, sacrilege, simony, blasphemy, superstition, hypocrisy, transubstantiate angel of light, and day-devil, kingdom of lies, foul vain schisms, sects, sedition, apostasy, gay sweet poison, honied and sugared viperous venom, wily wolfishness, satanical subtilty, and abomination in the sight of God, and all such as put on the true spectacles of holy Scripture. I am the more plain now in this matter, because I fear greatly, that many will be too much ready to go from Christ to Antichrist, from the Bible, God's true service and religion, to Latin lying legends, portueses, mass books, and superstition. They say their church cannot err in any point, when indeed they be not of God's church, and therefore they can do nothing but err, even as they do almost in all cases of true faith.

Description of the pope's kingdom.

But, to come again to the packer, rather than preacher, he bringeth St. Chrysostome, writing "Ad populum Antiochenum," where he maketh a comparison between Christ's flesh, and Elias's cloak cast down to Eliseus, when Elias was taken up in the fiery chariot: at length he saith, that Christ, ascending up to heaven, took his flesh with him, and also left his flesh behind him in earth.

Chrysostome popishly applied.

The meaning of it is, he did ascend with his flesh, and left a memorial cloak[1] of the same body and flesh, which he calleth his flesh, as he in the sacramental phrase calleth bread his body, because it representeth his body; and as, in like manner of sacramental speech, a lamb was called the passover, the circumcision, God's covenant. He took up his flesh corporally, and left his flesh in mystery and sacrament spiritually. Or it may be said, that he left his flesh upon earth; that is, his mystical body, his faithful people; whom St. Paul calleth the members of his body, of his flesh, of his bones.[2] In Genesis xlix. there is no word of Christ's sacrament; but there is a prophecy of Christ's passion wherein his foal was bound, that is, his body. And whereas he speaketh there of grapes and wine, it is as that is spoken of Christ in another place, where he saith, "Ego solus torcular calcavi," "I alone did tread the wine-press;" meaning thereby, that Christ alone suffered painful passion for the remission of sins, and for the consolation of his faithful soldiers.

The meaning of Chrysostome rightly expounded concerning Elias's cloak.

It is not true, that the packer said, that Christ's infinite power may make his body to be in a thousand places at once, as a loaf to be in a thousand bellies: for then may Christ divide the parts of his body, as a loaf is divided, and so consumed; and then might Scripture be false, appointing Christ's body to be but in one place.[3] The articles of our faith tell us sufficiently where Christ's body is. It was never in two places at once, neither ever shall be, neither ever can be corporally and naturally; neither ever was, is, can, or shall be eaten so with any corporal mouths, as the Capernaites and the papists most erroneously and heretically do judge. If our Saviour Jesus Christ hath no other body natural than is made of the substance of bread, and is in a thousand places at once, as I have often said in Hadley, we are not yet redeemed, neither shall our bodies rise again, and be made like unto his glorious body. We are sure that our Saviour Christ's body is made of none other substance than of his mother the blessed Virgin Mary's substance. We are sure that he taketh not the nature of angels, much less of bread. Only he taketh on him the seed of Abraham, in all things like unto us, sin only except.[4] And this is a comfortable doctrine to us Christians, believing steadfastly, as the true catholic faith is, that Christ hath but two natures, perfect God, and perfect man. Upon this rock Christ's church is builded, and the gates of hell shall never prevail against it.[5]

Christ's natural body cannot be divided.

Was never in two places at once.

I speak nothing now of auricular confession, and praying for souls departed; because I do not hear what authors the packer brought in for this purpose. Sure I am that he can bring no authentical and canonical warrant for such his packware. He may say what he will of Hebricians and Grecians; and of flesh under forms, and not above forms, or above the board. He may conjure and convey, pass and repass, even what he will in such clouds and mists. He reproved the Scriptures as full of darkness, and yet is full of darkness himself. He did wittily, to bring proofs out of Jewry, Turkey, and other strange places, for his

Auricular confession. Praying for the dead.

(1) Of this memorial cloak, read before in Dr. Ridley's disputations.
(2) Ephes. v. (3) Acts iii. Phil. iii. and Heb. iii. (4) Heb. ii. (5) Matt. xvi.

round white cake; for that such his pedlary pelf-pack is contrary to the plain simplicity of Christ's supper. He glanced at priests' marriage. He might against that have brought as ancient a doctor as any be alleged out of Hebrew, for his mass and wafer cake, that is "doctor Devil."[1]

I marvel that he did not confute and confound St. Paul for the sentences written above the altar, of the which he made mention in the pulpit. For he, and his fellows of Oxford, be so profound, so excellent, so glorious, and triumphant clerks, that they can easily prove a man an ass, and all writers on the Bible ignorant, simple, full of errors, full of heresies, and beggarly fools. Yet they will be called catholics, faithful and true christian people, defenders of the holy mother the church: but truly they take part with the prince of darkness, with Antichrist, with Jezebel.[2] They will not be called papists, pharisees, Jews, Turks, heretics, and so forth: but whatsoever they will be called, God's religion had never more evident adversaries; and that in all the chief points of it: no not then, when our Saviour Christ whipt such merchants out of the temple, calling them a company of thieves.[3] God give them grace to repent! God be thanked that the nobility something of late have spied and stopped their tyranny. O unhappy England! O more ungrateful people! sooner bewitched than the foolish Galatians. We have now no excuse.

English people likened to the Galatians.

We have undoubtedly seen the true trace of the prophetical, apostolical, primitive catholic church. We are warned to beware, lest we be led out of that way, society, and rule of religion. Now we shall show what countrymen we be, whether spiritual and heavenly, or carnal and worldly. We had as true knowledge as ever was in any country, or at any time, since the beginning of the world; God be praised there-for. If Hadley, being so many years persuaded in such truth, will now willingly and wittingly forsake the same, and defile itself with the cake-god, idolatry, and other antichristianity thereunto belonging, let it surely look for many and wonderful plagues of God shortly. Though another have the benefice, yet, as God knoweth, I cannot but be careful for my dear Hadley. And therefore as I could not but speak, after the first abominable mass begun there, I being present no more, I cannot but write now being absent, hearing of the wicked profanation of my late pulpit by such a wily wolf. God's love, mercy, goodness, and favour hath been unspeakable, in teaching us the right way of salvation and justification: let us all have some zeal; some care how to serve him according to his goodwill written. The God of love and peace be ever in Hadley, through Christ our only Advocate. Amen.

Rowland Taylor.

The cake-god.

Careful zeal of Dr. Taylor for Hadley.

After that Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had got the laws and the secular arm on his side, as ye have heard, with full power and authority to reign and rule as he listed, and had brought these godly bishops and reverend preachers aforesaid under foot, namely, the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley bishop of London, master Latimer, master Hooper bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, master Rogers, master Saunders, Dr. Taylor, and master Bradford, all which he had now presently condemned, and some also burned, he supposed now all had been cock-sure, and that Christ had been conquered for ever, so that the people, being terrified with example of these great learned men condemned, never would nor durst once rout against their violent religion: not much unlike in this behalf to the manner of the Turks, who, when they cannot maintain their sect by good learning and truth of God's word, think by violence of sword to force whom they can to their belief; and, that done, afterward make laws, no man under pain of heresy to dispute, or once to call in question any of their proceedings. Even so, Stephen Gardiner and his fellows, when they see they cannot prevail by trial of God's word,

The proceedings of the pope-catholics in maintaining their religion.

The manner of proceeding alike in the catholics and the Turks.

(1) He meaneth by the place, 1 Tim. iv., where St. Paul speaketh of the doctrine of devils.
(2) Apoc. ii. (3) Matt. xxi.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

and discourse of learning, neither are disposed simply to seek for truth where it is to be found, they take exceptions against God's word, affirming it to be intricate, obscure, and insufficient to be its own judge, and therefore that of necessity it must be judged by the pope's church: and so, having kings and queens on their side, they seek not to persuade by the word of God, nor to win by charity, but, instead of the law of God, they use, as the Proverb saith, τῷ νόμῳ χείρων, compelling men by death, fire, and sword (as the Turks do), to believe that in very deed they think not. And indeed, after flesh and blood, this seemeth to be a sure way. Neither peradventure are they ignorant how gaily this way thriveth with the Turks; and therefore think they to practise the same; at least-wise so they do, upon what example soever they do it. And thus condemned they these godly learned preachers and bishops aforesaid, supposing, as I said, that all the rest would soon be quailed by their example. But they were deceived: for within eight or nine days after that Stephen Gardiner had given sentence against master Hooper, master Rogers, master Saunders, Dr. Taylor, and master Bradford, being the eighth of February, six other good men were brought likewise before the bishops for the same cause of religion, to be examined, whose names were William Pygot, butcher; Stephen Knight, barber; Thomas Tomkins, weaver; Thomas Hawkes, gentleman; John Laurence, priest; William Hunter, apprentice.

Νόμος τῶν χείρων.

Six men convented before Bonner for heresy.

Gardiner giveth over his murdering office to Bonner.

Stephen Gardiner, seeing thus his device disappointed, and that cruelty in this case would not serve to his expectation, gave over the matter as utterly discouraged, and from that day meddled no more in such kind of condemnations, but referred the whole doing thereof to Bonner bishop of London; who supplied that part right doubtily, as in the further process of this history hereafter evidently and too much may appear. Thus bishop Bonner taking the matter in hand, called before him in his consistory at Paul's, (the lord mayor, and certain aldermen sitting with him,) the six persons afore-named, upon the 8th of February in the year aforesaid, and on the next day, being the 9th of February, read the sentence of condemnation upon them, as appeareth in Bonner's own registers: such quick speed these men could make in despatching their business at once. Notwithstanding, because the death of these condemned martyrs did not follow incontinently before the next month of March, I will defer the prosecuting of their matter till I come, by the grace of the Lord, to the time and day of their suffering.

Six men condemned by Bonner.

In the mean time, what was the cause that their execution was so long deferred after their condemnation, I have not precisely to say—unless, peradventure, the sermon of Alphonsus the Spanish friar, and the king's confessor, did some good. For so I find, that when those six persons aforesaid were cast upon Saturday the 9th of February, upon Sunday following, which was the 10th of February, the said Alphonsus, a gray friar, preached before the king; in which sermon he did earnestly inveigh against the bishops for burning of men, saying plainly that they learned it not in Scripture, to burn any for his conscience:[1] but the contrary—that they should live and be con-

Alphonsus, king Philip's confessor, preaching against the burning of heretics.

(1) It was by this very gross artifice, that Philip endeavoured to remove the reproach and hatred which he had incurred. See Burnet, vol. ii. part 2, page 478. Edition 1820.—Ed.

verted; with many other things more to the same purport. But, touching the lingering of these men's death, as I have not certainly to affirm, so let it pass.

On the 14th of February master Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was sent towards St. David's, there to be condemned and executed. Touching whose martyrdom, forsomuch as it fell not before the month of March, we will defer the history thereof till we come to the day and time of his suffering.

Thomas Becket's image set up at Mercer's chapel.

Furthermore, this foresaid 14th day of February, the lord chancellor, and other his fellow bishops, caused the image of Thomas Becket, that old Romish traitor, to be set up over the Mercer's chapel door in Cheapside in London, in the form and shape of a bishop, with mitre and crosier. Howbeit within two days after his erection, his two blessing fingers were first broken away, and on the next day (being the 17th of February) his head also was stricken off. Whereupon arose great trouble, and many were suspected; among whom one master John Barnes, mercer, dwelling over against the same chapel, was vehemently by the lord chancellor charged withal, as the doer thereof; and the rather, for that he was a professor of the truth. Wherefore he, and three of his servants, were committed to prison; and at his delivery (although it could not be proved upon him) he was bound in a great sum of money as well to build it up again as often as it should be broken down, as also to watch and keep the same. And therefore, at this his compelled charges, the image was again set up the 2d day of March then next ensuing: but, for lack belike of careful watching, the 14th day of the same month in the night, the head of that dangerous beast, over whom there was such charge given, was again the second time broken off: which thing was so heinously taken, that the next day, being the 15th day, there was a proclamation made in London, that whosoever would tell who did strike off his head (though he were of counsel, and not the principal doer), he should have not only his pardon, but also one hundred crowns of gold, with hearty thanks. But it was not known who did it.

Mr. John Barnes troubled for Becket's image.

Becket's image again broken down.

Queen Mary answereth to the king of Denmark's letters touching Coverdale.

The 18th of February, queen Mary at length, after long delay, made full answer to the king of Denmark's letters, who had written before two letters to the said queen, in the behalf of master Coverdale, for his deliverance; who at that time went under sureties, and was in great danger, had he not been rescued by the great suit and letters of the said king of Denmark. The matter and copy of which his suit and letters, as they came to our hands, we have here set forth and expressed, whereby the singular love of this good king towards the truth of God's word, and the professors thereof, might the better appear to the world.

First, this virtuous and godly king Christian, hearing of the captivity of Miles Coverdale, of whom he had had some knowledge before (being there in Denmark in king Henry the Eighth's time), and lamenting his dangerous case, and partly through the intercession of master Machabæus,[1] superintendent in Denmark, who was partly of kin to master Coverdale's wife, made intercession by letters to queen

(1) This master Machabæus and Miles Coverdale married two sisters.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Mary, desiring and requesting the said Miles Coverdale to be sent unto him. The date of which his first letter was about the kalends of May, A.D. 1554; the copy whereof hereunder may be seen.[1]

Queen Mary's slender answer to the king's first letter.

To this letter of the king, queen Mary answering again, declared that the said Miles Coverdale was in no such captivity for any religion, but for certain debt: so neither plainly granting, nor expressly denying his request, but using a colourable excuse for shifting off the matter, as appeareth by his second letter sent to the queen, dated the 24th of September, as followeth.[2]

(1) *An Epistle of the King of Denmark to Queen Mary.*

Christianus, Dei gratiâ Daniæ, Norwegiæ, Gottorum, et Vandalorum rex; Sleswici, Holsatiæ, Stormariæ, ac Dithmersiæ dux; comes in Oldenburg et Delmenhorst; serenissimæ ac potentissimæ principi D. Mariæ, eâdem gratiâ Angliæ, Galliæ, et Hiberniæ reginæ, consanguineæ nostræ charissimæ, salutem.—Serenissima princeps, consanguinea charissima, pro necessitudine mutuâ ac conjunctione, non solum regii nominis inter nos, sed etiam sanguinis, maxime vero utrinque inter hæc regna nostra à vetustissimis usque temporibus propagata ac servata, non modo commerciorum sed omnium officiorum, vicissitudine et fide, facere non potuimus, quin—pietatis et doctrinæ excellentis commendatione [ac] verè reverendi viri Johannis Machabæi, sacræ theologiæ doctoris et professoris præstantissimi, subditi ac ministri nostri imprimis dilecti, supplicibus gravissimisque precibus commoti—ad serenitatem vestram has literas daremus. Exposuit is nobis, in hâc recenti perturbatione et motu regni Angliæ (quem ex animo evenisse dolemus, et nunc indies in melius verti speramus) quendam nomine Milonem Coverdalum, nuper diœcesis Exoniensis piæ laudatissimæque memoriæ proximi regis (serenitatis vestræ fratris, consanguinei itidem nostri charissimi) auctoritate constitutum episcopum, nunc in tristissimas calamitates, carcerem, ac periculum vitæ, nullâ atrocioris delicti culpâ, sed illâ fatali temporum ruinâ incidisse. Quæ quidem hic Machabæus noster, quòd ei affinitate et (quod gravius est) pietatis, eruditionis, ac morum similitudine tanquam frater devinctus sit, non minus ad se pertinere existimat. Itaque nostram opem implorat, ut quam ipse gratiam et favorem apud nos meretur, hominis innocentis calamitati ac periculo (quod ipse non minus suum putat) accommodemus. Movemur profecto non temere illius viri (cui suo merito imprimis benevolumus) commiseratione, ejusque maxime testimonio de captivi antistitis innocentiâ atque integritate: de quo quidem est ut eo melius speremus, quòd, multis jam morte mulctatis sontibus, de ipso integrum adhuc Deus esse voluit. Proinde non dubitavimus serenitatem vestram quantis possimus diligentiâ atque animi propensione rogare, ut nostrâ causâ captivi illius D. Milonis rationem clementer habere dignetur, eumque ut à sceleris, ita à pœnæ etiam atrocitate alienum esse velit, et temporum offensam, quâ ipsum quoque affligi verisimile est, nobis nostræque amicitiæ regiæ et precibus, præsertim hoc primo auditu, benignè condonare, saltem eatenus, ut si fortè hoc rerum statu gravis ejus præsentia sit, incolumis ad nos cum suis dimittatur. Id nobis summi beneficii loco, et serenitati vestræ in florentissimis regni auspiciis (quæ augusta, fausta, ac fortunata serenitati vestræ ex animo optamus) ad clementiæ laudem honorificum erit: et nos dabimus operam, ut cum amicitiæ nostræ habitam rationem intellexerimus, eo majori studio in mutuam vicem gratitudinis omniumque officiorum erga serenitatem vestram ejusque universum regnum et subditos incumbamus. Deum optimum maximum precamur, ut serenitati vestræ, ad gloriam sui nominis et publicam salutem, felices omnium rerum successus et incolumitatem diuturnam largiatur. Datæ ex arce nostra Coldingeum, septimo calendas Maii, anno 1554. Vester consanguineus, frater, et amicus, Christianus, Rex.

(2) *The King of Denmark's Second Letter.*

Christianus, Dei gratiâ Daniæ, Norwegiæ, Gottorum, et Vandalorum rex; Sleswici, Holsatiæ, Stormariæ, ac Dithmersiæ dux; comes in Oldenburg et Delmenhorst; serenissimæ principi dominæ Mariæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ reginæ, fidei defensori, sorori et consanguineæ nostræ charissimæ, salutem et omnium rerum optatos et faustos successus.—Redditæ sunt nobis literæ serenitatis vestræ, quibus benignè admodum ad deprecationem nostram, quâ pro D. Milonis Coverdali ecclesiæ Exoniensis nuper nominati episcopi incolumitate usi sumus, respondetur: ita ut intelligamus, licet alterius causæ quàm quæ nobis innotuerat periculum sustineat, tamen serenitatem vestram nostræ intercessionis eam rationem habituram esse, ut illam sibi profuisse ipse Coverdalus sentiat. Cui quidem promissioni regiæ cum tantum meritum tribuamus, ut eâ freti non dubitaverimus ejus captivi propinquos (nobis imprimis charos) à mœrore ac solicitudine ad spem atque expectationem certæ salutis vocare, facere non potuimus, quin et gratias serenitati vestræ pro tam promptâ ac benignâ voluntate, non modo hujus beneficii sed etiam perpetuæ inter nos ac regna nostra conservandæ ac colendæ amicitiæ, ageremus, et quantum in nobis esset, quod ad amplectanda persequendaque hæc auspicata initia pertineret, nihil prætermitteremus. Neque vero nobis de clementiâ ac moderatione serenitatis vestræ unquam dubium fuit: quam Deus optimus maximus ad gloriam sui nominis et fructum publicæ utilitatis ut magis ac magis efflorescere velit, ex animo optamus. Proinde cum ob rationes ærarias, neque aliud gravius delictum, D. Coverdalum teneri serenitas vestra scribat, est sanè ut ipsius causâ lætemur, eoque minus ambigamus, liberationem incolumitatemque ejus nostris precibus liberaliter donari. Nam et accepimus ipsum episcopatu, cujus nomine ærario obstrictus fuerat, cessisse, ut inde satisfactio peteretur: maximè cum neque diu eo potitum fuisse, neque tantum emolumenti inde percepisse dicatur. Quinetiam siqua rationum perplexitas, aut alia forte causa reperiri posset, tamen solicitudinem ac dubitationem nobis serenitatis vestræ tam amicè atque officiosè deferentes literæ omnem exemerunt: ut existimemus serenitatem vestram, quoad ejus fieri posset, magis honorem nostrum, quàm quid ab eo exigi possit, consideraturam: itaque serenitatem vestram repetitis precibus urgere non constituimus: sed potius testatum facere, quàm accepta nobis serenissima vestra gratificatio fit, cujus talem eventum omnino speramus, ut ipse Coverdalus coram nobis suæ incolumitatis à serenitate vestrâ exoratæ beneficium propediem repræsentare possit. Illud vero imprimis serenitati vestræ vicissim persuasum esse cupimus, nos non solum referendæ gratiæ, sed etiam stabiliendæ, provehendæque, inter nos ac regna utrinque nostra amicitiæ ac necessitudinis mutuæ occasionem aut facultatem nullam esse prætermissuros. Deus opt. max. seren. vest. diu feliciter ac beatè incolumem esse velit.—Datæ ex oppido nostro Ottoniensi, 24 Sept. anno 1554.

Vester frater et consanguineus, Christianus.

Christian, by the grace of God king of Denmark, Norway, Gothland and of the Vandals; duke of Sleswick, Holstein, Stormar, and Ditmarsh; earl of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, etc.: To the most noble princess and lady Mary, queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc., our most dearly beloved sister and cousin, wisheth prosperity with good and lucky success of all things.

We have received your majesty's letter, whereby answer is rendered, and that very graciously unto our petition, which we made for the safeguard of master Coverdale, lately called bishop of Exeter. So that we perceive, though he be in danger for another cause than was signified unto us afore, yet your majesty will so regard our intercession that Coverdale himself shall understand it to have done him good. To the which regal promise, seeing we (as reason would we should do) attribute so much, that trusting unto the same, we doubt not, whereas he, being in captivity, his friends, whom we specially tender, are therefore in heaviness and care, your good promise doth call them from such sorrow and solicitude, to the hope and expectation of his assured welfare: we could not do otherwise, but render thanks unto your majesty for such your ready and gracious good-will, not only in respect of this benefit, but also of the conservation and keeping of perpetual amity between us and our realms, and so, as much as in us lieth, to omit nothing that to the nourishing and continuance of these fortunate beginnings might appertain. Neither had we ever any doubt concerning the clemency and moderation of your goodness, whom we heartily beseech Almighty God ever more and more to prosper, unto the glory of his name, and profit of the commonweal.

Wherefore, seeing your majesty writeth, that master Coverdale is in danger for certain accounts of money, and not for any other more grievous offence, we have cause on his behalf to rejoice; and therefore we doubt so much the less, that at our request he shall graciously have his deliverance given him, and be out of danger. For as touching the bishopric, by reason whereof he came in debt, we understand he yielded it up, that no payment might thereof be required, specially seeing he is reputed neither to have enjoyed it long, neither to have had at any time so great commodity of it. Moreover, though it be possible to find some perplexity in the account, or haply some other cause, yet your majesty's letters, offering such favour and benignity, have taken from us all carefulness and doubt; insomuch, that we think your majesty, as much as may be, will have more respect unto our honour, than to that which might of him be required. And therefore we purpose not to trouble your majesty by repeating of our petition, but to declare how greatly we esteem it that your majesty would gratify us herein: whereof we plainly hope for such an end, that Coverdale himself shall shortly in our presence make declaration concerning the benefit of his welfare obtained of your majesty. And of this we desire your majesty to be specially assured again, that we will not only omit no occasion or opportunity to requite this benefit, but also to establish and amplify our mutual love and amity between us and our realms on either side. Almighty God preserve your majesty in prosperous health and felicity.

Given at our city of Otton,[1] the 24th of September, A.D. 1554.

To these letters it was a great while before the queen would answer. At length, through great suit made, the next year, the 18th of February, she answered again in this wise.

The Answer of Queen Mary to the King of Denmark's Letter.

Serenissimo principi D. Christiano Dei gratiâ Daniæ, etc. regi; Slesvici, etc. duci; comiti in Oldenburg, etc.; fratri et amico nostro charissimo.

Maria, Dei gratiâ regina Angliæ, Franciæ, Neapolis, Hierusalem, et Hiberniæ, etc., serenissimo principi Christiano, eâdem gratiâ Daniæ, Norvegiæ, Gothorum, et Vandalorum regi; Slesvici, Holsatiæ, Stormariæ, et Dithmersiæ duci; comiti in Oldenburg et Delmenhorst, etc.; fratri et amico nostro charissimo; salutem prosperumque rerum incrementum. Cum intellexerimus ex serenitatis vestræ

(1) Othonia, or Ordensee, in the Isle of Funen. See Cotton.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

literis, quas hic nuncius nobis attulit, desiderium vestrum obtinendi à nobis pro M. Coverdalo subdito nostro exeundi è regno nostro et ad vos proficiscendi facultatem, facilè quidem, in vestræ serenitatis gratiam, hanc illi facultatem concessimus. Et quanquam ille natus subditus noster nondum explicatus fuerat à debitione certæ cujusdam pecuniæ quam nostro ærario solvere jure tenebatur, tamen majorem vestri desiderii quàm nostri debiti rationem habendam esse duximus. Quin insuper animum et voluntatem gratificandi vestræ serenitati pro nostrâ mutuâ amicitiâ, in quâ aliâ etiam re possum, cum opportunitas feret, libenter ostendemus. Deus vestram serenitatem diutissimè servet incolumem.—Ex regiâ nostrâ Westmonasterii, 18th Febru., anno 1555.

Coverdale delivered, and sent to the king of Denmark.

The effect of bishop Bonner's intimation sent into his diocese.

The same month, the 19th day, was a certain intimation set forth and printed in the name of Bonner, wherein was contained a general monition, and strait charge given to every man and woman within his diocese, to prepare themselves against Lent then near approaching, to receive the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation sent from the pope Julius the Third, by Pole his cardinal and legate "de latere," and so receive also the joyful benefit of absolution, being sent first from the cardinal to Bonner, and from him to every of his archdeacons to be ministered to every private person within his diocese, that would come the said holy time of Lent to his pastor or curate to be confessed, and to receive of him wholesome counsel, penance, and absolution. Signifying moreover, that as he was authorized by the foresaid cardinal, so he, for the same purpose, had endued with the like authority all and singular pastors and curates within his diocese, to reconcile and assoil from their former heresy and schism, and from the censures of the church, such as would resort unto them. And lest any scruple or doubt, rising peradventure in their consciences, should be any stay or let in this behalf, he had assigned and deputed therefore through his diocese certain learned men, to whom they might resort, or else might open their griefs to any of his archdeacons, or else come to his own person, and so should be resolved.

And therefore all manner of doubts and obstacles set aside, he straitly willed and commanded every man and woman to come to confession, and to enjoy this benefit of reconciliation, and absolution, against the first Sunday next after Easter ensuing; and not to fail. For the which purpose he had specially commanded the pastors and curates of every parish to certify up in writing the names of every man and woman so reconciled, and so forth: the copy of which intimation hereunder followeth.

The Declaration of the Bishop of London to be published to the Lay-People of his Diocese, concerning their Reconciliation.

Intimation to receive the cardinal's absolution, and to be reconciled to the pope in Lent next following.

Edmund, by the permission of God bishop of London, unto all and singular the lay-people of his diocese, doth send greeting in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Whereas this noble realm of England, dividing itself from the unity of the catholic church, and from the agreement in religion with all other christian realms, hath been, besides many other miseries and plagues, which God's indignation hath poured upon it, grievously also vexed, and sore infected with many and sundry sorts of sects of heretics, as Arians, Anabaptists, Libertines, Zuinglians, Lutherans, and many others, all which sects be most repugnant, and contrary one against another, and all against God's truth, and Christ's catholic faith; whereupon hath grown such slander to the realm, such malice and disagreement among ourselves the inhabitants thereof, such treasons, tumults, and insurrections against our prince, such blasphemy and dishonour unto God, as no man's tongue or pen is able to express: it hath pleased the goodness of God to

cast his eye of mercy and clemency upon us, and to move the pope's holiness to send his most godly messenger, the most reverend father in God the lord cardinal Pole, legate de latere, to bring us the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation, and to reduce and bring home unto the fold, the lost sheep that were gone astray: whose message, as it hath been honourably received of the king and queen's majesties, even so the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, at the last parliament have received it; revoking all laws the which in the time of schism were promulgate against the authority of the pope's holiness, and restoring the same and the church of Rome to all that power which they had in this realm before the said schism, the which reconciliation was also most gladly and joyfully embraced, as well of all the clergy and convocation of the province of Canterbury, as also of many other persons—and being so great and necessary to be extended to every person of the realm, it hath pleased the said lord legate's grace to give and impart unto me, the said bishop of London, for my said diocese, and to all such as I shall appoint in that behalf, power and authority to absolve and reconcile all and every person thereof, as well of the clergy as of the laity, and as well men as women, the which will renounce their errors, and (being penitent) will humbly require to be restored to the unity of the catholic church,—as by the letters of the said lord legate's grace sent unto me, and from me sent unto every of the archdeacons within my diocese, more at large may and doth appear.

And forasmuch as in mine own person, as well for the multitude of people as distance of places, I cannot minister this benefit unto every private person myself, and for that also the holy time of Lent is now at hand, in which every true christian man ought to come unto his own pastor and curate, to be of him confessed, and to receive at his hand wholesome counsel, penance, and absolution: these are therefore as well to give knowledge unto every one of you, as also to signify and declare, that for that purpose, I have by the said authority chosen, named, and deputed, and so by these presents do choose, name, and depute, all and singular pastors and curates having cure of souls within my diocese, and being themselves reconciled herein; that they and every of them by authority hereof, shall have full power and authority to absolve all such as be lay-persons of their parishes from heresy and schism, and from the censures of the church, into which they be fallen by occasion thereof, and also to reconcile to the church all such which shall declare themselves penitent, and desirous to enjoy the benefit of the said reconciliation.

And whereas divers pastors and curates in sundry parishes peradventure be not able to satisfy the minds, and to appease the consciences, of some of their parishioners in cases that shall trouble them, I have therefore given also authority to every archdeacon of my diocese within his archdeaconry, to name and appoint certain of the best learned in every deanery of their archdeaconry, to supply that lack; so that every man so troubled may repair to any one of them within the said deanery whom he shall like best, to be instructed and appeased in that behalf. And also I have appointed, that if, this being done, there shall yet remain any scruple in the party's conscience, and himself not satisfied, then the said party shall repair unto one of mine archdeacons or chaplains, unto whom his mind shall be most inclined, or else to repair unto mine ownself, to be resolved in his said scruple or doubt, and to receive and take such order therein, as to one of the said archdeacons, or unto me, shall therein appear to be most expedient.

Further certifying and declaring unto you, that I have given commandment herein to all my archdeacons, that they monish and command every pastor and curate within their archdeaconries, that they, having knowledge hereof, do, on the first holiday next then following, at the mass time, when the multitude of people is present, declare all these things unto their parishioners, and exhort them that they esteem this grace accordingly, and reconcile themselves to the church before the first Sunday after Easter next ensuing: which thing I also do command by the tenor hereof, with intimation that the said time being once past, and they not so reconciled, every one of them shall have process made against him, according to the canons, as the cause shall require: for which purpose the pastors and curates of every parish shall be commanded by their archdeacon, to certify me in writing of every man and woman's name that is not so reconciled.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Further, herewith I do signify and declare unto you, that our holy father the pope Julius, the third of that name, like a most tender and natural father, hearing of the return and recovery of his prodigal child, this realm of England, hath himself made much joy and gladness hereat, and also all other true christian realms have done the like: exhorting you therefore in our Lord, not to be unthankful yourselves, or negligent in this behalf, but diligently to seek for it, joyfully to embrace it, and fruitfully to use it, remembering withal the monition and charge which came from me the last year, concerning your coming to confession in Lent, and receiving the sacrament at Easter: which monition to all effects and purposes I have now here repeated and renewed, charging you, and also all your curates therewith.

And because all our duties is earnestly and devoutly to pray for the prosperous estate of our sovereigns, the king and the queen of this realm, I do finally require and pray you, as heartily as I can, to pray for their majesties accordingly; and specially that it may please Almighty God, to send unto her grace a good time, and to make her a glad mother, which cannot be but unto us all great joy, much comfort, and inestimable profit.

Given at London the 19th day of the month of February, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the church of England, 1554, and of my translation the sixteenth.

The Form of Absolution to be kept by the Pastors and Curates in private Confessions, concerning this Reconciliation; to be used in the Diocese of London.

Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve you, and by the apostolic authority to me granted and committed, I absolve you from the sentences of excommunication, and from all other censures and pains, into the which you be fallen by reason of heresy, or schism, or any other ways: and I restore you unto the unity of our holy mother the church, and the communion of all sacraments, dispensing with you for all manner of irregularity: and by the same authority I absolve you from all your sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

We[1] have a little overpast the time and story of judge Hales, for although about this time he most pitifully sought his own destruction, through the cruel handling of the malignant papists—who pass upon nothing but upon their own dignity, little caring who perish besides, so their estimation may be magnified—yet the virtues and memory of that man are not unworthy either to be numbered with the saints that be departed, or at least not to be forgotten or obliterated among the saints that be alive. Concerning whose worthy doings, singular prudence, and incorrupt ministration of judgment, with the lamentable trouble which afterwards fell upon that good man, we thought here, among many other histories, somewhat to express; desiring the good reader to take that which is to be followed in that good man—the rest, to refer to the judgment of Him who only is Judge of all.

*THE LAMENTABLE AND PITIFUL HISTORY OF MASTER JAMES HALES, JUDGE.[2]

We have made mention, a little before, of judge Hales, who alone taking queen Mary's part, would in no wise subscribe to have any

(1) This paragraph, with that portion of the history of judge Hales similarly distinguished with asterisks, is from the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments (1563), p. 1113.—Ed.

(2) In the editions subsequent to the one just alluded to, Foxe curtails the history of judge Hales, and prefaces it with the following words: "In the history of master Hooper mention was touched a little before of judge Hales, wherefore something would be said more in this place

other queen but her, for that he thought he could not do otherwise with a safe conscience, though all the rest, in a manner, had subscribed to Edward the Sixth's will and testament. Hereby as he did cast himself into manifest jeopardy of the duke of Northumberland, to lose both body and goods, so he deserved at queen Mary's hands, and her adherents, marvellous thanks and reward of his singular faithfulness, and true heart, towards her. This sir James Hales, of the county of Kent, was both a worshipful knight and one of the high judges of the realm, who ordered and finished matters of controversy in the same. Although he did not so much exceed in nobleness of birth and parentage, as he did excel all others in virtue, prudence, gravity, and true ministering of justice; for which he was in great veneration with all men, and was more conspicuous and known to the world thereby, than by sight. There was in him, by nature grafted, a singular gift of prudence, which, afterwards, by much practice, he accomplished and brought to a marvellous good perfection; besides that, by his assiduous travail and exercise in demurring and pleading of matters, he attained to the vein of eloquence wherewith he was trimly qualified. In which kind of study, being exercised certain years, and passing the under degrees, he had aspired (being rather thereunto compelled) to the high benches, where he executed his function with much justice, fidelity, constancy, and conscience, that even the law itself seemed no less to be printed and written in his life and doings, than in the very volumes or papers; he was always so upright a justiciary and conscionable a judge, declining corruption and embracing law and equity.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

To these his gifts and qualities, were linked like sincerity and hearty affection to religion and the gospel of Christ, whereunto he had been, by many years, most earnestly set and addicted; showing himself to be a gospeller, no less by his word than deed, and no less at home than abroad: and, as he was godly himself, so brought he up his family to his godly line and order. He had daily service in his house, which was not ministered by any of his household or waiting chaplains, but by his own self, to the intent he might be the better example to the rest; joining with this devotion the often reading of the holy Scripture. After this sort and manner he passed his life all

touching that matter. But because the story of that man, and of his end, is sufficiently comprehended in our first book of Acts and Monuments, we shall not greatly need to stand upon rehearsal of every particular matter touching the whole; but, only taking the chiefest, and leaving the rest, we will report somewhat of the communication between the bishop of Winchester and him; declaring withal how false and untrue the excuse is of our adversaries, who so precisely by the law defend themselves, and say, that in all their doings they did nothing but by the law, to bear them out. Which if it be so, how did they then to Anne Askew? What law had they, when they had condemned her first for a dead woman, then afterward to rack her? By what law did they call up master Hooper, and prison him for the queen's debt, when the queen in very deed did owe him fourscore pounds, and kept him a year and a half in prison, and gave him never a penny? By what law did bishop Bonner condemn and burn Richard Mekins, a lad of fifteen years of age, when the first jury had acquitted him, and he, at the stake, revoked all heresies, and praised the said Bonner to be a good man; and also, having him in prison, would not suffer his father and mother to come to him, to comfort their own child? What law had they to put master Rogers in prison, when he did neither preach nor read lecture after the time of the queen's inhibition? and, when they had kept him in his own house half a year, being not deprived of any living, yet would not let him have a halfpenny of his own livings to relieve him, his wife, and eleven children? By what law was Thomas Tomkins's hand burnt, and afterward his body consumed to ashes? What good law or honesty was there to burn the three poor women at Guernsey, with the infant child falling out of the mother's womb, when they all, before their death, recanted their words and opinions, and were never abjured before? So here likewise in this case, what order or right of law did Stephen Gardiner follow, in troubling and imprisoning judge Hales, when he had done nothing either against God's law, or man's law, in proceeding by order of law against certain presumptuous persons, which both before the law, and against the law then in force, took upon them to say their mass, as ye shall hear in these his answers and communication had with Stephen Gardiner hereunder ensuing?"—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

king Edward's time; either being busied in weighty and public affairs, or else bestowing his time in virtue and godliness, even until his piety, by reason of the change of the prince and time, might nor could not any more be suffered or permitted.

And now, as the change of the world and time was to every man very dangerous, so to him, in especial, it appeared most perilous; who was in that office and calling, that he could neither be long absent from it in London, neither be there occupied without present peril or jeopardy. Thus, the state of religion being changed and altered, upon a time, he, being counselled by his friends and well-wishers, to leave his forensical trade, and to go home,—providing for his safety by what means he could, either in flying or hiding himself,—refused their counsel; trusting too much there, as by and by you shall understand, to his own wit. To be short; at the term-time when other of the lawyers were wont to come up to London, he, the said sir James Hales, likewise came up to do his office and function; persuading and knowing himself to be clear and inculpable. But, as a mouse, according to the old-said saw,[1] falling into the glue-pot, he was not so soon at London, but that the bishop of Winchester sent for him, and did expostulate about the calling and vexing of certain prevent-law priests; for, as yet, the mass was not by the laws received and restored, although the queen herself, by her consent and example, set it forward, wherewith divers priests, being couraged, presumed to say mass. And, like as in a main and set battle there are certain nimble and light-armed soldiers, who, in skirmishes amongst their enemies, go before the force of battle; even so, in this troublesome time, there lacked none before-law prelates, or light armed but much more light-hearted soldiers, who ran before the law, who of duty should rather have followed and obeyed it. And this was not only to be seen in Kent, but also in divers other places; for, in Oxford, as it was told me, there was a certain priest, who there, in Magdalen-college, preparing himself to say mass, and being almost in the midst thereof, was, with his vestments, pulled by one from the altar, and constrained to blow a retract, until by the law he might mass it. Thus judge Hales, like a severe judge and justiciary, suffering such priests not to go unpunished, as that, before a law, presumed to say mass, got thereby the queen's displeasure, but much more Winchester's evil will: which bishop, although he had nothing wherewith justly he might burden him, yet he did expostulate with him, as though it were concerning cruelty, who had showed himself so austere a judge against the priests. Wherefore I thought best to leave in record, all the whole communication had between them, as those that stood by bare it away.*

The Communication between the Lord Chancellor and Judge Hales; being there, among other Judges, to take his Oath in Westminster-Hall, October the 6th, A.D. 1553.[2]

L. Chan.:—Master Hales, ye shall understand, that like as the queen's highness hath heretofore conceived good opinion of you, especially for that ye stood

(1) "Saw," an old grave saying or proverb.—Ed.

(2) This communication was published, at the time of the transaction taking place, in a small tract of three leaves (including the title) at "*Rome*;" and, from a copy which produced 4*l.* 6*s.* at the sale of Mr. Neunburg, Dr. Dibdin has reprinted it in his "Library Companion," pp. 115–118. Edit. 1824.—Ed.

both faithfully and lawfully in her cause of just succession, refusing to set your hand to the book among others that were against her grace in that behalf: so now, through your own late deserts against certain her highness's doings, ye stand not well in her grace's favour; and therefore, before ye take any oath, it shall be necessary for you to make your purgation." *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Hales:—" I pray you, my lord, what is the cause?"

L. Chan.:—" Information is given, that ye have indited certain priests in Kent for saying mass."

Hales:—" My lord, it is not so, I indited none; but indeed certain indictments of like matter were brought before me at the last assizes there holden, and I gave order therein as the law required. For I have professed the law, against which in cases of justice I will never (God willing) proceed, nor in any wise dissemble, but with the same show forth my conscience; and if it were to do again, I would do no less than I did."

L. Chan.:—" Yea, master Hales, your conscience is known well enough: I know you lack no conscience."

Hales:—" My lord, you may do well to search your own conscience; for mine is better known to myself than to you: and to be plain, I did as well use justice in your said mass case by my conscience, as by the law, wherein I am fully bent to stand in trial to the uttermost that can be objected. And if I have therein done any injury or wrong, let me be judged by the law; for I will seek no better defence, considering chiefly that it is my profession."

L. Chan.:—" Why, master Hales, although you had the rigour of the law on your side, yet ye might have had regard to the queen's highness's present doings in that case. And further, although ye seem to be more than precise in the law, yet I think ye would be very loth to yield to the extremity of such advantage as might be gathered against your proceedings in the law, as ye have sometimes taken upon you in place of justice; and if it were well tried, I believe ye should not be well able to stand honestly thereto." Justice Hales for justice' sake troubled.

Hales:—" My lord, I am not so perfect, but I may err for lack of knowledge. But both in conscience, and such knowledge of the law as God hath given me, I will do nothing but I will maintain it, and abide in it: and if my goods, and all that I have, be not able to counterpoise the case, my body shall be ready to serve the turn; for they be all at the queen's highness's pleasure."

L. Chan.:—" Ah sir! ye be very quick and stout in your answers. But as it should seem, that which you did was more of a will favouring the opinion of your religion against the service now used, than for any occasion or zeal of justice, seeing the queen's highness doth set it forth as yet, wishing all her faithful subjects to embrace it accordingly: and whereas you offer both body and goods in your trial, there is no such matter required at your hands, and yet ye shall not have your own will neither." Winchester quarrelleth with Hales's religion.

Hales:—" My lord, I seek not wilful will, but to show myself as I am bound in love to God and obedience to the queen's majesty, in whose cause willingly, for justice' sake, all other respects set apart, I did of late, as your lordship knoweth, adventure as much as I had. And as for my religion, I trust it be such as pleaseth God, wherein I am ready to adventure as well my life as my substance, if I be called thereunto. And so in lack of mine own power and will, the Lord's will be fulfilled."

L. Chan.:—" Seeing you be at this point, master Hales, I will presently make an end with you. The queen's highness shall be informed of your opinion and declaration: and, as her grace shall thereupon determine, ye shall have knowledge. Until such time, ye may depart as ye came, without your oath; for as it appeareth, ye are scarce worthy the place appointed."

Hales:—" I thank your lordship: and as for my vocation, being both a burden and a charge more than ever I desired to take upon me; whensoever it shall please the queen's highness to ease me thereof, I shall most humbly, with due contentation, obey the same."

And so he departed from the bar. Not many days after this communication or colloquy in Westminster-hall, which was October 6, anno 1553, master Hales, at the commandment of the bishop, was committed to the King's Bench, where he remained constant until Hales committed to the Bench.

Mary. A.D. 1555. Lent, *being tossed and removed from one prison to another:* for then was he removed to the Compter in Bread-street, and afterward from thence was carried to the Fleet, *where he endured most christianly by the space of three weeks.*

Being in the Fleet, what it was that he had granted unto the bishops, by their fraudulent assaults and persuasions (namely, of Dr. Day bishop of Chichester, and of judge Portman, as it is thought, overcome at last), I have not to say.

*And[1] thus, now we have rehearsed his notable virtues and afflictions, borne out and valiantly sustained by him, will we declare the miserable falls of him, and lamentable chance. And when thus, in divers prisons, he, being tossed and wearied, could in no wise be subdued and overcome by the suppression of his adversaries, he, being yet in the mean time assaulted with secret assaults, recoiled and gave over. Wherein, as I do lament so miserable a case in so worthy a man, even so do I marvel at the vile and detestable frauds and wiles of his adversaries.

There was in the prison where Hales was, a certain gentleman of Hampshire, called Forster, who being suborned, as it should seem, of the bishops, used all kinds of persuasions that he could, whereby he might draw him from the truth to error; whereby, at length, by continual wearying and seeking upon him, he brought to pass that Hales began to seem that he might be overcome. At last, when this came to his adversaries' ears, the bishop of Chichester was at hand forthwith, very early in the morning of the 12th of April, to commune with master Hales in the prison; but I have no certain knowledge what the talk was between them. But, undoubtedly, his constancy was so quailed, that even before, he had given over in the plain field; and for that cause he was in a great dump and sorrow with himself: to whom, by all likelihood, this bishop came to minister matter of comfort. And the same day, in the afternoon, came unto him judge Portman, and talked with him so long till the time was come that judge Hales must come to supper. Therefore, when Portman had taken his leave, master Hales getteth him to supper with a heavy, troubled, mind; howbeit he did eat very little, or no meat at all, being brought to an extreme desperation by the worm of his conscience. Albeit, to say the truth, I do not impute the fall of this man to the persuasions of the comers to him, nor to so small causes; for in case that be true, which one told me (as it is like to be true), his adversaries went a more subtle way to work with him, than all the world knoweth. For, when they had him sure in the prison, they, like wily spies, found the means to shut him up into that part thereof, where the noise of the streets, the tumult and concourse, the night and day troubles of the talk of artificers, and coming to and fro of men,—and besides, the noise of the prisoners hard by, ringing about his head, troubled him, in such sort, that he could not take his rest,—thinking perchance that if they could not win by any other means, yet by the lack of sleep they might soon make him give over, and come unto their side;—and, perchance, therefore, this was the very policy why they made him change

(1) These particulars are substituted for a brief recital, in later editions. See as above, pp. 1115 and 1116.—Ed.

prisons so often. But, for that I have no certainty of the thing, I will leave the truth thereof to the reader's conjecture: and, whatsoever the cause was, that made him to relent in the confession of the truth, undoubtedly he was cast, forthwith, into a great repentance of the deed, and into a terror of conscience thereby; insomuch that when supper was done, he gat him straight to bed, where he passed over all that night, in much care and anxiety of mind. And then, when it was day, he sent, about six of the clock, for a cup of beer, as though he were desirous to drink. His man was yet scarce out of his chamber, when he, with a penknife, had wounded himself in divers places, and would, without fail, have likewise killed himself (which argueth that he was not well in his wit), unless the goodness of God had been a present help and preservation unto him:* whereby it is evident for all men to understand, how God's favour was not absent from the man, although he thought himself utterly forsaken for his denial, as by the sequel may well appear.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

God's merciful providence in rescuing Hales.

For as soon as he had sent his man out of his chamber (see what God would have done), even afore the chamber-door eftsoons the butler met him; who, being desired to fill the drink, and taking the cup, the other returned again unto his master, at the same very time when he was working his own destruction: whereby master Hales at that time was stopped of his purpose, and preserved, not without God's manifest good-will and providence. When Winchester had knowledge of it, straightway he taketh occasion thereby to blaspheme the doctrine of the gospel, which he openly in the Star-chamber called "doctrine of desperation."[1] Master Hales, being within awhile after recovered of those wounds, and delivered out of prison, getteth himself home unto his house; where he, either for the greatness of his sorrow, or for lack of good counsel, or for that he would avoid the necessity of hearing mass (having all things set in order, a good while before that, pertaining to his testament), casting himself into a shallow river, was drowned therein; which was about the beginning of the month of February, or in the month of January before, anno 1555.

Judge Hales drowned himself.

The unhappy chance of this so worthy a judge, was surely the cause of great sorrow and grief unto all good men, and it gave occasion besides unto certain divines to stand something in doubt with themselves, whether he were reprobate or saved, about which matter it is not for me to determine either this way or that: for he that is our Judge, the same shall be his Judge; and he it is, that will lay all things open when the time cometh. This in the mean time is certain and sure: that the deed of the man in my mind ought in no wise to be allowed, which, if he did wittingly, then do I discommend the man's reason. But if he did it in phrenzy, and as being out of his wits, then do I greatly pity his case. Yet, notwithstanding, seeing God's judgments be secret, and we likewise in doubt upon what intent he did thus punish himself, neither again is any man certain, whether he did repent or no before the last breath went out of his body; me thinketh, their opinion is more indifferent herein, who do rather disallow the example of the deed, than despair of his salvation.

The cause of judge Hales's drowning considered.

(1) Winchester might rather have said, how their cruel dealing worketh desperation

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Examples in the time of the first persecution.

Otherwise, if we will adjudge all those to hell that have departed the world after this sort, how many examples have we in the first persecutions of the church, of those men and women, who, being registered in the works of worthy writers, have notwithstanding their praise and commendation? For what shall I think of those young men, who being sought for to do sacrifice to heathen idols, did cast down themselves headlong, and break their own necks, to avoid such horrible pollution of themselves? What shall I say of those virgins of Antioch, who, to the end they might not defile themselves with uncleanness, and with idolatry, through the persuasion of their mother, casting themselves headlong into a river together with their mother, did foredo themselves, although not in the same water, yet after the same manner of drowning as this master Hales did? What shall I say of other two sisters, who, for the self-same quarrel, did violently throw themselves headlong into the sea, as Eusebius[1] doth record? In whom, though perchance there was less confidence to bear out the pains which should be ministered of the wicked unto them, yet that their good desire to keep their faith and religion unspotted, was commended and praised.

Another like example of death is mentioned by Nicephorus,[2] and that in another virgin likewise, whose name is expressed in Jerome to be Brassilia Dyrrachina, who, to keep her virginity, feigned herself to be a witch; and so, conventing with the young man who went
† about to dishonour her, pretended that she would give him an herb which should preserve him from all kind of weapons; and so, to prove it in herself, laid the herb upon her own throat, bidding him smite, whereby she was slain; and so with the loss of her life her virginity was saved.

Hereunto may be joined the like death of Sophronia, a matron of Rome, who, when she was required of Mazentius the tyrant to be defiled, and saw her husband more slack than he ought to have been in saving her honesty, bidding them that were sent for her to tarry awhile till she made her ready, went into her chamber, and with a weapon thrust herself through the breast, and died. Now who is he that would reprehend the worthy act of Achetes, who, biting off his own tongue, spit it out into the harlot's face?

But, in these examples, you will say: The cause was necessary and honest; and who can tell whether master Hales meaning to avoid the pollution of the mass, did likewise choose the same kind of death, to keep his faith undefiled: whereof there ought to be as great respect, and greater too, than of the chastity of the body. But you will say: He ought rather to have suffered the tyrants; and why may not the same be said of the forenamed virgins?

These examples I do not here infer, as going about either to excuse, or to maintain the heinous fact of master Hales (which I would wish rather by silence might be drowned in oblivion), but yet notwithstanding, as touching the person of the man, whatsoever his fact was—because we are not sure whether he at the last breath repented—again, because we do not know, nor are able to comprehend the bottomless depth of the graces and mercies which are in Christ

(1) Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. viii. (2) Niceph. lib. iv. c. 13. Brassilia Dyrrachina.

Jesus our Saviour—we will leave therefore the final judgment of him, to the determination of him who is only appointed Judge both of the quick and the dead. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

And, finally, although he did it of a certain desperation, yet how know you whether he repented even in breathing out his life?—Although I truly am so far from allowing his fact, by any means, that I am wonderfully sorry for his rash, and over hasty temerity; and, therefore, although we do not account him among the martyrs, yet, on the other side, we do not reckon him among the damned persons. Finally, let us all wish heartily that the Lord impute not to him, in judgment, that which he offended in his own punishment. Amen.

De Jacobo Halisio Carmen.

Si tua quanta fuit gravitas, prudentia, norma,
Junctaque sincerâ cum pietate fides;
Tam caro firma tibi fortisque, Halise, fuisset,
Sanctorum primo classe ferendus eras.
Instituit sed enim sua quis sic tempora vitæ
Sanctorum, ut nullis sint maculata malis?
Quum nihil ergo vides propria quin labe laboret,
Tu tua fac cures, cætera mitte Deo.

The History of Thomas Tomkins, Martyr,

WHO, HAVING FIRST HIS HAND BURNED, AFTER WAS BURNED HIMSELF BY BISHOP BONNER, FOR THE CONSTANT TESTIMONY OF CHRIST'S TRUE PROFESSION.

Mention was made before of six prisoners, brought and examined before bishop Bonner the 8th of February, whose names were Tomkins, Pygot, Knight, Hawkes, Laurence, and Hunter: all which, though they received their condemnation together the next day after, yet, because the time of their execution was then driven off from February till the next month of March, I did therefore refer the story of them to this present month of March aforesaid, wherein now remaineth severally to entreat of the martyrdom of these six persons, as the order and time of their sufferings severally do require. Of the which six aforenamed martyrs, the first was Thomas Tomkins, burned in Smithfield, the 16th day of March, A.D. 1555.

This Thomas Tomkins, a weaver by his occupation, dwelling in Shoreditch, and of the diocese of London, was of such conversation, and disposition so godly, that if any woman had come to him with her web, as sometimes they did, three or four in a day, he would always begin with prayer; or if any other had come to talk of any matter, he would likewise first begin with prayer. And if any had sought unto him to borrow money, he would show him such money as he had in his purse, and bid him take it. His godly life and disposition.

And when they came to repay it again, so far off was he from seeking any usury at their hand, or from strait exaction of his due, that he would bid them keep it longer, while they were better able. And these were the conditions of Thomas Tomkins, testified yet to this present day by the most part of all his neighbours, and almost of all his parish which knew him, as master Skinner, master Leeke,

Mary. A. D. 1555.

and others. Of whom more than half a dozen at once came to me, discreet and substantial men, reporting the same unto me; recording moreover as followeth: That Dr. Bonner bishop of London, kept the said Tomkins with him in prison half a year; during which time the said bishop was so rigorous unto him, that he beat him bitterly about the face, whereby his face was swelled. Whereupon the bishop caused his beard to be shaven, and gave the barber twelve pence.

Tomkins maketh the bishop's hay.

Touching which shaving of Thomas Tomkins's beard, this is more to be added: Bishop Bonner, having Tomkins with him prisoner at Fulham, in the month of July, did set him with his other workfolks to make hay; and seeing him to labour so well, the bishop, setting him down, said, "Well, I like thee well; for thou labourest well: I trust thou wilt be a good catholic." "My lord," said he, "St. Paul saith, 'He that doth not labour is not worthy to eat.'" Bonner said, "Ah! St. Paul is a great man with thee."[1] And so, after such other talk, the bishop inferring moreover, wished his beard off, saying, that so he would look like a catholic. "My lord," said Tomkins, "before my beard grew I was, I trust, a good Christian, and so I trust to be, my beard being on." But Bonner, in fine, sent for the barber, and caused his beard to be shaven off. The very cause was, for that Bonner had plucked off a piece of his beard before.

Notable constancy in a true christian soldier.

The rage of this bishop was not so great against him, but the constancy of the party was much greater with patience to bear it; who, although he had not the learning as others have, yet he was so endued with God's mighty Spirit, and so constantly planted in the perfect knowledge of God's truth, that by no means he could be removed from the confession of truth, to impiety and error. Whereupon Bonner the bishop, being greatly vexed against the poor man, when he saw that by no persuasions he could prevail with him, devised another practice not so strange as cruel, further to try his constancy; to the intent, that seeing he could not otherwise convince him by doctrine of Scriptures, yet he might overthrow him by some forefeeling and terror of death. So, having with him master Harpsfield, master Pembleton, Dr. Chedsey, master Willerton, and others standing by, he called for Thomas Tomkins, who, coming before the bishop, and standing as he was wont in defence of his faith, the bishop fell from beating to burning: who, having there a taper or wax candle of three or four wicks standing upon the table, thought there to represent unto us as it were, the old image of king Porsenna. For as he burned the hand of Scævola, so this catholic bishop took Tomkins by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame, supposing that by the smart and pain of the fire being terrified, he would leave off the defence of his doctrine which he had received.

Bishop Bonner playeth king Porsenna in burning the hand of Scævola.

Tomkins, thinking no otherwise but there presently to die, began to commend himself unto the Lord, saying, "O Lord! into thy hands I commend my spirit," etc. In the time that his hand was in burning, the same Tomkins afterward reported to one James Hinse, that his spirit was so rapt, that he felt no pain. In the which

(1) And so should he be with you, if you were a right bishop.

burning he never shrank, till the veins shrank, and the sinews burst, and the water did spirt in master Harpsfield's face: insomuch that the said master Harpsfield, moved with pity, desired the bishop to stay, saying, that he had tried him enough. This burning was in the hall at Fulham.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

And whereas the bishop thought by that means to drive him from his opinions, it proved much otherwise: for this christian Scævola so valiantly did despise, abide, and endure that burning, that we have less cause hereafter to marvel at the manfulness of that Roman Scævola: I would to God the other had as well followed the example of that Etruscan tyrant. For he, after the left hand of Scævola was half burned, either satisfied with his punishment, or overcome by his manhood, or driven away by fear, sent him home safe unto his people: whereas Bonner, hitherto not contented with the burning of his hand, rested not until he had consumed his whole body into ashes, at London in Smithfield.

Tomkins compared to Scævola; more cruel than Porsenna, the Etruscan.

But before we come to his suffering, we will first entreat of some part of his examination and articles, with his answers and confession thereunto annexed, as it is credibly in register recorded.

THE FIRST EXAMINATION OF THOMAS TOMKINS, BEFORE BONNER.

This faithful and valiant soldier of God, Thomas Tomkins, after he had remained the space (as is said) of half a year in prison, about the 8th day of February was brought with certain others before Bonner, sitting in his consistory, to be examined. To whom first was brought forth a certain bill or schedule, subscribed (as appeareth) with his own hand, the fifth day of the same month last before, containing these words following.

The Confession of Tomkins subscribed with his own Hand.

Thomas Tomkins of Shoreditch, and of the diocese of London, hath believed and doth believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but only a token and remembrance thereof, the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven, and no where else.

By me, Thomas Tomkins.

Whereupon he was asked, whether he did acknowledge the same subscription to be of his own hand. To the which he granted, confessing it so to be. This being done, the bishop went about to persuade him (with words, rather than with reasons) to relinquish his opinions, and to return again to the unity of the catholic church, promising if he would so do, to remit all that was past. But he constantly denied so to do. When the bishop saw he could not so convince him, he brought forth and read to him another writing, containing articles and interrogatories, whereunto he should come the next day and answer: in the mean time he should deliberate with himself what to do. And so the next day, being the 9th of March, at eight o'clock in the morning to be present in the same place again, to give his determinate answer what he would do in the premises,

Tomkins constant in his faith.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

and then either to revoke and reclaim himself, or else in the afternoon the same day to come again, and have justice (as he called it) ministered unto him. The copy of which articles here followeth.

Articles objected and ministered the 8th day of February against Thomas Tomkins, with his own Hand subscribing to the same.

Transubstantiation denied.

Thou dost believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as touching the substance thereof; which was conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and hanged upon the cross, suffering passion and death there for the life of the world.

I do so believe.

Substance of bread remaineth in the sacrament.

Thou dost believe, that after the consecration of the bread and wine prepared for the use of the sacrament of the altar, there doth remain the substance of material bread and material wine, not changed or altered in substance by the power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before.

I do so believe.

The natural presence of Christ in the sacrament denied.

Thou dost believe, that it is an untrue doctrine, and a false belief, to think or say, that in the sacrament of the altar there is, after consecration of the bread and wine, the substance of Christ's natural body and blood, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word.

I do so believe.

The error of the forefelders touching the sacrament.

Thou dost believe, that thy parents, kinsfolks, friends, and acquaintance, and also thy godfathers and godmother, and all people, did err, and were deceived, if they did believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there was, after the consecration, the body and blood of Christ, and that there did not remain the substance of material bread and wine.

I do so believe.

By me Thomas Tomkins.

THE SECOND EXAMINATION OF THOMAS TOMKINS.

The next day, being the 9th of February, at eight o'clock before noon, the said Thomas Tomkins (according to the former commandment) was brought again into the place aforenamed, before the bishop and other his assistants, where the aforesaid articles were propounded unto him: whereunto he answered as followeth:

To the first he said, that he did so believe, as in the same is contained.

To the second he said, that it was only bread, and a participation of Christ's death and passion, and so do the Scriptures teach.

To the third he said and did believe, it was a false doctrine, to believe and think as is contained in this article.

To the fourth, he did also believe the same.

After this answer, he did also subscribe his name to the said articles. Whereupon the bishop, drawing out of his bosom another confession subscribed with Tomkins's own hand, and also that article that was the first day objected against him, caused the same to be openly read; and then willed him to revoke and deny his said opinions, the which he utterly refused to do; and therefore was commanded to appear before the bishop again in the same place at two o'clock in the afternoon.

The Bishop repeateth again the Confession of Thomas Tomkins; written before by the said Bishop of London, and subscribed by the said Tomkins, the 26th of September, anno 1554, which is this.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

I, Thomas Tomkins of the parish of Shoreditch, in the diocese of London, having confessed and declared openly heretofore, to Edmund bishop of London, mine ordinary, that my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ is not truly and in very deed in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven; and so in heaven, that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the sacrament of the altar: And moreover, having likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary openly many times, that although the church, called the catholic church, hath allowed, and doth allow the mass and sacrifice made and done therein, as a wholesome, profitable, and a godly thing; yet my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the said mass is full of superstition, plain idolatry, and unprofitable for my soul; and so have I called it many times, and take it at this present: Having also likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary, that the sacrament of baptism ought to be only in the vulgar tongue, and not otherwise ministered, and also without any such ceremonies, as accustomably are used in the Latin church, and otherwise not to be allowed:—Finally, being many times and oft called openly before my said ordinary, and talked withal touching all my said confessions and declarations, both by the said mine ordinary and divers other learned men, as well his chaplains as others, and counselled by all of them to embrace the truth, and to recant mine error in the premises, which they told me was plain heresy and manifest error; do testify and declare hereby, that I do and will continually stand to my said confession, declaration, and belief, in all the premises, and every part thereof, and in no wise recant or go from any part of the same. In witness whereof I have subscribed and passed this writing the 26th day of September, the year aforesaid.

By me Tho. Tomkins aforesaid.

The mass full of superstition and idolatry

Baptism ought to be ministered in the vulgar tongue.

Tomkins constantly standeth to the truth of the gospel.

The names of them that sat upon Thomas Tomkins at this session, were these: Edmund Bonner; John Fecknam, dean of Paul's; John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London; John Morwen, master of arts; Thomas Morton, parson of Fulham; Tristram Swadell, Thomas More, Thomas Bekinsaw, James Cline, clerks.

THE LAST APPEARANCE AND CONDEMNATION OF THOMAS TOMKINS BEFORE BONNER AND THE COMMISSIONERS.

The same day and place, at two o'clock in the afternoon, he was, the last time, brought before the bishops of London, Bath, and St. David's, with others; where he was earnestly exhorted by the said bishop of Bath, to revoke and leave off his opinions. Unto whom he answered, "My lord, I was born and brought up in ignorance until now of late years; and now I know the truth, wherein I will continue unto the death."

Then Bonner caused all his articles and confession to be again openly read, and so, in his accustomed manner, persuaded with him to recant. To whom he finally said, "My lord, I cannot see but that you would have me forsake the truth, and to fall into error and heresy." The bishop seeing he would not recant, did proceed in his law, and so gave sentence of condemnation upon him.

Sentence read against Tomkins.

Then he delivered him to the sheriff of London, who carried him straight unto Newgate, where he remained most joyous and constant until the 16th of March next after: on which day, he was by the

His martyrdom in Smithfield.

Mary. A. D. 1555. said sheriff conveyed into Smithfield, and there sealed up his faith in the flaming fire, to the glory of God's holy name, and confirmation of the weak.

A Notable History of William Hunter,

A YOUNG MAN, AN APPRENTICE, OF NINETEEN YEARS, PURSUED TO DEATH BY JUSTICE BROWN, FOR THE GOSPEL'S SAKE; WORTHY OF ALL YOUNG MEN AND PARENTS TO BE READ.

The 26th day of the said month of March, the year aforesaid, followed the martyrdom of William Hunter, a right godly young man, of the age of nineteen years, and born of like godly parents: by whom he was not only instructed in true religion and godliness, but also confirmed by them unto death, after a rare and strange example, worthy to be noted and had in admiration of all parents. Wherein may appear a singular spectacle, not only of a marvellous fortitude in the party so young, but also in his parents, to behold nature in them striving with religion, and overcome of the same: whereby christian parents may learn what is to be done, not only in their children, but also in themselves, if need at any time do require, or godliness should demand the duty of a christian man against natural affection. *Nature[1] is a strong thing, I must needs confess, and almost invincible, and, among all the affections of nature, there is none that is so deeply graved in a father's mind, as the love and tender affection towards his children, that is, as you would say, towards his own bowels. By which affection we see many, yea rather infinite parents, that are overcome; but, of them that overcome it, very few, or rather none. So much the more, therefore, am I moved not to pass over, in this place, such notable and singular godliness of these parents; who, when they saw their son led towards the fire, did not follow him with lamentation, neither laboured, by their words, to draw him from his godly purpose, neither took pity of his fortune; but, setting aside all private affection of natural love, forgetting nature, and, as it were, forgetting themselves,—neither yet following that common affection of parents at this day, but the example of that holy mother of the Maccabees—encouraged their son, as much as they could; and rejoicing with wonderful gladness, exhorted him to go through valiantly: insomuch, that when he was ready to suffer death, either of them drinking unto him, rejoiced over him, and confirmed him in the Lord. And here, truly, I cannot tell whether I should rather praise the virtue of the son, or of the parents; for he, indeed, died with great constancy, and after he had recited the eighty-fourth psalm, as he was a-dying, doubtless obtained the crown of blessed martyrdom. But no less constancy, as I think, appeared in them, and they are no less to be accounted martyrs, in the martyrdom of their son: for he, offering his body to torments, with great praise, overcame the tormentors, the torments, and the tyrants. And they, with no less praise, overcame their own natures, offering to the Lord a mind no less constant and strong than he did, and, perchance, felt no less torments inwardly, than he did outwardly. He,

(1) See Edition 1563, page 1110.—Ed.

broiling in the midst of the flame, suffered his life to be taken from him, not without cruel torment; and they, also, with no less torment, suffered their son to be taken from them. On both sides the strength of the spirit, the fervent heat of godliness, and the love of Christ, overcame all the torments; and, therefore, I thought the praise of the son could not well be recorded, without the commendation of the parents: for as he, dying for the gospel, hath left behind him in the church, a strong and evident testimony, to confirm the doctrine of the gospel; so they, to confirm a gospel-like life, have given an example, worthy to be followed of all men:* example whereof, in the sequel of this history, we have here present before our eyes. Which history, as it was faithfully drawn out by Robert Hunter, his own brother (who, being present with his brother William, and never leaving him till his death, sent the true report unto us), we have here, with like faithfulness, placed and recorded the same, as followeth.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Hunter threatened for not receiving at a mass.

William Hunter, being an apprentice in London in the first year of queen Mary, was commanded at the Easter next following to receive the communion at a mass, by the priest of the parish where he dwelt, called Coleman-street; which because he refused to do, he was very much threatened that he should be therefore brought before the bishop of London. Wherefore William Hunter's master, one Thomas Taylor, a silkweaver, required William Hunter to go and depart from him, lest that he should come in danger because of him, if he continued in his house. For the which causes, William Hunter took leave of his said master, and thence came to Brentwood where his father dwelt, with whom he afterwards remained about the space of half a quarter of a year.

Father Atwell a sumner or promoter.

After this it happened within five or six weeks, that William going into the chapel of Brentwood, and finding there a Bible lying on a desk, did read therein. In the mean time there came in one father Atwell, a sumner, who hearing William read in the Bible, said to him, "What! meddlest thou with the Bible? Knowest thou what thou readest, and canst thou expound the Scriptures?"

Talk between Atwell and Hunter concerning the Bible.

To whom William answered and said, "Father Atwell, I take not upon me to expound the Scriptures, except I were dispensed withal; but I, finding the Bible here when I came, read in it to my comfort." To whom father Atwell said, "It was never merry world, since the Bible came abroad in English."

To the which words William answered, saying, "Father Atwell, say not so, for God's sake: for it is God's book, out of the which every one that hath grace may learn to know both what things please God, and also what displeaseth him." Then said father Atwell, "Could we not tell before this time as well as now, how God was served?" William answered, "No, father Atwell; nothing so well as we may now; if that we might have his blessed word amongst us still as we have had." "It is true," said father Atwell, "if it be as you say."

Catholics cannot abide the Bible.

"Well," said William Hunter, "it liketh me very well, and I pray God that we may have the blessed Bible amongst us continually." To the which words father Atwell said, "I perceive your mind well enough: you are one of them that mislike the queen's laws; and therefore you came from London, I hear say. You learned these ways at London: but for all that," said father Atwell, "you must turn another leaf; or else you, and a great sort more heretics, will broil for this gear, I warrant you." To the which words William said, "God give me grace, that I may believe his word, and confess his name, whatsoever come thereof." "Confess his name!" quoth old Atwell, "No, no; ye will go to the devil all of you, and confess his name." "What?" said William, "You say not well, father Atwell."

Atwell not able to reason, but he is able to accuse the innocent.

At the which words he went out of the chapel in a great fury, saying, "I am not able to reason with thee: but I will fetch one straightway which shall talk with thee, I warrant thee, thou heretic!" And he, leaving William Hunter reading in the Bible, straightways brought one Thomas Wood, who was then vicar of Southwell, who was at an alehouse even over against the said chapel; who, hearing old Atwell say, that William Hunter was reading of the Bible in the

Mary.

A. D. 1555.

chapel, came by and by to him, and finding him reading in the Bible, took the matter very heinously, saying; "Sirrah, who gave thee leave to read in the Bible, and to expound it?" Then William answered, "I expound not the Scriptures, sir, but read them for my comfort."

The vicar of Southwell angry with Hunter for reading in the Bible.

"What meddlest thou with them at all?" said the vicar. "It becometh not thee, nor any such to meddle with the Scriptures." But William answered, "I will read the Scriptures (God willing) while I live; and you ought, master vicar, not to discourage any man for that matter, but rather exhort men diligently to read the Scriptures for your discharge and their own."

The catholics in no wise will be controlled.

Unto the which the vicar answered, "It becometh thee well to tell me what I have to do. I see thou art a heretic by thy words." William said, "I am no heretic for speaking the truth." But the vicar said, "It is a merry world, when such as thou art shall teach us what is the truth. Thou art meddling, father Atwell tells me, with the sixth chapter of John, wherein thou mayest perceive how Christ saith, 'Except that ye eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.'" William said, "I read the sixth chapter of John indeed; howbeit, I made no exposition on it."

Then said father Atwell, "When you read it, I said, that you there might understand how that in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very natural body and blood: unto the which you answered, how that you would take the Scriptures as they are, and that you would meddle with no great exposition, except that ye were dispensed withal."

Hunter examined of the sacrament.

"Ah," said the vicar, "what say you to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Believest thou not in it, and that the bread and wine is transubstantiated into the very body and blood of Christ?" William answered, "I learn no such thing in the sixth of John as you speak of." "Why," said the vicar, "dost thou not believe in the sacrament of the altar?" "I believe," said William Hunter, "all that God's word teacheth." "Why," said the vicar, "thou mayest learn this which I say, plainly in the sixth of John."

The catholics like to the Capernaites.

Then said William, "You understand Christ's words much like the carnal Capernaites, which thought, that Christ would have given them his flesh to feed upon: which opinion our Saviour Christ corrected, when he said, 'The words which I speak to you, are spirit and life.'"

Heresy mistaken by the papists.

"Now," quoth the vicar, "I have found you out: now I see that thou art a heretic indeed, and that thou dost not believe in the sacrament of the altar." Then said William Hunter, "Whereas you doubt my belief, I would it were tried, whether that you or I would stand faster in our faith." "Yea, thou heretic," said the vicar, "wouldst thou have it so tried?" William Hunter answered, "That which you call heresy, I serve my Lord God withal."

Then said the vicar, "Canst thou serve God with heresy?" But William answered, "I would that you and I were even now fast tied to a stake, to prove whether that I or you would stand strongest to our faith." But the vicar answered, "It shall not be so tried." "No," quoth William, "I think so; for if I might, I think I know who would soonest recant: for I durst set my foot against yours, even to the death." "That we shall see," quoth the vicar; and so they departed, the vicar threatening William much, how that he would complain of him; with much other communication which they had together.

The vicar complaineth to justice Brown of Hunter, who sendeth for Hunter's father.

Immediately after, this vicar of the Wield told master Brown of the communication which William Hunter and he had together; which when master Brown understood, immediately he sent for William's father and the constable, one Robert Salmon. For immediately after William Hunter and the vicar had reasoned together, he took his leave of his father and fled; because Wood the vicar threatened him. Now when the constable and William's father were come, and were before master Brown, he asked where William Hunter was. His father answered, saying, "If it please you, sir, I know not where he is become." "No!" quoth master Brown: "I will make thee tell where he is, and fetch him forth also, ere I have done with thee." "Sir," said William's father, "I know not where he is become, nor where to seek for him."

Fruit of the pope's doctrine.

Then said master Brown, "Why didst thou not bring him, when thou hadst him? I promise thee, if thou wilt not fetch him, I will send thee to prison, till I shall get him. Wherefore see that thou promise me to fetch him; or else it is not best to look me in the face any more, nor yet to rest in Brentwood."

"Well," quoth master Brown to William's father, "see that thou seek him forth, and bring him to me."

William's father answered, "Sir, would you have me seek out my son to be burned?" "If thou bring him to me," quoth master Brown, "I will deal well enough for that matter; thou shalt not need to care for the matter. Fetch him, and thou shalt see what I will do for him. Moreover, if thou lackest money," quoth he, "thou shalt have some;" and bade the constable, master Salmon, to give him a crown: but William's father took none of him. Howbeit master Brown would never rest, till William's father had promised him to seek out his son. And thus master Brown sent the constable home again, and William's father; commanding him to seek out William Hunter, and then to come again and bring him to him.

An unreasonable request. The father pretends to seek the son.

After that old father Hunter had ridden two or three days' journey to satisfy master Brown's expectation, it happened that William met with his father in the highway as he travelled; and first he, seeing his father, came to him, and spake to him, and told him how that he thought that he sought for him. And then his father, confessing it, wept sore, and said, that master Brown charged him to seek him, and bring him to him. "Howbeit," said he, "I will return home again, and say I cannot find you." But William said, "Father, I will go home with you, and save you harmless, whatsoever cometh of it."

The son meeteth with him in the way. Working of nature between the father and the son.

And thus they came home together: but William, as soon as he was come home, was taken by the said constable, and laid in the stocks till the next day, when master Brown (hearing that William Hunter was come home) sent for him to the constable; who brought him immediately to master Brown.

Now when William was come, master Brown said to him, "Ah, sirrah! are ye come?" and then by and by he commanded the Bible to be brought and opened it, and then began to reason with William on this manner, saying: "I hear say you are a Scripture-man, you; and can reason much of the sixth of John, and expound as pleaseth you:" and turned the Bible to the sixth of St. John. And then he laid to his charge what an exposition he made, when the vicar and he talked together. And William said, "He urged me to say so much as I did."

Hunter brought before justice Brown.

"Well," quoth master Brown, "because you can expound that place so well; how say you to another place?" (turning to the twenty-second of St. Luke.) And master Brown said, "Look here," quoth he, "for Christ saith, that the bread is his body."—To the which William answered, "The text saith, how Christ took bread; but not that he changed it into another substance, but gave that which he took, and brake that which he gave; which was bread, as is evident by the text: for else he should have had two bodies, which to affirm I see no reason," said William. At the which answer master Brown was very angry, and took up the Bible and turned the leaves, and then flung it down again in such a fury, that William could not well find the place again whereof they reasoned.

Talk between Hunter and him about the sacrament. Bread broken, but not changed. Brown in a pelting chafe.

Then master Brown said, "Thou naughty bey! wilt thou not take things as they are, but expound them as thou wilt? Doth not Christ call the bread his body plainly? and thou wilt not believe, that the bread is his body after the consecration. Thou geest about to make Christ a liar!" But William Hunter answered, "I mean not so, sir; but rather more earnestly to search what the mind of Christ is in that holy institution, wherein he commendeth unto us the remembrance of his death, passion, resurrection, and coming again; saying, 'This do, in the remembrance of me.' And also, though Christ call the bread his body, as he doth also say that he is a vine, a door, etc., yet is not his body turned into bread, no more than he is turned into a door or vine. Wherefore Christ called the bread his body by a figure."

How Christ called bread his body.

At that word master Brown said, "Thou art a villain indeed. Wilt thou make Christ a liar yet still?" and was in such a fury with William, and so raged, that William could not speak a word but he crossed him, and scoffed at every word. Wherefore William, seeing him in such fury, desired him that he would either hear him quietly, and suffer him to answer for himself; or else send him away. To the which master Brown answered, "Indeed I will send thee to-morrow to my lord of London, and he shall have thee under examination:" and thus left off the talk, and made a letter immediately; and sent William Hunter with the constable to Bonner, bishop of London, who received William.

Brown in a rage. Brown sendeth up Hunter to Bonner.

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And if your said subjects be not able, by the testimony of Christ, his prophets, apostles, and godly fathers of his church, to prove, that the doctrine of the church, homilies, and service taught and set forth in the time of our late most godly prince and king, Edward the Sixth, is the true doctrine of Christ's catholic church, and most agreeable to the articles of the christian faith; your said subjects offer themselves then to the most heavy punishment that it shall please your majesties to appoint.

Wherefore, for the tender mercy of God in Christ (which you look for at the day of judgment), your said poor subjects in bonds most humbly beseech your most excellent majesties, and this your high court of parliament, benignly and graciously to hear and grant this their petition, tending so greatly to the glory of God, to the edifying of his church, to the honour of your majesties, to the commendation and maintenance of justice, right, and equity both before God and man. And your said subjects, according to their bounden duty, shall not cease to pray unto Almighty God for the gracious preservation of your most excellent majesties long to endure.

END OF BOOK THE TENTH.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK XI.

WHEREIN

IS DISCOURSED THE BLOODY MURDERING OF GOD'S SAINTS, WITH THE PARTICULAR PROCESSES AND NAMES OF SUCH GOOD MARTYRS, BOTH MEN AND WOMEN, AS, IN THIS TIME OF QUEEN MARY, WERE PUT TO DEATH.[1]

The Story, Life, and Martyrdom of Master John Rogers.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

THE 4th of February suffered the constant martyr of God, master John Rogers, concerning whose life, examinations, and suffering, here followeth in order set forth. And first touching his life and bringing up.

Rogers chaplain to the merchant adventurers at Antwerp, brought to the gospel by Tyndale and Coverdale.

John Rogers, brought up in the university of Cambridge, where he profitably travailed in good learning, at length was chosen and called by the merchant adventurers to be their chaplain at Antwerp in Brabant, whom he served to their good contentation many years. It chanced him there to fall in company with that worthy servant and martyr of God William Tyndale, and with Miles Coverdale, who both, for the hatred they bare to popish superstition and idolatry, and love to true religion, had forsaken their native country. In conferring with them the Scriptures, he came to great knowledge in the gospel of God, insomuch that he cast off the heavy yoke of popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy idolatry, and joined himself with them two in that painful and most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English tongue, which is entitled, "The Translation of Thomas Matthewe."[2] He, knowing by the Scriptures, that unlawful vows may lawfully be broken, and that matrimony is both honest and honourable among all men, joined himself in lawful matrimony, and so went to Wittenberg in Saxony, where he, with much soberness of living, did not only greatly increase in all good and godly learning, but also so much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch tongue,

Rogers goeth to Wittenberg.

(1) See Edition 1559, p. 266. Ed. 1563, p. 1022. Ed. 1570, p. 1656. Ed. 1576, p. 1413. Ed. 1583, p. 1484. Ed. 1597, p. 1348. Ed. 1684, vol. iii. p. 98.—ED.

(2) Of master Rogers's doing in this translation, read afore, vol. v. p. 412.

Mary.

A. D. 1555.

After that he had read the letter, and the constable returned home again, the bishop caused William to be brought into a chamber, where he began to reason with him in this manner: "I understand, William Hunter," quoth he, "by master Brown's letter, how that you have had certain communication with the vicar of the Wield, about the blessed sacrament of the altar; and how that ye could not agree: whereupon master Brown sent for thee, to bring thee to the catholic faith, from the which, he saith that thou art gone. Howbeit if thou wilt be ruled by me, thou shalt have no harm for any thing that thou hast said or done in this matter." William answered, saying, "I am not fallen from the catholic faith of Christ, I am sure; but do believe it, and confess it with all my heart."

Bonner's words to Hunter.

Talk between Hunter and the bishop about the sacrament.

"Why," quoth the bishop, "how sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Wilt thou not recant thy saying, which thou confessedst before master Brown, how that Christ's body is not in the sacrament of the altar, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary?" To the which William answered, saying, "My lord, I understand that master Brown hath certified you of the talk which he and I had together, and thereby ye know what I said to him; the which I will not recant, by God's help."

Bonner's fair promises to Hunter.

Then said the bishop, "I think thou art ashamed to bear a faggot, and recant openly; but, if thou wilt recant thy sayings, I will promise thee that thou shalt not be put to open shame: but speak the word here now between me and thee, and I will promise thee it shall go no further, and thou shalt go home again without any hurt." William answered and said, "My lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my conscience, I will go to my father and dwell with him, or else with my master again; and so, if no body will disquiet or trouble my conscience, I will keep my conscience to myself."

Hunter not suffered to have his conscience free.

Denieth to recant.

Then said the bishop, "I am content, so that thou wilt go to the church, and receive, and be shriven; and so continue a good catholic Christian." "No," quoth William, "I will not do so, for all the good in the world." "Then," quoth the bishop, "If you will not do so, I will make you sure enough, I warrant you." "Well," quoth William, "you can do no more than God will permit you." "Well," quoth the bishop, "wilt thou not recant indeed by no means?" "No," quoth William, "never while I live, God willing."

Bonner commandeth Hunter to the stocks.

Then the bishop (this talk ended) commanded his men to put William in the stocks in his gatehouse, where he sat two days and nights, only with a crust of brown bread and a cup of water. At the two days' end the bishop came to him, and finding the cup of water and the crust of bread still by him upon the stocks, said to his men, "Take him out of the stocks, and let him break his fast with you." Then they let him forth of the stocks, but would not suffer him to eat with them, but called him heretic. And he said, he was as loth to be in their company, as they were to be in his.

After the breakfast, the bishop sent for William, and demanded whether he would recant or no. But William made him answer, how that he would never recant that which he had confessed before men, as concerning his faith in Christ. Then the bishop said that he was no Christian; but he denied the faith in which he was baptized. But William answered, "I was baptized in the faith of the holy Trinity, the which I will not go from, God assisting me with his grace."

Hunter refuseth to recant.

Laid in the convict prison with as many irons as he could bear.

Then the bishop sent him to the convict prison, and commanded the keeper to lay irons upon him, as many as he could bear: and moreover asked him, how old he was; and William said that he was nineteen years old. "Well," said the bishop, "you will be burned ere you be twenty years old, if you will not yield yourself better than you have done yet." William answered, "God strengthen me in his truth." And then he parted, and the bishop allowing him a halfpenny a day to live on, in bread or drink.

Thus he continued in prison three quarters of a year. In the which time he had been before the bishop five times, besides the time when he was condemned in the consistory in Paul's, the 9th day of February: at the which time I his brother, Robert Hunter, was present, when and where I heard the bishop condemn him, and five others.[1]

And then the bishop calling William, asked him if he would recant; and so read to him his examination and confession, as is above rehearsed: and then

(1) These five were Tomkins, Pygot, Knight, Hawkes, and Laurence.

rehearsed, how that William confessed that he did believe that he received Christ's body spiritually, when he did receive the communion. "Dost thou mean," quoth the bishop, "that the bread is Christ's body spiritually?" William answered, "I mean not so, but rather when I receive the holy communion rightly and worthily, I do feed upon Christ spiritually, through faith in my soul, and am made partaker of all the benefits which Christ hath brought unto all faithful believers through his precious death, passion, and resurrection: and not, that the bread is his body, either spiritually or corporally."

On receiving the communion.

Then said the bishop to William, "Dost thou not think," holding up his cap, "that, for example here of my cap, thou mayest see the squareness and colour of it, and yet that not to be the substance, which thou judgest by the accidents?" William answered, "If you can separate the accidents from the substance, and show me the substance without the accidents, I could believe." Then said the bishop, "Thou wilt not believe that God can do any thing above man's capacity." "Yes," said William, "I must needs believe that; for daily experience teacheth all men that thing plainly: but our question is not what God can do, but what he will have us to learn in his holy supper."

What the question is.

Then the bishop said, "I always have found thee at this point, and I see no hope in thee to reclaim thee unto the catholic faith, but thou wilt continue a corrupt member:" and then pronounced sentence upon him, how that he should go from that place to Newgate for a time, and so from thence to Brentwood, "where," said he, "thou shalt be burned."

Sentence pronounced against Hunter.

Then the bishop called for another, and so when he had condemned them all, he called for William Hunter, and persuaded with him; saying, "If thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a freeman in the city, and give thee forty pound in good money to set up thine occupation withal: or I will make thee steward of my house, and set thee in office; for I like thee well. Thou hast wit enough, and I will prefer thee if thou recant." But William answered, "I thank you for your great offers: notwithstanding, my lord," said he, "if you cannot persuade my conscience with Scriptures, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God for the love of the world; for I count all things worldly, but loss and dung, in respect of the love of Christ."

The large offer of Bonner to him.

Hunter refuseth to come from Christ for for love of the world.

Then said the bishop, "If thou diest in this mind, thou art condemned for ever." William answered, "God judgeth righteously, and justifieth them whom man condemneth unjustly." Thus William and the bishop departed, William and the rest to Newgate, where they remained about a month; who afterward were sent down, William to Brentwood, and the others into divers places of the country. Now when William was come down to Brentwood, which was the Saturday before the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary that followed on the Monday after, William remained till the Tuesday after, because they would not put him to death then, for the holiness of the day.

Hunter sent down to Brentwood to be burnt.

In the mean time William's father and mother came to him, and desired heartily of God that he might continue to the end in that good way which he had begun: and his mother said to him, that she was glad that ever she was so happy to bear such a child, which could find in his heart to lose his life for Christ's name's sake.

His father and mother come to comfort him.

Then William said to his mother, "For my little pain which I shall suffer, which is but a short braid, Christ hath promised me, mother," said he, "a crown of joy: may you not be glad of that, mother?" With that his mother kneeled down on her knees, saying, "I pray God strengthen thee, my son, to the end. Yea, I think thee as well bestowed, as any child that ever I bare."

And exhort him to be constant.

At the which words master Higbed took her in his arms, saying, "I rejoice" (and so said the others) "to see you in this mind; and you have a good cause to rejoice." And his father and mother both said, that they were never of other mind, but prayed for him, that as he had begun to confess Christ before men, he likewise might so continue to the end. William's father said, "I was afraid of nothing but that my son should have been killed in the prison by hunger and cold; the bishop was so hard to him." But William confessed, after a month, that his father was charged with his board, that he lacked nothing; but had meat and clothing enough, yea even out of the court, both money, meat, clothes, wood and coals, and all things necessary.

Mark here whether Bonner did nothing but "by the law."

Thus they continued in their inn, being the Swan in Brentwood, in a parlour, whither resorted many people of the country to see those good men which were

Mary. A. D. 1555.

there. And many of William's acquaintance came to him, and reasoned with him, and he with them, exhorting them to come away from the abomination of popish superstition and idolatry.

A notable thing concerning Hunter's dream.

Thus passing away Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, on Monday at night it happened that William had a dream about two o'clock in the morning, which was this: How that he was at the place where the stake was pitched, where he should be burned, which (as he thought in his dream) was at the town's end where the butts stood; which was so indeed. And also he dreamed that he met with his father as he went to the stake, and also that there was a priest at the stake, who went about to have him recant. To whom he said (as he thought in his dream) how that he bade him, "Away, false prophet!" and how that he exhorted the people to beware of him, and such as he was: which things came to pass indeed. It happened that William made a noise to himself in his dream, which caused master Higbed and the others to awake him out of his sleep, to know what he lacked. When he awaked he told them his dream in order, as is said.

Hunter led to the place of martyrdom.

Now when it was day, the sheriff, master Brocket, called on to set forward to the burning of William Hunter. Then came the sheriff's son to William Hunter, and embraced him in his right arm, saying, "William! be not afraid of these men which are here present with bows, bills, and weapons, ready prepared to bring you to the place where you shall be burned." To whom William answered, "I thank God I am not afraid; for I have cast my count what it will cost me already." Then the sheriff's son could speak no more to him for weeping.

The sheriff's son comforteth him.

Hunter's dream verified.

Then William Hunter plucked up his gown, and stepped over the parlour groundsel, and went forward cheerfully; the sheriff's servant taking him by one arm, and I his brother by another. And thus going in the way, he met with his father according to his dream, and he spake to his son, weeping and saying, "God be with thee, son William!" And William said, "God be with you, good father, and be of good comfort; for I hope we shall meet again when we shall be merry." His father said, "I hope so, William;" and so departed. So William went to the place where the stake stood, even according to his dream, where all things were very unready. Then William took a wet broom-faggot, and kneeled down thereon, and read the fifty-first Psalm, till he came to these words, "The sacrifice of God is a contrite spirit; a contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not despise."

His words to his father.

William Tyrill of the Beaches carpeth where he hath no cause.

Then said master Tyrill of the Beaches (called William Tyrill), "Thou liest," said he, "thou readest false; for the words are an humble spirit." But William said, "The translation saith, a contrite heart." "Yea," quoth master Tyrill, "the translation is false: ye translate books as ye list yourselves, like heretics." "Well," quoth William, "there is no great difference in those words." Then said the sheriff, "Here is a letter from the queen. If thou wilt recant thou shalt live; if not, thou shalt be burned." "No," quoth William, "I will not recant, God willing." Then William rose and went to the stake, and stood upright to it. Then came one Richard Ponde, a bailiff, and made fast the chain about William.

Hunter refuseth the queen's pardon.

Then said master Brown, "Here is not wood enough to burn a leg of him." Then said William, "Good people! pray for me; and make speed and despatch quickly: and pray for me while you see me alive, good people! and I will pray for you likewise."

A dogged saying of Brown.

"Now," quoth master Brown, "pray for thee! I will pray no more for thee, than I will pray for a dog." To whom William answered, "Master Brown, now you have that which you sought for, and I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the last day: howbeit I forgive you." Then said master Brown, "I ask no forgiveness of thee." "Well," said William, "if God forgive you, I shall not require my blood at your hands."

An external show of Christ's favour upon Hunter.

Then said William, "Son of God shine upon me;" and immediately the sun in the element shone out of a dark cloud so full in his face, that he was constrained to look another way: whereat the people mused, because it was so dark a little time afore. Then William took up a faggot of broom, and embraced it in his arms.

Then the priest, which William dreamed of, came to his brother Robert with a popish book to carry to William, that he might recant; which book his brother

would not meddle withal. Then William, seeing the priest, and perceiving how he would have showed him the book, said, "Away, thou false prophet! Beware of them, good people, and come away from their abominations, lest that you be partakers of their plagues." "Then," quoth the priest, "look how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in hell." William answered, "Thou liest, thou false prophet! Away, thou false prophet, away!"

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Then was there a gentleman which said, "I pray God have mercy upon his soul." The people said, "Amen, Amen." Immediately fire was made.

Then William cast his psalter right into his brother's hand, who said, "William! think on the holy passion of Christ, and be not afraid of death."

Comforted by his brother.

And William answered, "I am not afraid." Then lift he up his hands to heaven, and said, "Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit;" and, casting down his head again into the smothering smoke, he yielded up his life for the truth, sealing it with his blood to the praise of God.

Robert set in the stocks.

Now by and by after, master Brown commanded one old Hunt, to take his brother Robert Hunter, and lay him in the stocks till he returned from the burning of Higbed at Horndon on the Hill, the same day. Which thing old Hunt did. Then master Brown (when Robert Hunter came before him) asked if he would do as his brother had done. But Robert Hunter answered, "If I do as my brother hath done, I shall have as he hath had." "Marry," quoth master Brown, "thou mayest be sure of it."

Robert by God's providence delivered

Then master Brown said, "I marvel that thy brother stood so to his tackling:" and moreover, he asked Robert, if William's master of London were not at his burning. But Robert said, that he was not there; but master Brown bare him in hand that his master was there, and how that he did see him there: but Robert denied it. Then master Brown commanded the constable and Robert Hunter to go their ways home, and so had no further talk with them.

Here followeth the History of Master Causton and Master Higbed,

TWO WORTHY GENTLEMEN OF ESSEX, WHO, FOR THEIR SINCERE CONFESSION OF THEIR FAITH UNDER BONNER BISHOP OF LONDON, WERE MARTYRED AND BURNED IN ESSEX, A.D. 1555.

Although the condemnation of master Causton and master Higbed followed after the condemnation of those other martyrs who were condemned with Tomkins and Hunter above mentioned, yet, because the time of their execution was before the burning of the aforesaid four martyrs, forsomuch that they suffered the same day that William Hunter did, which was the 26th of March, I thought therefore, next after the story of the said William Hunter, following the order of time, here to place the same.

This master Causton and master Higbed, two worshipful gentlemen in the county of Essex, the one at Horndon on the Hill, the other of the parish of Thundersby, being zealous and religious in the true service of God; as they could not dissemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the world, so in time of blind superstition and wretched idolatry, they could not long lie hid and obscure in such a number of malignant adversaries, accusers, and servants of this world, but at length they were perceived and detected to the aforesaid Edmund Bonner bishop of London; peradventure not without the same organ which sent up William Hunter, as is above declared. By reason whereof, by commandment they were committed to the officers of Colchester to be safely kept, and with them also a servant of Thomas Causton, who, in this praise of christian godliness, was nothing inferior to his master.

Higbed and Causton detected to Bonner.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Bonner cometh himself to Colchester.

Bonner, the foresaid bishop, perceiving these two gentlemen to be of worshipful estate, and of great estimation in that country, lest any tumult should thereby arise, came thither himself, accompanied with master Fecknam and certain others, thinking to reclaim them to his faction and fashion: so that great labour and diligence was taken therein, as well by terrors and threatenings, as by large promises and flattering, and all fair means, to reduce them again to the unity (as they termed it) of the mother church.

In fine, when nothing could prevail to make them assent to their doings, at length they came to this point, that they required certain respite to consult with themselves what was best to do. Which time of deliberation being expired, and they remaining still constant and unmovable in their professed doctrine, and setting out also their confession in writing, the bishop seeing no good to be done in tarrying any longer there, departed thence, and carried them both with him to London; and with them certain other prisoners also, which about the same time in those quarters were apprehended.

Higbed and Causton carried to London.

THE FIRST DAY'S SESSION.

It was not long after this, but these prisoners, being at London committed to strait prison, and there attempted sundry ways by the bishop and his chaplains to revoke their opinions: at length, when no persuasions would serve, they were brought forth to open examination at the consistory in Paul's, the 17th day of February, A.D. 1555; where they were demanded as well by the said bishop, as also by the bishop of Bath, and others, whether they would recant their errors and perverse doctrine (as they termed it), and so come to the unity of the popish church. Which when they refused to do, the bishop assigned them likewise the next day to appear again, being the 18th of February.

THE SECOND DAY'S SESSION.

On the which day, among many other things there said and passed, he read unto them severally certain articles, and gave them respite until the next day to answer unto the same; and so committed them again to prison. The copy of which articles hereunder followeth.

Articles objected and ministered by Bonner, Bishop of London, severally against Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed of Essex.

First, That thou Thomas Causton (or Thomas Higbed) hast been and art of the diocese of London, and also of the jurisdiction now of me, Edmund bishop of London.

Item, That thou wast in time past, according to the order of the church of England, baptized and christened.

Item, That thou hadst godfathers and godmother, according to the said order.

Item, That the said godfathers and godmother did then promise for thee, and in thy name, the faith and religion that then was used in the realm of England.

Item, That that faith and religion, which they did profess and make for thee, was accounted and taken to be the faith and religion of the church, and of the christian people: and so was it in very deed.

Item, Thou coming to the age of discretion (that is to say, to the age of fourteen years) didst not mislike nor disallow that faith, that religion, or promise then used and approved and promised by the said godfathers and godmother,

but for a time didst continue in it, as others (taking themselves for christian people) did likewise.

Item, That at that time, and also before, it was taken for a doctrine of the church, catholic and true, and everywhere in Christendom then allowed for catholic and true, and to be the profession of a christian man, to believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, after the consecration, there was, and is, by the omnipotent power and will of Almighty God, and his word, without any substance of bread and wine there remaining, the true and natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross, really, truly, and in very deed.

The real presence.

Item, That at that time thy father and mother, all thine ancestors, all thy kindred, acquaintance, and friends, and thy said godfathers and godmother, did then so believe, and think in all the same as the said church did therein believe.

Item, That thyself hast had no just cause or lawful ground to depart or swerve from the said religion or faith, nor any occasion at all, except thou wilt follow and believe the erroneous opinion or belief that hath been (against the common order of the church) brought in by certain disordered persons of late, at the uttermost within these thirty or forty years last past.

Item, That thou dost know, or credibly hast heard, and dost believe, that Dr. Robert Barnes, John Frith, Thomas Gerrard, Jerome Lassels, Anne Askew, John Hooper late bishop of Gloucester, sir Laurence Saunders priest, John Bradford, sir John Rogers priest, sir Rowland Taylor priest, sir John Laurence priest, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes, have been heretofore reputed, taken, and accounted as heretics, and also condemned as heretics, and so pronounced openly and manifestly; specially in holding and believing certain damnable opinions, against the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar,[1] and all the same persons (saving John Bradford, sir John Laurence, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes) have suffered pains of death by fire, for the maintenance and defence of their said opinions and misbelief.

Item, That thou dost know, or credibly hast heard, and dost believe, that Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury; and Nicholas Ridley, naming himself bishop of London; Robert Ferrar, late bishop of St. David's; and Hugh Latimer, some time bishop of Worcester; have been, and are at this present, reputed, accounted, and taken as heretics and misbelievers, in maintaining and holding certain damnable opinions against the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar.

Item, That thou hast commended and praised all the said persons, so erring and believing (or at the leastwise some of them), secretly, and also openly, taking and believing them to be faithful and catholic people, and their said opinions to be good and true; and the same, to the best and uttermost of thy power, thou hast allowed, maintained, and defended at sundry times.

Verity taken for heresy of misbelieving heretics.

Item, That thou, having heard, known, and understood, all the premises thus to be as is aforesaid, hast not regarded all or any part thereof, but, contrary to the same and every part thereof, hast attempted and done; condemning, transgressing, and breaking the promise, faith, religion, order, and custom aforesaid: and hast become, and art a heretic and misbeliever in the premises, denying the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, and obstinately affirming, that the substance of the material bread and wine is there remaining, and that the substance of Christ's body and blood, taken of the Virgin Mary, is not there in the said sacrament really and truly being.

Item, That all the premises be true, notorious, famous, and manifest; and that upon all the same, there have and be amongst the sad and good people of the city of London, and diocese of the same, in great multitude, commonly and publicly, a common and public fame and opinion, and also in all places where thou hast been, within the said diocese of London.

These articles being given to them in writing by the bishop, the next day following was assigned to them to give up and exhibit their answers unto the same.

(1) Also sir Edmund Bonner, priest, before the death of Cromwell, was of that opinion, and was sworn twice against the pope.

Mary.

A. D. 1555.

THE THIRD DAY'S SESSION UPON THE EXAMINATION OF MASTER CAUSTON AND MASTER HIGBED.

Upon that day, being the first day of March, the said Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed, gentlemen, being brought before the bishop in the consistory, there exhibited their answers to the articles aforesaid: the tenor of which answers here followeth.

The Answers of Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed, severally made to the foresaid articles objected as before.

To the first, they answer and confess the same to be true.

To the second, they answer and believe the same to be true.

To the third, they answer and believe the same to be true.

To the fourth, they answer and think the same to be true.

To the fifth, until this clause, "and so was it in very deed," they answer and believe the same to be true. And unto that clause, "and so was it in very deed," they answer negatively, and believe that it was not in very deed.

To the sixth, seventh, and eighth, they answer and believe the same to be true.

To the ninth, they answer and say, that they think they have a just and lawful cause and ground to swerve and go from the said faith and religion, because they have now read more Scripture, than either themselves, or their parents and kinsfolk, godfathers or godmothers, have read or seen heretofore in that behalf.

To the tenth, they answer, say, and believe, that the said persons articulate, have been named, taken, and counted for heretics, and so condemned for heretics: yet about three years past, they were taken for good christian persons. And forasmuch as these respondents did ever hear them preach concerning the sacrament of the altar, they say that they preached well, in that they said and preached that Christ is not present really and truly in the sacrament; but that there is remaining the substance of bread and wine.

Transubstantiation denied.

To the eleventh, they answer and say, that howsoever other folks do repute and take the said persons articulate, yet these respondents themselves did never, nor yet do, so account and take them. And further they say, that in case the said persons articulate, named in this article, have preached that in the sacrament of the altar is very material wine, and not the substance of Christ's body and blood under the forms of bread and wine, then they preached well and truly, and these respondents themselves do so believe.

To the twelfth, they answer and say, that whereas other folk have dispraised the said persons articulate, and disallowed their opinions, these respondents (for ought that they at any time have heard) did like and allow the said persons, and their sayings.

To the thirteenth, they answer and say, that they have not broken or condemned any promise made by their godfathers and godmothers for them at their baptism, and that they are no heretics or misbelievers, in that they believe that there remaineth only bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, and that Christ's natural body is not there, but in heaven: for they say, that the Scriptures so teach them.

To the fourteenth, they answer and believe, that the premises before by them confessed be true, notorious, and manifest.

A copy of a catholic charity showed.

After these answers exhibited and perused, then the bishop, speaking unto them after this sort, beginneth first (as he did ever before) with Thomas Causton. "Because ye shall not be suddenly trapped, and that men shall not say that I go about to seek snares to put you away; I have hitherto respited you, that you should weigh and consider with yourself your state and condition, and that you should, while ye have time and space, acknowledge the truth,

and return to the unity of the catholic church." Then the bishop, reading their former articles and answers to the same, asked them if they would recant: which when they denied, they were again dismissed and commanded to appear the Wednesday next after, at two o'clock at afternoon, there to receive their definitive sentence against them: which thing (as it seemeth) was yet deferred.

ANOTHER EXAMINATION OF MASTER CAUSTON AND MASTER HIGBED.

The next Friday, being the 8th of March, the said Thomas Causton was first called to examination before the bishop, Fecknam, and Dr. Stempe,[1] being in his palace, and there had read unto him his foresaid articles with his answers thereunto; and after certain exhortations to recant his former profession, and to be conformable to the unity of their church, they promised him, so doing, willingly to receive him again thereunto. To whom he answered, "You go about to catch us in snares and gins. But mark, by what measure ye measure us, look you to be measured with the same again at God's hands. The bishop still persuaded with him to recant. To whom he answered, "No, I will not abjure. Ye said that the bishops that were lately burned, be heretics: but I pray God make me such a heretic as they were."

Causton denieth to recant.

The bishop then leaving master Causton, calleth for master Higbed; using with him the like persuasions that he did with the other: but he answered, "I will not abjure; for I have been of this mind and opinion that I am now, these sixteen years; and do what ye can, ye shall do no more than God will permit you to do; and with what measure you measure us, look for the same again at God's hands."

Higbed called forth, denieth to abjure.

Then Fecknam asked him his opinion in the sacrament of the altar. To whom he answered, "I do not believe that Christ is in the sacrament as ye will have him, which is of man's making."

Both their answers thus severally made, they were again commanded to depart for that time, and to appear the next day in the consistory at Paul's, beween the hours of one and three o'clock at afternoon.

THE LAST APPEARANCE OF MASTER CAUSTON AND MASTER HIGBED BEFORE BONNER.

At which day and hour, being the 9th day of March, they were both brought thither; where the bishop caused master Thomas Causton's articles and answers first to be read openly, and after persuaded with him to recant and abjure his heretical opinions, and to come home now, at the last, to their mother the catholic church, and save himself.

But master Thomas Causton answered again, and said, "No, I will not abjure; for I came not hither for that purpose:" and therewithal did exhibit in writing unto the bishop (as well in his own name, as also in Thomas Higbed's name) a confession of their faith,

Causton and Higbed exhibit a confession of faith.

(1) This Stempe is now warden of the college in Winchester.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

to the which they would stand; and required leave to read the same: which, after great suit, was obtained. And so he read it openly in the hearing of the people, as followeth.

The Confession of Faith of Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed, which they delivered to the Bishop of London, before the Mayor and Sheriffs, and in the Presence of all the People there assembled, the 9th of March, A.D. 1555; and were condemned for the same in the said Consistory in Paul's Church, the Day and Year above said.

A renouncing of the world.

First, we believe and profess in baptism, to forsake the devil and all his works and pomps, and the vanities of the wicked world, with all the sinful lusts of the flesh.

The creed.

2. We believe all the articles of our christian faith.

The commandments.

3. We believe, that we are bound to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of our life.

The Lord's prayer.

4. We believe, that there is contained in the Lord's prayer all things necessary both for body and soul; and that we are taught thereby to pray to our heavenly Father, and no other saint or angel.

The catholic church.

5. We believe, that there is a catholic church, even the communion of saints, "built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles," as St. Paul saith, "Christ being the head corner-stone." For the which church Christ gave himself, to make it to himself a glorious congregation, without fault in his sight.

The church of itself is sinful; by imputation righteous.

6. We believe, that this church of herself, and by her own merits, is sinful, and must needs say, "Father! forgive us our sins:" but, through Christ and his merits, she is freely forgiven; "for he in his own person," saith St. Paul, "hath purged her sins, and made her faultless in his sight:" "Besides whom, there is no Saviour," saith the prophet: "Neither is there salvation," saith St. Peter, "in any other name."

Christ our only Mediator.

7. We believe, as he is our only Saviour, so he is our only Mediator. For the apostle St. Paul saith, "There is one God, one Mediator between God and man, even the man Jesus Christ." Wherefore, seeing none hath this name, God and man, but Jesus Christ, therefore there is no Mediator but Jesus Christ.

The condition of the church to be persecuted.

8. We believe, that this church of Christ is and hath been persecuted, by the words of Christ, saying, "As they have persecuted me, so shall they persecute you: for the disciple is not above his master." "For it is not only given unto you to believe in Christ," saith St. Paul, "but also to suffer for his sake. For all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution."

The church only is directed by God's word.

9. We believe that the church of Christ teacheth the word of God truly and sincerely, putting nothing to, nor taking any thing from: and also doth minister the sacraments according to the primitive church.

The true church forbiddeth none to read the Scriptures.

10. We believe, that this church of Christ suffereth all men to read the Scriptures, according to Christ's commandment, saying, "Search the Scriptures; for they testify of me." We read also out of the Acts, that when St. Paul preached, the audience daily searched the Scriptures, whether he preached truly or no. Also the prophet David teacheth all men to pray with understanding: "For how shall the unlearned," saith St. Paul, "say amen, at the giving of thanks, when they understand not what is said?" And what is more allowed than true faith, which, St. Paul saith, "cometh by hearing of the word of God?"

God only to be worshipped after his word.

11. We believe, that the church of Christ teacheth, that God ought to be worshipped according to his word, and not after the doctrine of men: "For in vain," saith Christ, "ye worship me, teaching nothing but the doctrine of men."

God's precepts to be followed, and not the constitutions of men.

Also we are commanded of God by his prophet, saying, "Walk not in the traditions and precepts of your elders: but walk," saith he, "in my precepts: do that I command you: put nothing thereunto, neither take any thing from it." Likewise saith Christ, "You shall forsake father and mother, and follow me." Whereby we learn, that if our elders teach otherwise than God commanded, in that point we must forsake them.

Mary.

A. D. 1555.

12. We believe, that the supper of the Lord ought not to be altered and changed, forasmuch as Christ himself, being the wisdom of the Father, did institute it. For it is written, "Cursed is he that changeth my ordinances, and departeth from my commandments, or taketh any thing from them."

The Lord's supper is not to be changed from the institution of Christ. How abused.

13. Now, we find by the Scriptures, that this holy supper is sore abused. First, in that it is given in one kind, where Christ gave it in both. Secondly, in that it is made a private mass, whereas Christ made it a communion: for he gave it not to one alone, but to all the apostles in the name of the whole church. Thirdly, in that it is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead; whereas Christ ordained it for a remembrance of the everlasting sacrifice, which was his own body offered upon the altar of the cross once for all, as the holy apostle saith, "Even the full and perfect price of our redemption: and where there is remission of sin," saith he, "there is no more sacrifice for sin." Fourthly, in that it is worshipped contrary to the commandment, saying, "Thou shalt worship nothing that is made with hands." Fifthly, in that it is given in an unknown tongue, whereby the people are ignorant of the right use thereof, how Christ died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, by whom we be set at peace with God, and received to his favour and mercy by his promise, whereof this sacrament is a sure seal and witness. Besides this, it is hanged up, and shut in a box; yea, many times so long, that worms breed in it, and so it putrifieth: whereby the rude people have an occasion to speak irreverently thereof, which otherwise would speak reverently. Therefore they that thus abuse it, bring up the slander, and not we which pray daily to God to restore it to the right use, according to Christ's institution.

Christ's words, "hoc est corpus meum," not denied, but expounded by other phrases.

14. Now concerning Christ's words, "This is my body," we deny them not; but we say, that the mind of Christ in them must be searched out by other open Scriptures, whereby we may come to the spiritual understanding of them, which shall be most to the glory of God: for, as the holy apostle saith, "There is no Scripture that hath any private interpretation." Besides this, the Scriptures are full of the like figurative speeches: as for example: Christ saith, "This cup is the new testament in my blood." "The rock is Christ," saith St. Paul. "Whosoever receiveth a child in my name," saith our Saviour Jesus Christ, "receiveth me."

Which sentences must not be understood after the letter, lest we do err, as the Capernaites did, which thought that Christ's body should have been eaten with their teeth, when he spake of the eating thereof. Unto whom Christ said, "Such a fleshly eating of my body profiteth nothing: it is the Spirit," saith our Saviour Jesus Christ, "that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: for my words are spirit and life."

Words of the sacrament to be taken spiritually, not literally; Christ eaten spiritually.

Thus we see that Christ's words must be understood spiritually, and not literally. Therefore he that cometh to this worthy supper of the Lord, must not prepare his jaw, but his heart; neither tooth nor belly; but, "Believe," saith St. Augustine, "and thou hast eaten it:" so that we must bring with us a spiritual hunger, and as the apostle saith, "Try and examine ourselves, whether our conscience do testify unto us, that we do truly believe in Christ, according to the Scriptures;" whereof if we be truly certified, being new-born from our old conversation in heart, mind, will, and deed, then may we boldly, with this marriage-garment of our faith, come to the feast.

The substance of bread not changed.

15. In consideration whereof we have invincible Scriptures, as of Christ himself: "This do in remembrance of me." And St. Paul: "As often," saith he, "as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall remember the Lord's death until he come." Here is no change, but bread still. And St. Luke affirmeth the same. Also Christ hath made a just promise, saying; "Me, you shall not have always with you, I leave the world, and go to my Father: for if I should not depart, the Comforter which I will send, cannot come unto you." So, according to his promise, he is ascended as the evangelists testify. Also St. Peter saith, "That heaven shall keep him until the last day also."

Christ's body but in one place at once.

16. Now as touching his omnipotent power, we confess and say with St. Augustine, that Christ is both God and man. In that he is God, he is everywhere; but in that he is man, he is in heaven, and can occupy but one place. Whereunto the Scriptures do agree: for his body was not in all places at once when he was here; for it was not in the grave when the woman sought it, as

Mary. A. D. 1555.

the angel saith: neither was it at Bethany, where Lazarus died, by Christ's own words, saying, "I am glad I was not there." And thus we conclude with the Scriptures, that Christ is in his holy supper sacramentally and spiritually in all them that worthily receive it, and corporally in heaven, both God and man.

Their protestation.

And further, we make here our protestation before God (whom we call to record in this matter), that this which we have said, is neither of stubbornness, nor wilful mind, as some judge of us; but even of very conscience, truly (we trust) grounded on God's holy word. For before we took this matter in hand, we besought God from the bottom of our hearts, that we might do nothing contrary to his holy and blessed word. And in that he hath thus showed his power in our weakness, we cannot worthily praise him, unto whom we give hearty thanks, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

Causton and Higbed constant to death in their confession.

When he had thus delivered and read their confession, the bishop, still persisting sometimes in fair promises, sometimes threatening to pronounce judgment, asked them whether they would stand to this their confession and other answers? To whom Causton said, "Yea, we will stand to our answers written with our hands, and to our belief therein contained." After which answer the bishop began to pronounce sentence against him.

Then he said, that it was much rashness, and without all love and mercy, to give judgment without answering to their confession by the truth of God's word; whereunto they submitted themselves most willingly. "And therefore I," quoth Causton, "because I cannot have justice at your hand, but that ye will thus rashly condemn me, do appeal from you to my lord cardinal.

Causton appealeth to the cardinal.

Then Dr. Smith said, that he would answer their confession. But the bishop (not suffering him to speak) willed Harpsfield to say his mind, for the stay of the people; who, taking their confession in his hand, neither touched nor answered one sentence thereof. Which done, the bishop pronounced sentence, first against the said Thomas Causton; and then, calling Thomas Higbed, caused his articles and answers likewise to be read. In the reading whereof Higbed said, "Ye speak blasphemy against Christ's passion, and ye go about to trap us with your subtleties and snares. And though my father and mother, and other my kinsfolk did believe, as you say, yet they were deceived in so believing. And further, whereas you say, that my lord, named Cranmer (late archbishop of Canterbury), and others specified in the said articles, be heretics; I do wish that I were such a heretic as they were, and be. Then the bishop asked him again, Whether he would turn from his error, and come to the unity of their church? To whom he said, "No; I would ye should recant: for I am in the truth, and you in error."

Sentence pronounced against Causton and Higbed.

"Well," quoth the bishop, "if ye will return, I will gladly receive you." "No," said Higbed, "I will not return as you will have me, to believe in the sacrament of the altar, your God." Whereupon the bishop proceeded, and gave judgment upon him, as he had done before upon Thomas Causton.

Causton and Higbed condemned and sent to Newgate.

When all this was thus ended, they were both delivered to the sheriffs, and so by them sent to Newgate, where they remained by the space of fourteen days, praised be God, not so much in afflictions as in consolations. For the increase whereof they earnestly desired all their good brethren and sisters in Christ to pray, that God, for his Son's sake, would go forth with that great mercy, which already he

had begun in them, so that they might persevere unto the end, to the praise of the eternal God, and comfort of all their brethren.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

These fourteen days (after the condemnation) once expired, they were, the 23d day of this month of March, fetched from Newgate at four o'clock in the morning, and so led through the city to Aldgate, where they were delivered unto the sheriff of Essex, and there, being fast bound in a cart, were shortly after brought to their several appointed places of burning; that is to say, Thomas Higbed to Horndon on the Hill, and Thomas Causton to Raleigh (both in the county of Essex) where they did most constantly, the 26th day of the same month, seal this their faith with shedding of their blood by most cruel fire, to the glory of God, and great rejoicing of the godly. At the burning of which master Higbed, justice Brown was also present, as is above specified, and divers gentlemen in the shire were commanded to be present, for fear belike, lest they should be taken from them.

Causton and Higbed brought into Essex.

The constant martyrdom of Causton and Higbed.

And thus much touching the apprehension, examination, confession, condemnation, and burning, of these two godly and constant martyrs of God.

William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence,

WITH THEIR EXAMINATION AND CONSTANT MARTYRDOM.

In the story before of Thomas Tomkins and his fellows, mention was made of six who were examined and condemned together, by bishop Bonner, the 9th day of February. Of the which six condemned persons, two (which were Tomkins and William Hunter, as ye heard) were executed, the one upon the 16th of March, and the other upon the 26th day of March. Other three, to wit, William Pygot, and Stephen Knight, suffered upon the 28th day, and John Laurence the 29th of the said month of March.

Touching the which three martyrs (now something to say of their examinations), it was first demanded of them, what their opinion was of the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto they severally answered, and also subscribed, that in the sacrament of the altar, under forms of bread and wine, there is not the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but a special partaking of the body and blood of Christ; the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven, and nowhere else. This answer thus made, the bishop caused certain articles to be read unto them, tending to the same effect, as did the articles before of Tomkins and of master Causton; the tenor whereof here followeth.

Articles or Interrogatories objected by the Bishop of London to William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence, the 8th of February, 1555.

Whether do you think, and steadfastly believe, that it is a catholic, faithful, christian, and true doctrine, to teach, preach, and say, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is, without any substance of bread and wine there remaining, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the true and natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the selfsame in substance (though not in outward form and appearance), which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross, yea, or nay?

Mary. A. D. 1553.

Whether do you think, and steadfastly believe, that your parents, kinsfolk, friends, and acquaintance, here in this present realm of England, before your birth a great while, and also after your birth, professing and believing the said doctrine and faith concerning the said sacrament of the altar, had a true christian faith and were faithful and true christian people, or no?

Belief of their forefelders.

Whether do you think, and steadfastly believe, that your godfathers and godmother, professing and believing the said doctrine and faith concerning the said sacrament of the altar, had a true christian faith, and were faithful and true christian people, or no?

Of their godfathers and godmothers.

Whether do you think, and steadfastly believe, that your ownself, in times past, being of the age of fourteen years and above, did think and believe concerning the said sacrament of the altar in all points, as your said parents, kinsfolks, friends, acquaintance, godfathers, and godmother, did then think and believe them, or no?

Of their young age.

Whether do you think, and steadfastly believe, that our sovereigns the king and the queen of this realm of England, and all the nobility, clergy, and laity of this realm, professing and believing the said doctrine and faith, as other christian realms do, concerning the said sacrament of the altar, have a true christian faith, and believe as the catholic and true church of Christ hath always believed, preached, and taught, or no?

Of the king, queen, and nobility.

Whether do you think, and steadfastly believe, that our Saviour Christ and his holy Spirit hath been, is, and shall be with his catholic church, even to the world's end, governing and ruling the same in all things, especially in the necessary points of christian religion, not suffering the same to err, or to be deceived therein?

Of the present catholic church.

Whether is it true, that you being suspected, or infamed to be culpable and faulty in speaking against the sacrament of the altar, and against the very true presence of Christ's natural body, and the substance thereof in the said sacrament; and thereupon called before me upon complaint made to me against you; have not been a good space in my house, having freely meat and drink, and also divers times instructed and informed, as well by one being our ordinary, as also by my chaplains and divers other learned men, some whereof were bishops, some deans, and some archdeacons, and every one of them learned in divinity, and minding well unto you, and desiring the safeguard of your soul, and that you should follow and believe the doctrine of the catholic church, as afore, concerning the said sacrament of the altar; and whether you did not at all times since your said coming to me, utterly refuse to follow and believe the said doctrine concerning the said sacrament?

Real presence, and transubstantiation.

Whether can you now find in your heart and conscience to conform yourself in all points to the said faith and catholic church concerning the said sacrament of the altar, faithfully, truly, and plainly, without any dissimulation, believing therein as our said sovereigns, with the nobility, clergy, and laity of this realm, and other christian realms, and other persons aforesaid, and also the said catholic church, have and do believe in that behalf?

In case you so cannot, what ground have you to maintain your opinion, and who is of the same opinion with you? and what conference have you had therein with any? what comfort and what relief have you had therein by any of them, and what are their names and surnames, and their dwelling-places?

Their answers to these articles were not much discrepant from Tomkins, and other like martyrs above mentioned, as here followeth to be seen.

The Answers of Pygot and Knight to the aforesaid Articles.

To the first article, they believe, that the contents of this article are not agreeable to Scripture.

To the second, they answer and believe, that their parents, and others expressed in the said article, and so believing as is contained in the same, were deceived.

To the third they answer, that they so believed; but they were deceived therein, as they now believe.

To the fourth they say, that they have heretofore believed as is contained in the said article; but now they do not so believe.

To the fifth they say, that if they so believe, they are deceived.

To the sixth, they believe the same to be true.

To the seventh they answer, and believe the contents of the same to be true.

To the eighth they answer, that they can no whit conform themselves to the faith and doctrine contained and specified in this article, until it be proved by Scripture.

To the ninth they say, that they have no ground to maintain their said opinions, but the truth; which (as they said) hath been persuaded by learned men, as Dr. Taylor of Hadley, and such others.

These answers being made and exhibited, they were commanded to appear again the next day, at eight o'clock in the morning, and, in the meanwhile, to bethink themselves what they would do.

ANOTHER APPEARANCE OF PYGOT, KNIGHT, AND LAURENCE BEFORE BONNER.

The next day in the morning, being the 9th of February, before their open appearance, the bishop sent for William Pygot and Stephen Knight into his great chamber in his palace, where he persuaded with them to recant, and deny their former profession. Who answered, that they were not persuaded in their consciences to return and abjure their opinions, whereunto they had subscribed. Within awhile after, they were all three (with Thomas Tomkins, and William Hunter aforenamed) brought openly into the consistory, the 9th day of February aforesaid, and there had the same articles propounded unto them, which were before propounded unto the aforesaid Thomas Tomkins (as appeareth in the discourse of his history), and thereto also subscribed these words, "I do so believe."

Talk between Bonner and Laurence.

The bishop also used certain talk unto John Laurence only; whereunto he answered in this manner: that he was a priest, and was consecrated and made a priest about eighteen years past; and that he was some time a black friar professed; that also he was assured unto a maid, whom he intended to have married.

And being again demanded his opinion upon the sacrament, he said, that it was a remembrance of Christ's body, and that many have been deceived in believing the true body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar; and that all such as do not believe as he doth, do err.—After this talk and other fair words and threatenings, they were all of them commanded to appear again at afternoon.

THE THIRD AND LAST APPEARANCE OF THE AFORESAID PRISONERS.

At that hour they came thither again, and there, after the accustomed manner, were exhorted to recant and revoke their doctrine, and receive the faith. To the which they constantly answered they would not, but would stick to that faith that they had declared and subscribed unto; for that they did believe that it was no error which they believed, but that the contrary thereof was very heresy.

Pygot, Knight, and Laurence condemned.

When the bishop saw that neither his fair flatterings, nor yet his cruel threatenings, would prevail, he gave them severally their judgments. And because John Laurence had been one of their anointed priests, he was by the bishop there (according to their order) solemnly degraded, the manner whereof you may see in the history of master Hooper afore passed.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Their sentence of condemnation, and this degradation once ended, they were committed unto the custody of the sheriffs of London, who sent them unto Newgate, where they remained with joy together until they were carried down into Essex, and there, the 28th day of March, the said William Pygot was burned at Braintree; and Stephen Knight at Maldon, who, at the stake, kneeling upon the ground, said this prayer which here followeth.

The Prayer that Stephen Knight said at his Death upon his Knees, being at the Stake, at Maldon.

O Lord Jesus Christ! for whose love I leave willingly this life, and desire rather the bitter death of thy cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy most holy name, or to obey men in breaking thy holy commandment: thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth to worship a false God, and honour thine enemy, I choose rather the torment of the body and the loss of this my life, and have counted all things but vile, dust, and dung, that I might win thee; which death is dearer unto me, than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee, as the deer that is wounded desireth the soil,[1] Send thy holy Comforter, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is empty of all strength of itself. Thou remembrest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing that is good: therefore, O Lord, as of thine accustomed goodness and love thou hast bidden me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect; even so give me strength, O Lord, against this thine element, which as to my sight it is most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may, at thy commandment (as an obedient servant), be sweet and pleasant; that, through the strength of thy holy Spirit, I may pass through the rage of this fire into thy bosom, according to thy promise, and for this mortal receive an immortal, and for this corruptible put on incorruption. Accept this burnt sacrifice and offering, O Lord, not for the sacrifice, but for thy dear Son's sake my Saviour, for whose testimony I offer this free-will offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O heavenly Father! forgive me my sins, as I forgive all the world. O sweet Son of God my Saviour! spread thy wings over me. O blessed and Holy Ghost! through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither, conduct me into everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit! Amen.[2]

The Death and Martyrdom of John Laurence, Priest.

The next day, being the 29th of this month, the said John Laurence was brought to Colchester, and there, being not able to go (for that as well his legs were sore worn with heavy irons in prison, as also his body weakened with evil keeping), was borne to the fire in a chair, and, so sitting, was in his constant faith consumed with fire.

At the burning of this Laurence, he, sitting in the fire, the young children came about the fire, and cried, as well as young children could speak, saying, "Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise; Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise:" which thing, as it is rare, so it is no small manifestation of the glory of God, who wrought this in the hearts of these little ones; nor yet a little commendation to their parents, who, from their youth, brought them up in the knowledge of God and his truth.

(1) Psalm xlii. ["To take soil" is a hunting term, meaning "to run into water," as a deer, when closely pursued.—Ed.]

(2) Mark the spirit of this prayer, and compare it with the prayer of the papists, at the sacrifice of the mass.

END OF VOL. VI.

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